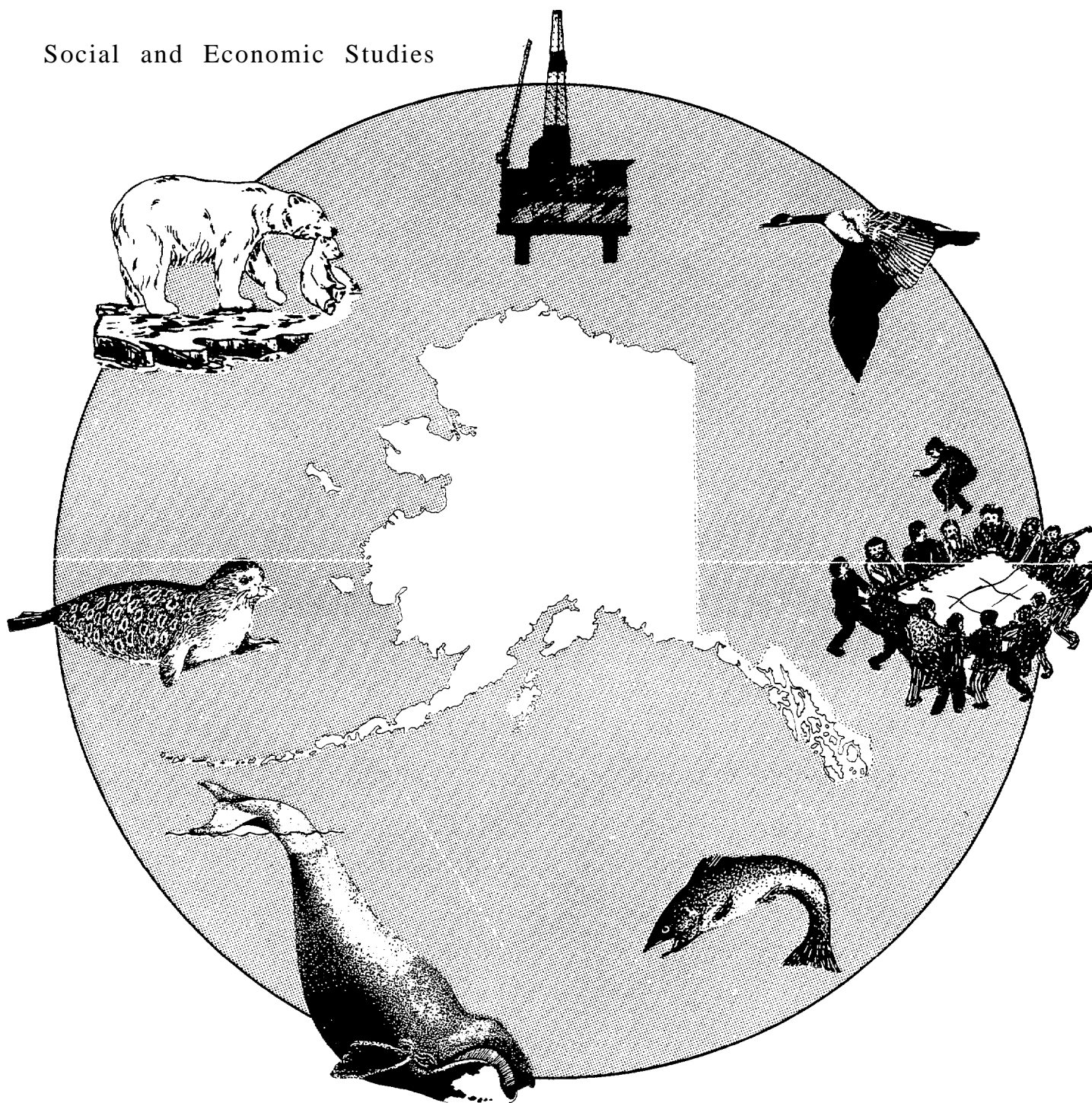


Point Lay Case Study

OCS Study
MMS 89-0093

Social and Economic Studies



OCS Study
MMS 89-0093

Technical Report No. 139

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FINAL TECHNICAL REPORT

Point Lay Case Study

Submitted to:

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

IMPACT ASSESSMENT, INC.

NOVEMBER 17, 1989

Notice

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Alaska OCS Environmental Studies Program

Point Lay Case Study

Impact Assessment, Inc.
La Jolla, California.

Prepared by Michael **Galginaitis**, Michael A. Downs, and James W. VanStone, with contributions by Sverre Pedersen, Yvonne Yarber, Lawrence Kaplan, Mari Rodin, and Stanley **Walens** and much assistance from too many people to mention by name in Point Lay, Point Hope, and Barrow. John S. Petterson served as principal investigator and project manager.

November 1988

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In Point Lay, **Galginaitis** would first like to thank Paul (Polo) **Tazruk** for his hospitality in sharing his house when **Galginaitis** first arrived in Point Lay. Housing is limited in Point Lay and this not only eased **Galginaitis** into the community but aided the research immeasurably. We also wish to thank Polo for his aid in other matters and his willingness to talk with **Yvonne Yarber** for the oral history portion of the research. Lastly, we wish to express our personal gratitude to Polo and the other members of his household - Jim Jim, Thomas, **Gertie**, and for a time **Blackie**. Living in Point Lay in your household was truly memorable.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations Used in the Point Lay Case Study

AA	Alcoholics Anonymous
AAIA	Association of American Indian Affairs
ACS	Alaska Communications System
ADF&G	Alaska Department of Fish and Game
AEWC	Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission
AIN	Wainwright
ALS	Alaska Legal Services, Inc.
AFN	Alaska Federation of Natives
AFNA	Alaska Federation of Natives Association
ANCSA	Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971
ANICA	Alaska Native Industries Cooperative Association
ANILCA	Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980
ASNA	Arctic Slope Native Association
ASRC	Arctic Slope Regional Corporation
ATV	All-Terrain Vehicle
AVE	Authorized Village Entity
AWIC	Arctic Women In Crisis
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BRW	Barrow
CIP	Capital Improvements Program (North Slope Borough)
CB	Citizen's Band Radio
CD	Compact Disc
CMHC	Community Mental Health Center
CNN	Cable News Network
COD	Cash On Delivery
DEW Line	Distant Early Warning Line
DOI	Department of the Interior
ECE	Early Childhood Education
EIS	Environmental Impact Statement
HH	Household
HRAF	Human Relations Area Files
HSS	Health and Social Services (NSB)
HUD	Housing and Urban Development
ICAS	Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope
IWC	International Whaling Commission
IRA	Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 as extended to Alaska in 1936
MJP	Mayor's Job Program
MMS	Minerals Management Service
MTv	Music Television Network
NANA	Northwest Alaska Native Association
NSB	North Slope Borough
NSBSD	North Slope Borough School District
Ocs	Outer Continental Shelf
OEO	Office of Equal Opportunity
PHO	Point Hope
Pso	Public Safety Officer
PTL	Point Lay
RELI	Rural Employment and Living Improvements

SAC	School Advisory Council
SAR	Search and Rescue
SCBA	Self-Contained Breathing Apparatus
TAPS	Trans-Alaska Pipeline System
TDY	Temporary Duty Assignment
TLUI	Point Lay Traditional Land Use Inventory
UIC	Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation (Barrow)
USFWS	United States Fish and Wildlife Service
USDOI	United States Department of the Interior
USDW	Utilities and School District Warehouse Combined Facility
USGS	United States Geological Survey
VCR	Videocassette Recorder
VHS	(A specific VCR tape format)
VISTA	Volunteers In Service To America

PREFACE

The objective of the Point Lay Case Study is to provide detailed baseline information on one of the least known communities of the North Slope within a framework that will inform the analysis of **sociocultural** dynamics in all communities of the North Slope. To this end, a comparative component with certain aspects of Point Hope was designed into the project. This not only allows for the desired direct comparison, but also provides another set of criteria by which to judge the “typicality” of Point Lay for the discussion of general North Slope social dynamics. Good information is also available in this regard from The Nulit Case Study (Galginaitis et al. 1985) and The Wainwright Case Study (Luton 1985), as well as various multicomunity reports which contain less detail.

Organization of the Research

As a case study, field research was a vital element of the project. Such **ethnographies** have in the past usually involved a continuous year or more of fieldwork so that the researcher can experience the “yearly round” (and also have a better chance of learning about the community). Resources were not sufficient to make this a feasible option for the Point Lay case study, especially as changes over time and the development of a monitoring methodology to track such changes was also a consideration. Thus, the project should ideally take place over a period of time longer than a year. The accommodation reached with these requirements was that field research was conducted in several different periods, at different times of the year. This allowed the researchers to observe many (but not all) parts of the yearly round as well as evaluate the adequacy of their observations for monitoring from one period of observation to the **next**. Fieldwork in Point Lay was conducted in three phases - September 1987 through early January 1988, March 1988 through June 1988, and April 1989 through May 1989. This research was conducted by a single researcher who was also in Point Hope for part of the September 1987 and June 1988 periods. Less field time was devoted to Point Hope, and was primarily the responsibility of a second researcher. He was in Point Hope for all or portions of September 1987, November through December 1987, March through April 1988, and April 1989.

In addition, the Alaska Department of Fish & Game (**Sverre Pedersen**) conducted a subsistence survey in Point Lay in January of 1988, the results of which were written up as part of this project. This is part of the data discussed in the subsistence section below. Yvonne **Yarber** also participated in the project and prepared, with the help of her informants, the oral (auto) biographies which appear as a second volume to the technical report. **More** detail on that aspect of the project can be found in the introduction to that volume.

Community Samples

Point Lay was chosen because of the lack of previous work there, the likelihood of oil exploration occurring nearby in the near future, and the potential impact that such exploration (and possible development) would have on a community as small as

Point Lay. The characterization of Point Lay which follows in this document is based on a total sample of the community, which was one advantage of its small size. One disadvantage of Point Lay's small size is that it can not be considered an exemplar of North Slope **Inupiat** communities in general (and there is some evidence that Point Lay itself is affected in unpredictable ways by factors related to its size - sudden shifts in demographic characteristics, certain key people leaving town, and so on). In many ways Point Lay is an extreme case of North Slope community dynamics, and so illuminates other communities even as it contrasts with them. In other cases Point Lay seems atypical. We have tried to make these distinctions in the report which follows, but trust that the reader will also make a concerted effort to place Point Lay within its North Slope context.

Many fewer resources were devoted to our work in Point Hope than to the work in Point Barrow. As may be expected, since Point Hope is by far the larger of the two communities, our statements about Point Hope are not based on a total sample of that community. Rather, we had to work with a limited number of people. To enable the reader to evaluate the Point Hope portion of our work, we will here discuss the problems of sampling in Point Hope (and the North Slope) and from whom we actually derived our Point Hope information.

There are perhaps three types or classes of informants to discuss in Point Hope. Key community informants were our prime source of information about the formal organization and dynamics of the community, and were among the first people we spoke with. Key people are usually readily identifiable and accessible even to those unfamiliar with the village. We also wanted to talk with a cross-section of village residents about a variety of topics which for lack of a better term can be labeled "**household** dynamics." We tried to characterize household composition and any patterning in change in composition, household participation in subsistence activities and wage labor, and similar attributes. We were also interested in household kinship networks in Point Hope and concentrated on three such networks for somewhat more detailed description.

The first, key community informants, were sampled at or close to one hundred percent. These are people who occupy important and/or central local positions -- the mayor, council members, corporation officials, the heads of various NSB departments in the village, the post master, whaling captains (for whom we had less than a fifty percent opportunistic sample), the village coordinator, representatives to various NSB advisory committees, tribal council activists, ICAS representatives, store managers and owners, contractors, school staff, and so on. In most cases these interviews were about those topics of most obvious concern to that individual in his or her official capacity. In many cases, where a person occupied multiple positions or responsibilities this required that we prioritize topics since any one interview is limited in length. Many (perhaps most) key people were interviewed more than once, and many were encountered in less formal and more unfocused social situations as well, and so contributed to a wide range of informational areas.

The population cross-section sample was problematic for a number of reasons. Even though the NSB was going to conduct a household survey in Point Hope, no recent listing of households was available to us. Thus it proved very difficult to define the sampling universe. On the other hand, we could (at least approximately)

characterize the sampling universe from past aggregated data and the soon-to-be completed NSB census. We could then characterize our sample to see how representative was (in rough terms). The NSB 1988 census counted 126 **Inupiat** and 18 **non-Inupiat** households in Point Hope. By the end of our research for this project, we had talked with individuals from about forty three percent of the **Inupiat** households and a somewhat smaller percentage of non-Inupiat households. This was in a variety of contexts and detailed household information was not obtained in each case, but qualitative categorical data were usually available. In any event, this group appears quite representative of Point Hope in terms of most population and economic characteristics as described by the preliminary findings of the NSB 1988 census, except that larger households may be somewhat overrepresented. This appears to have resulted from a relatively low **level** of researcher contact with single-person households and young households with four or fewer members. Children, teenagers, and young **adults** are seriously underrepresented in our Point Hope information. We did make a serious effort to contact teenagers about topics such as school, growing up in Point Hope, and anything they would wish to talk about, but we can not claim that our information in this regard is systematically collected or representative of the whole.

The household network sample was clearly not drawn randomly, nor was it completely opportunistic. Rather, once the research was well underway and we had gained some familiarity with Point Hope (and vice versa), the organization and operation of certain household networks could not be missed. We simply chose three which represented the range present in the village, from quite large to very small. All contained households within which the researchers felt comfortable, which was one criteria for their selection. This was not the only criteria, however, and we **feel** the discussion developed does represent the scope and scale of household networks in Point Hope.

Organization of the Report

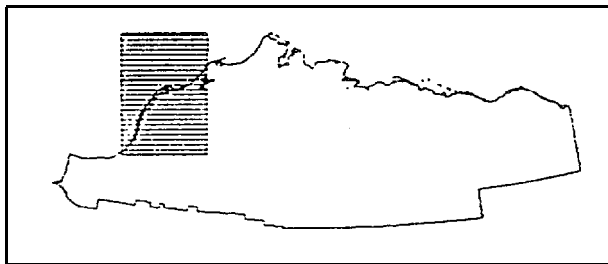
The report itself is divided into topical sections. The first sketches the historical background of the area. This gives way to a description of contemporary Point Lay, primarily in terms of population and households. This is followed by a discussion of kinship in Point Lay and Point Hope.

The next several sections discuss other sorts of institutions, Voluntary organizations in Point Lay and Point Hope are briefly described, and then a treatment of historical and contemporary religious institutions is developed. This **leads** to an exploration of leadership, concentrating on Point Lay case materials. More formal social control (involving the Department of Public Safety) is then discussed. A section on values, especially as they display continuity with the past, follows and draws heavily on material from Point Hope. This is integrated with Point Lay material as **well**. This is followed by a section discussing **sociocultural** change, for which the preceding section is clearly pertinent. Major subsections treat ethnic relations, the effects of television and other media, and the school system. The important topics of language and socialization are then each given a separate section.

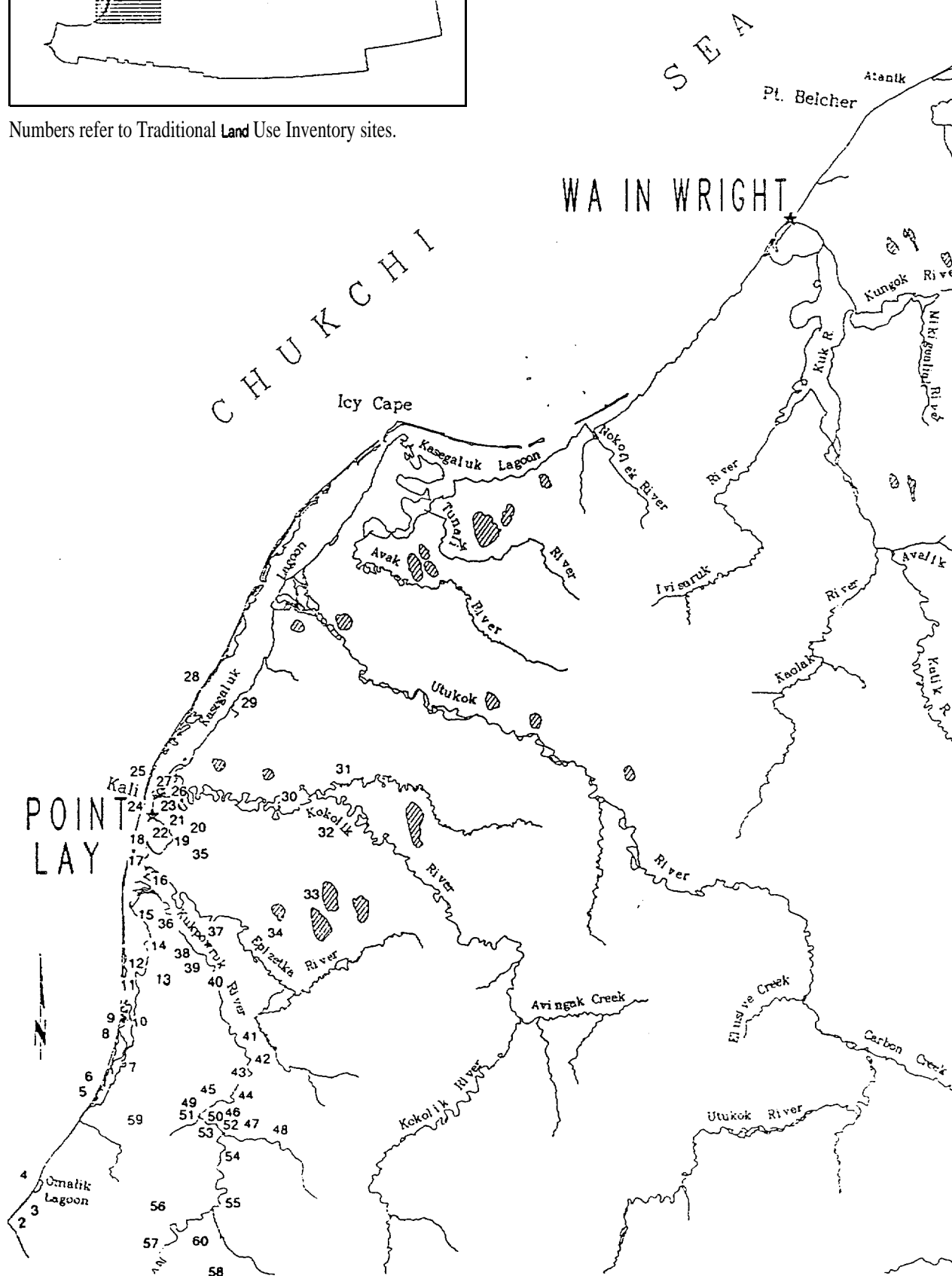
The wage sector of Point Lay's economy is then described in some detail, with similar but less detailed information provided for Point Hope. Contemporary subsistence in Point Lay is then described in some detail. This makes use of work done in Point Lay for the project by Sverre Pedersen as well as by the principal researcher. This is followed by a section specifically comparing Point Lay and Point Hope.

MAP PRODUCTION North Slope Borough Planning Department,
Geographic Information System Division, 508 W. 2nd Ave.
Suite 316, Anchorage, Alaska 99501 (907) 279-9505

DATE: October 03, 1989

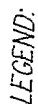


Numbers refer to Traditional Land Use Inventory sites.



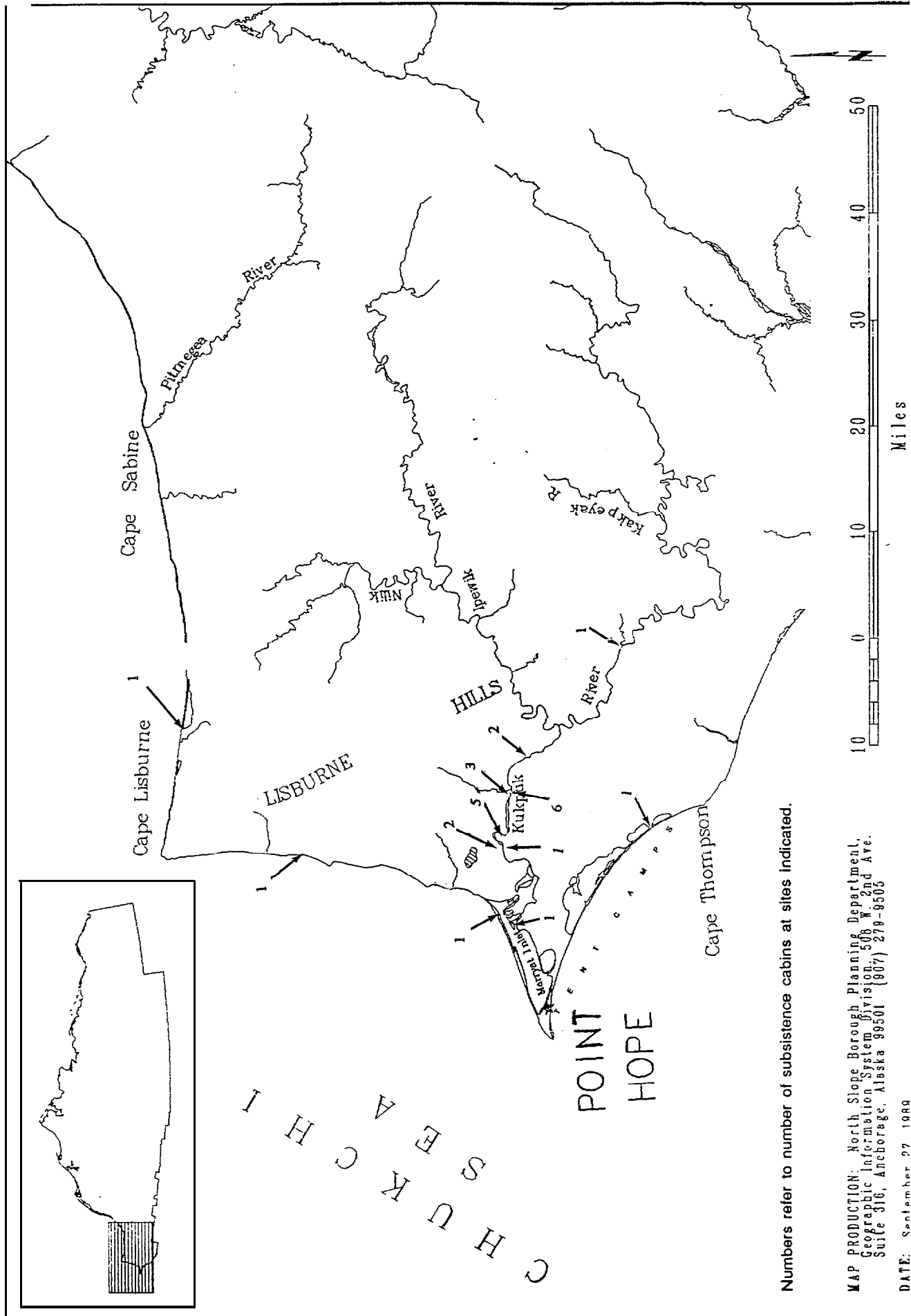
Adapted from NSB Planning Department, GIS map.
September 28, 1989.
Impact Assessment, Inc.

xxxiii

NSB REAL PROPERTY

1. Central Dial Office
2. Vehicle Maint./Warm Storage
3. Water Treatment Facility
4. Generator Plant
5. Construction Camp
6. Community Center
7. Fire Station
8. Elementary & High School Complex
9. School Play Structure
10. Health Clinic

NSB Planning Dept.
Geographic Information System
June 1988

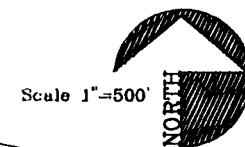


LEGEND:

NSB REAL PROPERTY

1. Four Plex
2. Mobil Equipmen t Stor.
3. Housing Maint. Fat.
4. Sr. Citizens Center
5. Elem. & High Sch. Complex
6. Sch. Gymnasium & Pool
7. Sch. Voc Ed./Shop
8. Portable Classrm. #1
9. Portable Classrm. #2
10. Portable Classrm. #4
11. Portable classrm. #5
12. Generator Plant "
13. School Garage
14. Water Treatment Fat.
15. Sewage Pumping Fat.
16. Health Clinic
17. Public Safety Office
18. Fire Station
19. Central Dial Office/CA TV Headend Fat.
20. Old Generator Plant
21. City Hall
22. Airport Terminal
23. Daycare Center
24. U.S.D.W.

PT. HOPE, ALASKA



Scale 1"=500'

AXXX

NSB Planning Dept.
Geographic Information System
Nov 1988

Airport Terminal #22
2 Miles West

INTRODUCTION

The need of the Minerals Management Service to understand the dynamics of change has spawned the use of several methodological approaches, including econometric modeling (Knapp et al., 1986), systems analysis (Impact Assessment 1982a, **1982b; Palinkas**, Harris, and Petterson 1985), quantitative analyses of social indicators (**Berger** and Associates 1983; HRAF ongoing), and methodologies designed to monitor institutional change (**Smythe** and **Worl**, 1985; Impact Assessment 1985, 1987a, 1987 b). One of the most durable methodologies for studying the dynamics of change, however, has been the ethnographic case study. Examples from past MMS studies include **Ellanna** (1980), Impact Assessment (1983a, 1983 b), **Galginaitis** et al. (1984), and Little and Robbins (1984).

It is well recognized that many of the changes which have occurred in rural Alaska over the past fifteen to twenty years are a direct or indirect result of oil-related development, particularly in near- and on-shore environments of Alaska's North Slope. Thus, a very broad-based examination of change in rural Alaska is required in order to understand the diverse consequences and **multicausal** nature of recent changes.

This report is an ethnographic case study of the community of Point Lay, located on the northwest coast of Alaska, by the Chukchi Sea. The Point Lay Case Study has three objectives. The first is to provide an ethnographic description and analysis of the dynamics of change in the North Slope community of Point Lay. The second objective is to provide a comparative analysis involving other communities, in particular, Point Hope, in order to determine the extent to which conditions in Point Lay are paradigmatic of change in other North Slope Borough (**NSB**) communities. The third objective is to illustrate and examine changes in life styles and life cycles occurring in this region of Alaska over the last half-century.

"TRADITIONAL" INUPIAT SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In this section, we present a model of the fundamental features of coastal north Alaska Eskimo society as it existed in the nineteenth century as a context from which to discuss issues that affect Eskimo society today.

The research bibliography of published and unpublished materials on Eskimos is extensive, and it is not possible, appropriate, or relevant to cover it all here. Nor is it possible or profitable at this time to independently research first-hand ethnographic and ethnohistoric materials that may be scattered in museums, ships' logs, or in some cases other documentary archives, and which might have some additional information directly relevant to the **ethnohistory** of the Point Lay region. At the moment, the best general bibliographic source on Eskimo materials is the volume on the arctic (Volume 5) in the Smithsonian Institution's Handbook of North American Indians (**Damas** 1984), an essential reference work for any study of the north Alaska Native peoples. **Oswalt** (1967:234-35) notes that there are serious gaps in the ethnographic and **ethnohistorical** literature on the **Tareumiut**, among which is included the people of the Point Hope and Point Lay regions. **Tareumiut** is a word denoting "people of the sea," formerly used to designate collectively the entire subgroup of coastal north Alaska **Inupiat** from east of Point Barrow to the region of Point Hope. It is contrasted with Nunamiut, a word denoting "people of the land," a collective name that designates all the caribou-hunting peoples of the north Alaska interior (Spencer **1984a:279-80**). [For a listing of Eskimo "tribes" and a map showing their distribution, see **Oswalt**(1967:2-10), **Damas** (1984).] Spencer (1984 **b:337**) provides a

capsule annotated bibliography on north Alaska Eskimo materials. The best early materials on north Alaska Eskimos -- Murdoch (1892) and Nelson (1899) -- are of necessity heavily concerned with technological culture. Murdoch deals with Point Barrow, Nelson with **Unaligmiut** (Yupik-speakers of the Norton Sound area). **Oswalt's** summary (1967: 145-74) of traditional Eskimo technologies provides a good introduction to the topic of Native technologies, including an account (1967:157-66) dealing specifically with the **Tareumiut**. The most complete account of changing patterns of kinship and alliance among the north Alaska Eskimo is Burch (1975), but **Guemple** (1972) has also made some significant contributions. VanStone (1962) and **Burch (1981)** are both essential works on the traditional culture and history of Point Hope.

Despite the extensiveness of the literature on the Eskimo, the framework for describing and assessing the effects of economic and social change on Eskimo society has remained fundamentally consistent from Spencer's 1959 work to the 1984 **Damas** volume. Recent **ethnohistorical** researches elsewhere in North America and in the world have demonstrated that **acculturative** processes are complex and multidimensional, and that any consistency of interpretation is usually historically inaccurate. As **ethnohistorical** research on the arctic increases, the consensus that currently applies to the Eskimo materials is unlikely to remain unchallenged, and we can expect an increased debate about patterns of **acculturative** change among the Eskimo of north Alaska. [For further discussion of these points as they relate to Alaska Eskimo, see Chance (1984); for discussion of these issues in the larger Native North American context, see Washburn (1988), **Yerbury** (1986), Swagerty (1984), and Krech (1984).]

Since without question northwest Alaska was the site of the earliest human emigrations to the western hemisphere, it is remarkable that only a decade ago Spencer was able to complain (**1977:63**) that surprisingly little was known of arctic archaeological history. He noted that although people have lived in the arctic for perhaps 30,000-40,000 years, there are wide gaps in the prehistoric chronology. Extensive archaeological research on the arctic in the last decade has partially remedied the situation, but there are **still** significant gaps in the chronology of Eskimo **prehistory**.

The Point Lay Traditional Land Use Inventory (**TLUI**, unpublished), produced by the NSB Commission on History and Culture, is currently the most complete list of prehistoric and historic sites pertaining to Point Lay. A subset of these sites is more fully documented in **Neakok** et al. (1985), the fundamental resource guide to archaeological materials in the Point Lay area. The sites from the Point Lay **TLUI** are listed in Appendix A, with numbers referencing them to the accompanying map, (For a discussion of general **Inupiat** archaeology, see pages 17-20.)

The consensus among many archaeologists today is that what we now think of as Eskimo culture appeared about 2,000-3,000 years ago, developing out of a longer tradition of primarily land-oriented hunters and gatherers. However, the origins of a maritime orientation can be traced in some areas at least to 8000 **B.P.** An increased focus on maritime resources shows up in the last 2,000-4,500 years of Eskimo **prehistory**. Whales, seals, and walrus were the most important maritime foods. Caribou and fish remained as important food sources. Evidence for whaling appears first in a site on Cape **Krusenstern** dated at about 3400 **B.P.** (Anderson **1984:85**), but in other areas -- including the **Ipiutak** sites near Point Hope -- whaling is a much more recent development (Anderson **1984:88-89, 90**).

The general resource base of north Alaska Eskimo society has remained remarkably consistent during much of the aboriginal and early historical periods. In many

areas, pinnipeds (seals, sea lions, and in some areas walrus) were probably the most important source of food. Walrus meat was used primarily to feed dogs. The specialized techniques of whaling are possibly an extension of seal hunting techniques, and like the specialized techniques of caribou hunting, probably represent a relatively late development out of a more general arctic hunting and fishing tradition that is of great antiquity (Anderson **1984:85**). Few plants were used for food, although many were used for medicines, chemical preparations, and in artifacts and other manufactures.

The persistence of Eskimo culture in prehistoric times is further evidenced by the pattern of development in house structures. Eskimo winter houses in the western arctic have been semisubterranean for at least the last 2,000 years (Anderson **1984:85**). These houses display a long tunnel entrance, have a bench across the rear of the living space, and are constructed of wood or whalebone framing covered with sod and lined with skins. Summer dwellings, made of less durable materials, are more poorly represented in the archaeological record, but fishcamps and other sites seem to indicate a long tradition of using skins for tents in summer. The archaeological record also indicates a wide array of tools designed for the specialized hunting and living conditions of the arctic.

Two significant precursors to historical Eskimo culture in the north Alaska region are the related cultures known as Birnirk (approximately **A.D.** 500) and (western) **Thule** (approximately **A.D.** 1000), both of which are represented in sites at Point Barrow and Point Hope, as well as at coastal sites elsewhere. "From the **Birnirk** period onward, the cultural continuity of the arctic peoples into the twentieth century is clear" (Anderson 1984:91). Birnirk technology, which is thought to have been a diffusion either from Asia or the Bering Strait area, is indicative of intensified sea mammal exploitation (both on the open sea and on the ice), the hunting of caribou using bows and arrows, and a reformulation of the entire material culture of food-getting and processing (Anderson **1984:90**). At Point Barrow there is evidence of a reintroduction of whale hunting after a gap of nearly five centuries.

One of the most significant developments of Eskimo prehistory was the growth and diffusion of a new tool tradition, with its associated cultural features, known as **Thule** culture, which developed out of the Birnirk tradition. Even though named after its type-site in the eastern arctic, **Thule** culture evolved in the western arctic by about **A.D.** 1000-1250, and judging by its tool inventory and the **faunal** remains in **Thule** sites, gave increased importance and efficacy to sea mammal hunting. Elements of **Thule** culture widely diffused among Eskimo groups across the entire maritime arctic.

Western **Thule** sites reflect a broad economic base, including whaling, sealing, and caribou hunting. These cooperative hunting tasks necessitated social forms that generated temporary task-specific labor forces. Anderson (1984:92) notes that the size and type of **Thule** dwellings is directly related to the presence or absence of whales and thus of the resource potential of an area. In sites with whaling, the size and density of the community increased; in communities where whales had once appeared but were no longer present, settlements tended towards sparsely populated sites of single-room dwellings. Beginning in the seventeenth century, there was an expansion of coastal Eskimo into the interior.

The hunting of great whales was possible only at a few sites favorably placed near the path of whale migration and where the offshore waters had the depth that the whales favored. Over much of the coast north of Point Hope, the nearshore waters along the arctic slope are too shallow for whales. It is for this reason that **Oswalt**

(1967:143) feels that the original Eskimo tradition in late prehistoric times was a balance of sea mammal/land mammal hunting, and that economic specializations developed in areas where a balance between the two **biota** was not possible. Other authors also consider that the arctic small tool tradition indicates a culture founded on economic diversity, and that any specialization probably represents a splitting away from the original diversified tradition.

The survival of the Eskimo was dependent on their exploitation of many different sources of food, each of which was locally or seasonally restricted. The best concise description of Eskimoan biotic province is by **Oswalt** (1967:17-20), who gives a listing and distribution of critical species and a comparison of ecological zones across the Alaskan region. For a more detailed summary of the ecological features of the general area of which Point Lay is a part, see **Wilimovsky** and Wolfe (1966).

Two general categories of food and material resources were most important for the coastal Eskimo. The first consisted of resources derived from marine or freshwater life, especially whales, seals, sea lions, sea birds, and fish. The second consisted of resources derived from land animals, most importantly caribou, but also including birds, small mammals, and bears, as well as some **vegetal** foods and materials. Eskimos did not necessarily utilize all potential food sources in their **ecozone**. Some potential food sources, such as small rodents and moss, seem not to have been eaten, except under extremely adverse conditions. Those resources which they did focus upon usually were heavily exploited.

The most important determining characteristics of a locality's usage by the Eskimo was its **microenvironmental** features. The most critical of those **microenvironmental** features included conditions of sea ice formation, river drainage, characteristics of the terrain, openness to winds and currents, and **northerliness**, all of which affect the patterns of ice formation and breakup (and the ease of physical access to resource areas). These features dictate the presence or absence of specific fauna in the area, give each site its character, and define its **role** in the larger scheme of economic activity. Even within a local **microenvironmental** area, species may be restricted to extremely narrow zones (see Johnson et al. 1966).

Survival in the arctic demanded a balancing of marine and terrestrial resources, and **likely would** not have been possible in the absence of a large-scale regional network for trade and exchange. Many terrestrial animals of the arctic do not possess enough dietary fat in their meat to provide the caloric intake and nutritional elements needed for human survival under arctic conditions. Interior peoples who hunted caribou as their primary food source of necessity had to obtain fat from sea mammals and fatty fish if they were to survive (**Oswalt 1967:133-34**). According to **Oswalt** (1967:121), fish seem to have comprised about 10% of the **Nunamiut** diet. **Marine-**oriented coastal Eskimo had to obtain caribou skins for tenting and clothing since they are far more effective insulators and more easily worked than the skins of marine mammals (**Oswalt 1967:135, 137-39**). Coastal Eskimo also lacked the variety of foodstuffs and materials that could be obtained in the interior regions (**Oswalt 1967: 132-37**). The exchange of interior and coastal products is well documented in the late archaeological record as well as throughout the **ethnohistorical** record.

Every Eskimo habitation or utilization site had its own particular combination of primary and secondary resources, and the people exploiting them had a likelihood of survival directly dependent on the availability of those specific **local** resources, which were different from that even of nearby communities. Resources that were reliable on a seasonal or yearly basis provided a measure of economic security that was not possible where the resource was more ephemeral or unreliable. The mix of

resources in a particular group's territory gave them a measure of success that would have been different from that of any other community.

Across the entire Alaska region, there is a clear association of the local availability of specific types of food and the level of political organization.

Oswalt, who discusses this topic at some length, argues (1967:24) that Alaskan groups whose larder was filled primarily through fishing -- particularly for salmon among the Eskimo and Indian groups of southern and southwestern Alaska -- had what was probably the most stable food supply. These groups also had the most formally structured political organization in the area. Although sea mammal hunting is generally reliable, it does not provide the same stable basis as fishing. Coastal localities with access to great whales had an improved productivity over localities where there was no such access. Caribou hunting comprised the least productive and least reliable resource base.

The variety of social groups created as the result of these fluctuating and differential exigencies of adaptation makes it very difficult to discuss Eskimo precepts about group identity and organization. Much of the **ethnohistorical** literature prior to the 1960s treats the Eskimo groups as tribes. However, for the last 30 years, the consensus has been that such tribal designations overemphasize differences among local groups and underemphasize the fluidity of membership and the network of interrelations among these groups that blurs any "tribal" distinctions.

Oswalt's discussion and summation of Eskimo "tribal identity" remains widely accepted (**Oswalt 1967:2-1 O**). Eskimo groups and communities occasionally may have had names for themselves and some sense of common cultural identity and local residential persistence, but such names should not be taken as incontrovertible evidence of some political identity (**Burch 1975a:10-1 3**). Because of the necessity for population dispersal, the cyclical fluctuation inherent in Eskimo residence patterns, and the relatively low population density, it is probably most accurate to say that there were no real Eskimo "tribes" in north Alaska. Certainly, each group or village had its own sense of identity, which would have been reinforced by the existing pattern of village endogamy, but villages were comprised of kinship segments whose extension to kinship segments in other communities transcended any political identification with a **local** political entity. As Spencer states (1984 **b:323**): ". . . there was some sense of community, some notion of locality and local origins, but clearly, no sense of broader political or necessarily of territorial affiliation,"

Eskimo groups were concentrated into small enclaves, with a focus on local geography and adaptation to local resources and their fluctuations; clearly, a person's familiarity with an area is likely to improve his ability to utilize its specific resources, a force which would have promoted some population stability. Group size was primarily dependent on resource availability and would have fluctuated in response to changes in local resources as **well** as to other factors.

TRANSITIONAL ERA: CONTACT -1880

The following **timeline** is presented to assist the reader in following the chronology of significant events in the **postcontact** era for Point Lay and Point Hope.

Timeline Point Lay, Alaska

1867	Alaska purchased from Russia by the United States -- Treaty of Cession
1884	Organic Act, making Alaska a District with appointed governor and other officials
late 1800s	Whalers come to the North Slope
1886	Charles Brewer establishes Cape Smythe Whaling and Trading Company
1887	Dawes Allotment Act
1890	School established in Point Hope (Dr. John B. Driggs) -- in Barrow and Wales as well
early 1900	Medical boats start coming to the North Start of traders coming to the North -- Petterson ship often comes to Point Lay area for trading
1900	The <i>North Star</i> starts bringing outside material goods
1904	Wainwright established, school built
1906	Government school at Icy Cape established (F.F. Fellows) Native Allotment Act
1912	Alaska becomes a territory with a two-house legislature Alaska Brotherhood founded in Sitka
1913	School at Icy Cape closes
1924	Citizenship Act extends citizenship to all Alaska Natives
1925	Missionaries start school at Icy Cape
1926	Native Townsite Act
about 1926	Flood at Icy Cape -- school closes
late 1920s	Missionaries -- Quakers and Presbyterian -- arrive at Icy Cape
1920-1930	TB epidemic: missionaries, teachers, doctors, and traders the probable disease vector
1929-1932	Point Lay Day School built
1929	Fred Forslund builds store at the 'Old Side' village site on the spit
1930	Flu epidemic at Point Lay
1934	Indian Reorganization Act (IRA)

1936	Indian Reorganization Act extended to Alaska
1930-1950	Reindeer herding
1944-1953	Exploration and construction in the Naval Petroleum Reserve
1946	Adoption by election of the constitution and bylaws of the Native Village of Point Lay in Point Lay, Alaska under the IRA as extended to Alaska
1947	Mount Edgumbe School in Sitka opens
1953	Geophysical Camps open over the North Slope Whooping cough in Point Lay
1954	Measles in Point Lay Distant Early Warning Line (DEW Line) station construction starts near Point Lay
1955	DEW Line facility near Point Lay becomes operational Airplane runway built
1958	Many people leave Point Lay because of inability to cope with the vast changes happening so rapidly with the construction of DEW Line School closes down First North Slope federal leases granted Alaska Statehood Act
1959	Alaska becomes a state William A. Egan is elected the first governor of Alaska
1960	Snow machines introduced to the North Slope, making it easier for Point Lay people settled in other villages to travel through Point Lay area Arctic National Wildlife Refuge set aside
1961	Inupiat Paitot (People's Heritage) formed on the North Slope in Barrow, under the auspices of the Association of American Indian Affairs (AAIA) -- Issues include Project Chariot near Point Hope, the Barrow duck-in and subsistence hunting regulation, and the formation of a Native organ of opinion
1962	First issue of the <u>Tundra Times</u> published. Howard Rock, native to Point Hope, first editor and publisher.
1964	Second federal lease sale on the North Slope First state lease sale on the North Slope
1965	Second state lease sale on the North Slope (including Prudhoe Bay discovery area) Inception of the Office of Equal Opportunity (OEO) in Alaska Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) appears in Alaska
1966	Alaska Legal Services, Inc. (ALS) established, funded by OEO Arctic Slope Native Association (ASNA) formed in Barrow Alaska Federation of Natives Association (AFNA) formed in Anchorage

1967	Third state lease sale on the North Slope Prudhoe Bay oil discovery
1967	AFNA reorganized into Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) -- more centralized First introduction in Congress of a form of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) First diesel stove brought to Point Lay (wood and coal previously)
1970	ASNA announces its withdrawal from AFN over benefit distribution plan --
1971	Land Claims Act was passed Enrollment in Point Lay Village Corporation (Cully): 88 Enrollment in Point Hope Village Corporation (Tigara): 500
1971	Establishment of Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope (ICAS) --63 people claim Point Lay as their place of residence
1972	Group of snow machines from Barrow and Wainwright move first group of people and possessions to Point Lay North Slope Borough incorporated
1973-1974	Digicon first does seismic work in Point Lay
1974	North Slope Borough School District (NSBSD) establishes a school in Point Lay in the old school house, A teacher is brought in from Fairbanks Hercules aircraft land with materials for New Village North Star comes with materials for New Village and supplies
1975	New Village houses completed Digicon seismic crew returns
1976	School completed in New Side Permanent electricity established Corporation enters housing venture
1978	Point Lay gets telephone Last active dogteam in Point Lay Relocation of Point Hope to new site begins
1979	Plans to once again move village by NSB
1980	Actual construction for move to site near DEW Line begins Murder of three people Permanent Public Safety Officer (PSO) assigned to Point Lay
1982-1983	Community Building built
1983	New Health Clinic completed New school completed
1987-1988	Public Safety facility built

Time Line Point Hope, Alaska*

ca. 400 B.C.	Earliest evidence for occupation of Point Hope proper -- Norton culture
ca. A.D. 400	Occupation of Point Hope area by Ipiutak peoples
ca. A.D. 700	Occupation of Point Hope area by Birnirk peoples
ca. A.D. 1400	Occupation of Point Hope area by Late Prehistoric (Thule or Tigara) peoples
1800	Estimated population of Point Hope area is 1,342 Six qalgis in Tikigaq
1820	G.S. Shishmaref lands at Tikigaq
1826	Point Hope observed and named by Capt. F.W. Beechy
1848	First whaling ship passes Point Hope
1850	Population of Point Hope is 854 people living in 122 households
1865	Muzzle loaders first appear Serious measles epidemic
1869	Whalers start taking walrus due to decline in bowhead
1870	Use of steel traps begins
1875	End of Traditional Period (according to Burch 1981) Attungoruk begins rise to power Some residents go to Icy Cape to trade for caribou skins

*Note: This time line is abstracted from *The Nuvuk News*, Issue #7, March 1987, prepared by **Lynne** Fullerton and Edwin Hall and published by Edwin Hall and Associates. It is to be published in the work entitled "Inherited From the Ancestors: The Point Hope Cultural Resource Site Survey" that is currently being prepared by Hubert and Ida **Koonuk**, **Carol** Omnik, David **Libbey**, and Edwin S. Hall, Jr. Primary references used in their preparation of this table include **Bockstoce** 1977, 1986; **Bockstoce** and **Botkin** 1982; **Burch** 1981; Foote 1961; Foote and Williamson 1966; Lowenstein 1981; **Maguire** 1854; Marquette and **Bockstoce** 1980; **Rainey** 1947; Shikwin 1978; VanStone 1962 and transcripts from the 1986 cultural resource site survey.

- 1880** Breech-loading weapons in general use
Population of Point Hope is 276
Four **qalgis** in **Tikigaq**
Five bowhead whales taken
- 1882 Estimated 8-10 active whaling crews
- 1885 Two Point Hope men work on American whaler
Charles Brewer member of Point Hope whaling crew
Twelve bowhead whales taken
- 1886** Failure of subsistence resources and starvation in Point Hope
- 1887 First onshore whaling station established near Point Hope **by Bayne**
Over next 20 years Allen, **Kelley, Tuckfield**, and others establish
stations at Beacon Hill, Jabbertown, and Sinyak
- 1888 **Bayne** teaches **Attungoruk** how to distill alcohol
Twelve bowhead whales taken
- 1889 Attungoruk killed
Last large herd of caribou encountered inland by hunting party
Eighteen bowhead whales taken
- 1890** **Driggs** establishes Episcopal Church mission
Population of Point Hope is 295
Approximately 150 people move to Point Lay, Barrow, and elsewhere due
to food shortage
One bowhead whale taken
- 1891 Eight bowhead whales taken
- 1892 More Point Hope residents move to Barrow to whale commercially
Schooner **Nicoline** to **Marryatt** Inlet to serve as trading and shore-based
whaling station
No bowhead whales taken
- 1893 Gale hits Point Hope, causing residents to flee flooding
One store or trading post each at Point Hope and Jabbertown
Thirteen bowhead whales taken
- 1894** Two Point Hope men sent to Teller to learn reindeer herding
Reported that only 3 or 4 houses in Point Hope did not have a still
Three bowhead whales taken
- 1897 25-30 houses occupied at **Tikigaq**
Thirty-two bowhead whales taken
- 1898 Thirteen shore-based whaling stations in the vicinity of Point Hope
put out 70 crews
Two bowhead whales taken

1899	Bureau of Education contracts with Episcopal Church for establishment of school in Point Hope
1900	Fifteen whaling stations in the vicinity of Point Hope Inupiat from inland and to the south join the spring whaling in Point Hope Driggs performs first Christian baptism and marriage Population of Point Hope area is 623; increase attributable to influx resulting from shore whaling Population of Jabbertown approx. 200 Inupiat and 24 whalemen , including American whites and blacks, Irish, Germans, Japanese, Portuguese, and Cape Verdeans
1901	One bowhead whale taken
1902	Major measles epidemic Two bowhead whales taken
1903	Estimated number of active whaling crews is 60 Four bowhead whales taken; 1 struck and lost
1904	Construction of government school at Jabbertown begun, operated separately from Mission school. Relocated to Point Hope in 1920s One bowhead whale taken
1905	Estimated only one active whaling crew Two bowhead whales taken
1906	Cheap substitute for baleen found; whaling declines Estimated only one active whaling crew Nine bowhead whales taken
1907	Whale hunt failed No bowhead whales taken
1908	Population of Point Hope is 168 people in 25 households Population at Beacon Hill is 44 people in 14 households Population of Jabbertown is 48 in 10 households All but one of semi-subterranean houses at Old Tigara abandoned Missionary Driggs replaced by Rev. Hoare Reindeer herd brought to Point Hope Whalebone market collapses Thirteen bowhead whales taken
1909	Estimated only one active whaling crew Thirteen bowhead whales taken

- 1910** Church persuades people to dismantle traditional scaffold burials and build cemetery enclosed with whale ribs
 Messenger Feast discontinued
 Jabbertown trading post closes
 First frame house built at Tikigaq
 Two **qalgis** in Tikigaq
 Population of Point Hope is 243
 Estimated number of active whaling crews is 22
 One bowhead whale taken
- 1911** Three bowhead whales taken
- 1912** Episcopal Mission house (Browning Hall) built
 Nine bowhead **whales** taken
- 1917** Estimated number of active whaling crews is 2
 Three bowhead whales taken; 3 struck and lost
- 1919** First Santa Claus seen in village
 Two bowhead whales taken
- 1920** Rev. Hoare shot by teacher at school
 Episcopal Church organizes village council to control village affairs
 Village store established; located first at Jabbertown
 Skin boat comes into extensive use for ice hunting
 Population of Point Hope is 141
 Three bowhead whales taken
- 1924** Bureau of Education takes over Point Hope **school** from Episcopal Church
 Estimated number of active whaling crews is **14**
 Sixteen bowhead whales taken; **1** struck and lost
- 1926** All Point Hope reindeer combined into one herd owned by joint stock company; count in June shows 4,100 animals
 Store reorganized and becomes Point Hope Reindeer and Trading Company and later Point Hope Trading Company
 Hospital built
 Thirteen bowhead whales taken
- 1927** First plane lands at Point Hope
 Three bowhead whales taken
- 1929** White fox pelts sell for \$50-55 but drop to \$5 in a few years
 Population of Point Hope is 139
- 1930** Ten square miles of village area set aside by Executive Order for educational purposes and use of resident population
- 1931** School transferred to Bureau of Indian Affairs (**BIA**)
 One bowhead whale taken
- 1932** 6,000 reindeer in Point Hope herd
- 1938** First radio in village

- 1939 Approximately 4,000 reindeer in combined Point Hope herd
Average family income is estimated at \$50
Total village income from Native products is \$3,290
Approximately six mail deliveries per year: by dog team from Kotzebue,
by air in spring, and by boat in summer
Population of Point Hope is 257
- 1940 Reindeer corral is moved from **Ayaqutaq** to Jabbertown
Village is chartered as corporation of the United States
Two scheduled air flights per year
Estimated number of whaling crews is 10-15
Five bowhead whales taken; 8 struck and lost
- 1943 Caribou numbers in region increase dramatically
Total village income from Native products is \$18,000
- 1945 Approximately 500 reindeer in combined Point Hope herd
Voting precinct established in Point Hope
Three bowhead whales taken
- 1946 Village takes over store and affiliates with Alaska Native Industries
Cooperative Association (**ANICA**)
Total wages earned by all Point Hope people is \$3,545
Two bowhead whales taken
- 1947 327 reindeer in combined Point Hope herd; returned to government
control
Board on Geographic Names chooses Point Hope as the name for the
village
Six bowhead whales taken
- 1948 Government-hired reindeer herder left herd to get supplies and
remaining 250 animals disappear
Average family income between \$500 and \$800
No bowhead whales taken
- 1949 Two scheduled air flights per month
Estimated number of active whaling crews is 4
Four bowhead whales taken
- 1950 Parent Teachers Association is formed
Population of Point Hope is 264
Estimated number of active whaling crews is 2
Two bowhead whales taken
- 1951 Construction work available on **Lisburne** DEW Line for 2 years
Estimated number of active whaling crews is 4
Four bowhead whales taken; 8-10 struck and lost
- 1952 Mothers Club is organized
Army base set up one mile east of village and is maintained for 2 years
Estimated number of active whaling crews is 2
Two bowhead whales taken; 3 killed and lost

- 1953 School adds 7th and 8th grades
Estimated number of active whaling crews is 3
Four bowhead whales taken
- 1954** Estimated number of active whaling crews is 2
Three bowhead whales taken
- 1955 Building of the Episcopal Mission moved to the village from one mile northeast
Generator from abandoned Army facility used to provide power to village
Show hall moved to village from Army base and used to show movies
Two scheduled air mail deliveries per week
Store purchased 3,000 seal skins
Estimated only one active whaling crew
One bowhead whale taken
- 1956 Population is 265, including 112 under the age of 15
Nearly half of population has active, inactive, or arrested TB
More than 400 dogs in village
Second store opens in village
Total wages earned in village is \$53,841
Estimated number of active whaling crews is 9
Two bowhead whales taken; 3 struck and lost
- 1957 Estimated number of active whaling crews is 3
Three bowhead whales taken
- 1958 Project Chariot studies begin in region
Total wages earned in village is \$109,732
Estimated only one active whaling crew
Two bowhead whales taken
- 1959 Three scheduled air mail deliveries per week
Total school enrollment is 82, excluding kindergarten
Estimated only one active whaling crew
One bowhead whale taken
- 1960 Ownership of **ANICA** store transferred to village after debt is retired
Four aircraft stationed in the village for sportsmen hunting polar bears
Twenty-seven men find employment outside of the village in summer
Assembly of God church established
National Guard Armory built
Total school enrollment is 92, excluding kindergarten
Population of Point Hope is 324
Estimated number of active whaling crews is 13
Four bowhead whales taken; 8 struck and lost
- 1961 Thirteen aircraft fly out of village looking for polar bear
Total school enrollment is 91, excluding kindergarten
Estimated number of active whaling crews is 13
Two bowhead whales taken; 2 struck and lost

1982 Population of Point Hope is 544
 Completion of the fire station
 Home telephones put in village
 Approximately 113 full-time jobs in the village
 162 housing units in the village
 Estimated number of active whaling crews is 16
 Bowhead quota for the village is 3
 One bowhead whale taken

Population in the Transitional Era

After contact, the flux of group formation and reformation must have intensified, since demographic patterns were substantially affected by both the increasing availability of resources from Euro-Americans and the effects of epidemic disease. Certainly the **postcontact** era was one in which Eskimo groups formed and reformed (often along kinship lines) in reaction to sudden and unforeseeable population changes. The present population of Barrow, for example, seems to have descended from interior groups who, by 1890, had for the most part replaced the original coastal Eskimo of the area after they had succumbed to epidemic disease (**Oswalt 1967:234-35**). Given the fact that the aboriginal population was extirpated by disease by 1890 and the area then resettled by inland Eskimo, **Oswalt** (1967:234-35) questions attestations of the unbroken continuity of Eskimo culture in Point Barrow. This may well apply to **postcontact** resettlement patterns throughout the entire north Alaska region.

Certainly, local and regional differences between north Alaska Eskimo groups existed, and could be noted in subtle differences in speech, clothing, and housing, as well as in many elements of cultural practice, so that the Eskimo could talk of different groups or at least of people from different areas. Unfortunately, many of the elements of differentiation and their patterns of diffusion were probably too subtle and ephemeral to have been recorded in the **ethnohistoric** literature. These differences did not prevent the wholesale interaction of Eskimo from across the north Alaska area and the Bering Sea areas, nor did it preclude the type of migration and relocation that seems an essential part of Eskimo life. Eskimo life involved a cycle in which concentrated but temporally circumscribed activity within an intensely familiar **local** hunting territory alternated with travel to widely dispersed and far more unfamiliar areas across the northwestern arctic.

Given the nomadic nature of Eskimo life, the type of co-identification of a group with a specific and limited territory possessed by many of the more sedentary Native North American peoples was not likely. Even if **aboriginally** there had been an intense identification of a local group with a "tribal" territory, much local identification dissipated by the end of the nineteenth century. Economic factors, discussed at length below, encouraged widespread relocations. A number of institutionalized practices also hastened the demise of any aboriginal territorial identifications. The breakup or at least reorganization of nuclear and extended families necessitated by the effects of introduced diseases was often further encouraged by the church. An important part of the **missionization** process involved inculcating Natives with non-Native values, some intimately related to family life. The sending of children to boarding schools away from their home villages and public health practices (particularly the widespread use of off-slope sanitariums for the treatment of tuberculosis) separated family members from one another. Families sometimes moved to the location of the schools and health facilities rather than be

- 1974 Estimated number of active whaling crews is 12
Six bowhead whales taken; 5 struck and **lost**; 1 **killed** and **lost**
- 1975 Total school enrollment is 135, excluding kindergarten
First-year high school is offered in Point Hope
Median family income is \$11,992
Last sod house is abandoned
Estimated number of active whaling crews is 13
Four bowhead whales taken; 13 struck and lost
- 1976 **Total** school enrollment is 127, excluding kindergarten
Estimated number of active whaling crews is **14**
Twelve bowhead whales taken; 12 struck and lost
- 1977 International Whaling Commission (**IWC**) votes to rescind Eskimo exemption from worldwide ban on bowhead hunting
Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission (**AEWC**) formed
Total school enrollment is 133, excluding kindergarten
Estimated number of active whaling crews is 15
Two bowhead whales taken; 11 struck and lost
- 1978 Movement of houses and other structures to new townsite begins
Television becomes available in the village
Health clinic built
Total school enrollment is 147, excluding kindergarten
Estimated number of active whaling crews is 15
One bowhead whale taken
- 1979 Construction of Tikigaq school begins
Completion **of** water delivery system
Completion of sewer system
Construction of heavy equipment storage building
Total school enrollment is 136, excluding kindergarten
Estimated number of active whaling crews is 16
Three bowhead whales taken
- 1980 Senior Citizens Center built
Median household income is \$23,929
Construction of electric power generator building
Total school enrollment is 133, excluding kindergarten
Population of Point Hope is 480
Estimated number of active whaling crews is 15
No bowhead whales taken
- 1981 Public Safety Building constructed
Total school enrollment is 131, excluding kindergarten
Estimated number of active whaling crews is 15
Bowhead quota for the village is 5
Four bowhead whales taken

their lifetimes. Many of these same dynamics can be observed on the North Slope today, although sometimes only in attenuated forms.

While today there is a concentration of population at a small number of communities, with large sections of the intervening area remaining fundamentally uninhabited, traditionally the land was dotted with **small** communities. All along the north Alaska area are the sites of villages, camps, and habitation sites that have been occupied and abandoned repeatedly in the course of Eskimo **prehistory** and history. Eskimo villages or quasi-permanent settlements had little political definition. Communities probably had little sense of political integrity: they were composed of shifting alliances of people and thus had changing memberships. Few Eskimo activities necessitated large-scale cooperation and a definition of common identity and purpose. People assembled to cooperate in whaling or caribou hunting, but usually there was little reason or occasion for people to have to work together. Kinship, real or fictive, was the primary basis for social interaction (see **Balikci** 1970). Kinship provided a network of ties through the villages and obviated the necessity of communal political institutions and governing bodies. Of course, the very ties that integrate one subgroup of people as an in-group also act to segment the population at another level. Given the context specificity of task groups defined in terms of bilateral kinship ties, it is likely that in difficult times -- especially in times of **intravillage** conflict or irreconcilable differences -- that villages fragmented rather than remained fictionalized. Chance (1966:52) summarizes the basic organizational principles in Eskimo society:

The core of traditional Eskimo social life centered around the individual's nuclear and extended family, a relationship continually reinforced by patterns of mutual aid and reciprocal obligation. Beyond this extended circle of kin, there existed other more voluntary associations, such as trading and joking partnerships, hunting groups, and the **karigi[qalgi]** or men's ceremonial dance and club houses. It was through participation in these latter institutions that the Eskimo developed a sense of identity with a particular settlement or village.

It is difficult to tell what the normal pattern for the relocation of families from one territory to another was. Eskimo individuals had freedom to choose where they wanted to live and with whom they wanted to be allied or associated, and the mobility to choose to leave or remain in an area independent of other members of their group. Despite their wanderings, it is likely that most people probably followed a restricted pattern of **seminomadism**, remaining in or returning to familiar territory along with a group of people to whom they were closely related (Spencer 1984 **b:323**), except when a lack of available resources made it impossible for them to do so (**Oswalt** 1967:1 18).

Oswalt further notes (1967:89-90) that although families might break off from a community for extended periods of isolation and independent activity, in general there was a tendency towards communality. He argues that since coastal food sources were generally more reliable and nutritionally more complete than inland food sources, members of the coastal groups of north Alaska Eskimo may have been more sedentary than those of the interior groups, who subsisted on migratory caribou herds. The **Tareumiut** had larger, more stable settlements than did the **Nunamiut**, composed at least partially of nonrelative. **Oswalt** (1967:90) tentatively deduces a population density for the **Tareumiut** of 2 people/square mile and 2 moves/year, with a

longest duration of 9 months in a single settlement. He notes that this provides a significant contrast to the case of the Nunamiut, who averaged 1 person/square mile, 4 moves/year, with 4 months being the longest residence in a settlement. The Nunamiut recognized that an isolated nuclear family was more likely to succeed economically than a cluster of families, but felt that the personal and social costs resulting from such isolation were too great. Amsden (1977) has since provided a more detailed analysis of Nunamiut settlement dynamics during the twentieth century that shows a population of 1 person/50 square miles (1977:281) and a frequency of moves that is greater than 4 times/year (1977:281-88).

The pattern of migration and settlement found in the **postcontact** era cannot be taken as directly replicating that of the **precontact** era. As the Eskimo population dropped significantly in the years following the advent of the whaling industry, Eskimo tended to settle in a few large coastal villages, notably **Kaktovik**, Barrow, **Wainwright**, and Point Hope. A scattering of people lived in other coastal settlements, among them Point **Lay**. Most inland Eskimos moved to coastal settlements and became assimilated into or even replaced the remnant coastal populations (VanStone 1984:159). The surviving remnants of the inland Eskimo population were in two small bands in the Noatak-Kobuk river regions and at Anaktuvuk Pass (**Oswalt 1967: 5**); today, **Anaktuvuk** Pass is the only true inland village on the slope.

The major factor determining the siting of a residence was the availability of relatively abundant food and resources. Summer dwellings were ideally situated on high ground, providing for a better viewpoint, perhaps a slightly increased exposure to wind that lessened the attacks of insects, and for protection from runoff and flooding. All habitation sites had to be near a source of fresh water and, if possible, wood, and had to be near a beach suitable for landing kayaks and umiaks. This last requirement was especially important for winter settlements, when **climatological** and oceanographic conditions made any landing a more perilous activity.

Each Eskimo village was a collection of dwellings from and into which there was a great deal of movement of people. Villages were unstable and settlement flexible. Villages with a maritime resource base seem to have had the most stable pattern. Caribou hunters and fishermen had more fluid patterns (**Oswalt 1967:1 13**) with small, scattered populations. **Oswalt** further argues (1967:1 13:115) that, given these differential patterns, it was the whaling groups which would be the most likely to maintain **sociocultural** features and continuity. This certainly seems to be true at present. After contact, whaling communities became focal points for acculturation and resettlement.

Households in the Transitional Era

Residence patterns alternated in accordance with the exigencies of the two basic seasons of the year. Summertime was the period of greatest and most varied resource exploitation. As the seacoast gradually became free of ice, the coastal peoples oriented themselves towards cooperative maritime hunting. Once the whaling season ended, individual families turned to their secondary resource activities, traveling extensively to hunt and fish in more inland areas, or to engage in trade. As winter **reapproached**, people returned with the food and goods they had collected during the summer to their more permanent settlements (or to other settlements). People settled down in semisubterranean houses specially designed to resist the winter conditions,

their lifetimes. Many of these same dynamics can be observed on the North Slope today, although sometimes only in attenuated forms.

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and spent their hunting time collecting whatever resources were available in the vicinity. Among the coastal peoples, seals caught through holes in the ice were the primary source of fresh food during the winter.

Houses among the peoples of the coast tended to be more permanent and substantial than those in the north Alaskan interior and were comfortable by the standards of the arctic aboriginal (Nabokov and Easton 1989:188-208). The basic winter house type was a dwelling of sod placed on a framework of driftwood reinforced by whalebone. The peoples of the north Alaskan coast used driftwood to build shallow semisubterranean winter houses, with long sunken or downward sloping entrance tunnels to catch the cold air below the level of the floor surface of the living area. The tunnel ended at a hole in the house floor, which was reached by climbing upwards. The tunnel entrance, framed in driftwood or whalebone so that it could be covered for additional insulation from the elements, might have wooden steps or a whalebone stoop, and there **might** be more such steps or a ladder at the juncture between the house and living quarters. About half to two-thirds of the way to the rooms from the tunnel entrance were two antechamber, one used to cook in and one used for storage. In extremely poor weather, the dogs might be housed inside the tunnel.

At the far end of the tunnel was the raised single chamber or set of separate chambers, depending on how many families were sharing the house, which comprised the living area. Frequently, since they were often shared by brothers, houses had two separate living quarters which shared some central common space. The roof of the house was steeply pitched, with a single **ridgepole**, and with an inner ceiling of wooden beams or planks. A wide bench along the rear **wall** acted as both a place for sitting and as a sleeping platform. The walls were lined with vertical wood planks, and further insulated with skins. Throughout much of the region wood was too scarce to use for fuel, so there were no fireplaces. Seal or whale oil-burning soapstone lamps hung on each wall and provided light and heat. The elevated sleeping benches allowed people to sleep off of the floor and in the upper portion of the house, which was warmer and less drafty. A window covered with gut was placed in one wall.

Qalgis were built in the same style, but were somewhat larger than a usual dwelling and had a less permanent roof. **Qalgis** also had a long bench running around all their sides to accommodate the number of people who might be involved in ceremonies there. The **qalgi** was only rarely used as a sleeping place for males (**Oswalt 1967:100**, 182; Chance **1966:53**). Visitors were housed in temporary houses made of **snowblocks** lined with skins (**Oswalt 1967:100**). Winter houses were vacated during summer because they were dark and damp, and water collected in the subterranean tunnels. In the summer, the Eskimo used cone-shaped tents that accommodated individual families, and sometimes overturned **umiaks** as windbreaks and lean-tos.

While the typical house had a single-entry passageway leading to one large chamber, sometimes there were variants to accommodate the changing number and diverse relationships of people sharing the house. There might be several passageways or the single passageway might bifurcate at some point, or there might be several chambers attached to one **entranceway**. Such houses were usually small, with a single room some 6-15 feet in diameter serving for a family. Any abandoned houses could be occupied by others, even by non-relatives, after a period of several years. In general, a house usually contained two families, forming a small extended family linked by bonds of consanguinity. **Oswalt** (1967:176) estimates that there was an average of 6 people per household for the **Tareumiut** of Point Barrow in the 1850s.

Economy and Trade Network in the Transitional Era

Spencer (1977:76-80) provides a summary of a representative economic year for the traditional Point Barrow Eskimo that -- as long as one remembers that local conditions in other areas will influence the relative timings and importance of any given activity -- can exemplify the general coastal north Alaska Eskimo region during the **postcontact** period. **Burch** (1981) delineates in some detail the economic year of the peoples of the Point Hope region during what he calls the "Traditional Period" of 1800-75. Spencer (1977:79) believes that survival in the arctic winter required 100 pounds of food per day for twelve people, with a like amount for twelve dogs. He notes that the amount of time spent hunting and working in the winter was related to the success of the previous summer's food gathering. If the summer had been a good season, a man may have spent much of his time at the men's ceremonial house in December and January, whereas **if** the summer had been less successful, a man would have spent much more time engaged in the frustrating and difficult tasks of winter sea-ice hunting. February was the start of the season in which whaling preparations were made, and the beginning of the preoccupation with whales that would continue until about June.

Coastal Eskimo life centered around the bowhead whale. Bowheads live year-round at the edges of and under the polar marine ice cap, feeding on the plankton at the edge of the polar cap and along the leads in the ice. As the edge of the ice cap moves north in the spring and south in the fall, the whales migrate along the leads in the ice. For **Inupiat** from Barrow to Point Hope and elsewhere, the bowhead is the hallmark of the Native economy, as well as part of its ceremonial and social life.

The act of taking a whale in a skin **umiak** using Native tools was difficult. Every phase of it was imbued with spiritualized rituals and objects that simultaneously delineated the ineffable, interdependent relationship between man and whale, as **well** as the relationship among men. As ice leads formed in the spring, crews of around 8 men left the ceremonial house, where they had been preparing for the hunt under the authority of the boat captain (**umialik**), a leader whose authority derived from both economic and religious sources of power. They waited along the edge of the landfast ice watching for whales swimming in the shore leads that open between the pack ice and the landfast ice until whales **were** sighted. Usually bowheads appear within a few days of the first appearance of migrating **beluga** whales. The springtime was a time of new beginnings in the Eskimo world, and all the tackle, clothing, and paraphernalia of the crew had to be new, the **umiak** had to have a renewed skin cover, and the magical charms that were so essential a part of the hunting rituals had to be sanctified and in place. While waiting, the crew members had to be silent, although the **umialik** and the harpooner sang magical songs that were thought to compel the whales to come to be captured. Once the boats were launched, silence was of the essence. The hunting of these great whales was accompanied by an air of solemnity and religious feeling.

The crew tried to reach the whale as quickly and as silently as possible, without frightening it into diving. The **umiak** was driven until it grounded along the back of the whale and the whale was harpooned as quickly as possible. It was preferred that the harpooner thrust his harpoon to incapacitate the whale. Bowhead whales are extraordinary divers, and a harpooned whale could easily sound, swim under the ice, and resurface far from its human hunters. A significant proportion of harpooned whales were never landed. Once a whale was harpooned, it was then tired by attaching lines that had inflated seal bladder floats on them. The drag from these floats increased the force against which the whale had to struggle. As many harpoons and lines as possible were stuck into the whale's body. Whenever possible, the crew

maneuvered alongside to try to kill the whale with their stabbing spears. This part of the killing process was particularly dangerous, given the size of the whale and the unpredictability of behavior. Other crews besides that which had first harpooned the whale were expected to aid in killing the whale if possible, since the first 8 **umiak** crews to get to a whale had a role in dividing it (**Oswalt 1967:125**); they would also later help in towing, landing, and butchering the whale, and share its meat. Johnson et al. (**1966:881**), who discuss marine mammal utilization in the Point **Hope-Kivalina** area in 1960, note that the Eskimo method of whaling, possibly copied from Euro-American whalers, remained the same for a century.

The butchering of the whale at the edge of the ice was a busy and happy time. Even a single whale in a season was an important addition to the **foodstocks** of a group; eight or nine would have made for an extraordinary season. The butchering is reported to have combined moments of playfulness with religious rituals to placate the spirit of the whale. The meat was divided among the crew and **umialik**, and among the crews and **umialiks** of any **umiaks** that had assisted in the work of killing and landing the **whale** as **well**. Each part of the whale was preassigned or allocated according to traditional rules. The meat was shared among the entire community. Some was eaten immediately and some was cached in ice houses dug in the permafrost as a larder for the upcoming winter. Religious proscriptions required that the meat stored in these larders had to be completely eaten before the start of the next whaling season. This proscription survives today as a behavioral norm that people believe should be followed, but it is difficult to say if it is still religious in nature. Most will explain the rule by saying that the animals will give themselves to the hunters more readily if the rule is followed, but few will maintain that it is part of a more widespread and systematic belief system. Potential conflicts with formalized Christianity may underlie part of this reluctance, or the explanation may simply be a carry over from the past that helps maintain what is clearly a wise behavioral pattern.

The distribution of food was an important means of creating and fulfilling reciprocal obligations among people, and the catching of a whale enabled a crew to distribute a significant amount of food. This set up a situation in which the **umialik** and crew members had some control over others by virtue of the necessity of the others' reciprocative obligations to them.

The activities of whaling served as an important source for generating community solidarity (Spencer 1972, **1984a:284**). Villages might be torn by feuds and rivalry, but the cooperation of whaling countered those divisive forces. For only a few months each year, and only in this limited economic sphere, was there any semblance of political organization in Eskimo society (Spencer, 1984b:331 -32). A number of authors (Spencer **1959:1** 77-82; VanStone **1962:38-58**) have speculated that the role of the **umialik** comprised an incipient form of generalized formalized leadership, and that economic changes of the immediate **postcontact** situation accelerated any tendencies towards the development of "big men" as generalized leaders. Inland Eskimo organized caribou hunting along the same political model as the coastal people had for whaling, with an **umialik** governing the stockade used to entrap caribou (**Oswalt 1967:80**).

It should be remembered that not everyone in a village where whaling occurred took a direct role in hunting, and that people from villages where there was no direct access to whales might spend the whaling season as members of a crew at a village where whales were available (Spencer 1984 **b:320**). This practice is evident throughout the entire **ethnohistorical** literature and continues today. Johnson et al. (1966:880-85), in their discussion of marine mammal utilization in the Point **Hope-Kivalina** area

in 1960, note that the whale camps pull in people from many other villages, some quite remote. Still, whaling activity linked people within a village and from different villages in patterns of reciprocity and responsibility through both labor and food exchange. It was not unusual, Spencer (1984b:323) notes, to find men from Wales at the villages in the Point Barrow area or to find inland Eskimo in coastal villages.

Once the whaling season ended, in June to July, winter groupings disbanded and people began their summer hunting tasks. Households broke up, with some people remaining to hunt other sea mammals, some moving inland to hunt caribou, to fish, or to go trading. Families of co-resident brothers might divide summer tasks between them, go their separate ways, and then reconvene at wintertime. Summertime tasks had to be carefully planned and coordinated within the family to cover the possible variety of food sources. Sometime whaling boat crews might **re-form** for **walrus** hunting in July and early August. Men, who would have trading partners in other communities, might choose to visit them, either leaving their families behind or bringing them along. They could then cooperate in the economic activities of that area. Hunting techniques for animals other than whale and caribou were remarkably similar throughout the arctic, although of course quite different techniques were used on land as opposed to the sea. Thus individuals could easily participate in the activities in activities with which they were already familiar, even in an unfamiliar physical setting. They would still have to rely on someone who knew the land well to act as a guide, or else run the risk of failing to find adequate resources to support themselves. There is more than a little evidence that **aboriginally** people often had to learn **the** land through experience in this way, and that not infrequently the result was that people died through starvation or accident.

One of the most important of the end-of-summer activities was involvement in regional trade networks. There was an extensive trade network that, when seen in **toto**, unified all the interior and coastal Eskimo groups of Alaska, Siberia, and the western Canadian arctic (see **Fitzhugh** and **Crowell**, 1988). The "economic impact" of this trade network is largely undetermined and undeterminable. No information exists for the aboriginal period, although it is assumed that the "trade fairs" known to have taken place at coastal locations were the scene of the exchange of sea resources for land resources. How important this was in an economic sense is unclear. Certainly exotic resources traveled great distances through this trade network.

The trade networks were far-flung, and are well-documented (**Oswalt** 1967:132-37; Anderson 1984:93). Caribou clothing was widespread, as were **sealskin** pouches, whale meat, and oil. Western goods were available from Siberia after the Anadyrsk trade post was established in 1649. The most important trade centers in the north Alaska area were at Wales, at **Kotzebue** and **Sheshalik**, at the **Utukok** and **Colville** River mouths, and on Barter Island (**Oswalt** 1967:132-33; Spencer 1984b:330). By the 1850s, products from Siberia were being shipped across the Bering Strait to Hotham Inlet, then carried by **Noatagmiut** (Inupik-speakers who lived along the **Noatak** River, south of the Point Hope area) to the Nunamiut, who later traded with the **Tareumiut** at Barrow. The Barrow natives then traveled to Barter Island, where they contacted MacKenzie Eskimo and obtained Hudson Bay Company materials in return. Estimates of the **postcontact** trade indicate a fairly large involvement, including an estimated 1,400 people at a **Kotzebue** rendezvous in 1884 (**Oswalt** 1967: 133). Such a convocation -- at this late date, and given the prior effects of the introduction of epidemic diseases -- would have been possible only if the trade system were already drawing people from widely dispersed areas throughout the arctic.

Even so, it is clear that despite the general extent of the trade system, there were certain barriers to an unalloyed and unbounded mercantile system. The extent to which people from a specific region may have traveled across the region is not well known. **Burch** (1981:57) argues, for example, that the people of Point Hope were unlikely to have traded often in the region of the **Utukok** people to the north because of the hostilities between them, and he notes that people from different areas may have reached a given trading center at different times, and have had little direct contact.

The locus of this trade network was the Messenger Feast, which was held in fall or winter. It has recently been revived in Barrow as an annual event in January, as a type of New Year celebration. The name is derived from the method by which guests are invited to attend. Messengers from the host village go to the village of the guests-to-be to invite them to the feast. The Messenger Feast was found among the **Tareumiut**, the Bering Sea Eskimo, and elsewhere, and functioned to validate the status of the **umialik** as well as to cement a de facto alliance between two **umialiks**. The giving of a Messenger Feast required a substantial outlay of goods and wealth. An **umialik** invited his counterparts in other villages and feasted and gifted them as lavishly as possible, showing his wealth and generosity. Some idea of rivalry between **umialiks** and their crews was involved. The feast also served to redistribute food and wealth to the inhabitants of a given area.

Most authors think of the Messenger Feast primarily as a social and not a religious ceremony, but we must be aware that it may have had religious dimensions that went unrecorded in the early ethnographic literature, or that the **postcontact** version of the feast may represent a secularization of a formerly religious activity. The center of the feast was the performances by both hosts and guests of animal impersonation dances and the enactment of hunting scenes, which had both spiritual implications and entertainment value. **Socioeconomically**, the purpose of the dance was the exchange of gifts and goods and the establishment or reaffirmation of socioeconomic ties between the two groups, providing an added measure of both **intravillage** and **intervillage** solidarity and in-group/out-group identification (cf. Chance 1966:53-54; Lantis 1947).

In some areas, a ritual called the Bladder Feast was performed. This feast is known widely from among the Yuit (Siberian Eskimo), and some less complicated version of the ceremony must have existed among the **Inupiat** groups. The bladder (stomach) was considered to be the site in which an animal's inua (soul) dwelled, and the bladders from every animal killed by a hunter were dried out and saved in the **qalgi**. The Bladder Feast involved rituals of purification and honoring the souls of the animals -- at the end of the ritual bladders were pushed through a hole in the sea ice, to return the souls to the land of the animals. As mentioned earlier, in some areas there were ceremonies that paralleled this for the souls of deceased humans, which were enjoined to return to the world of living people, honored and spiritually refreshed by gifts of food and water, and then magically returned to the world of the dead.

The only major ceremonials that remain in contemporary Eskimo repertory, even though they also appear to be reduced from their former complexity and perhaps to have lost much of their religious character, are those at the beginning and end of the spring whaling season, the former of which is held every year, the latter of which is held if there has been even a single whale caught during the yearly hunt. The pattern of celebration is now oriented according to a non-native calendar, and even on those occasions where a celebration or ceremony may accompany what was once an important native occasion, that ceremony is performed with a Christianized or westernized

agenda. Although the Messenger Feast has been revived in some areas, it is a fairly recent cultural revival whose form and meaning is still in the process of formation. Also, after a century of missionary and governmental intervention, the **qalgi** seems to have lost much of its importance as a center of the village. Chance notes (1966:54) that at the time of his research (1960), only two **qalgis** remained at Point Hope, and there were none at Barrow or **Wainwright**.

In July, people moved into tents after the sea ice disappeared, and devoted themselves to summer hunting and fishing activities. It is at this same time that people from Point Hope traveled up the **Kukpuk** River to hunt caribou (**Oswalt 1967: 122-23**), as well as ptarmigan, wolf and fox, marmot, and other small mammals. Other Point Barrow families used the summer to go to regional trading centers. Some stayed in the area and hunted **beluga**, gathered eggs and skins from sea birds, or did some fishing. There was some early summer catching of seals from kayaks and **umiaks**.

In the fall, most people returned to their home villages, though some remained away until freeze-up. In late fall, men went to sea in kayaks to hunt seals **along** the ice leads before the sea froze, the first arrival of the seals in the fall being a very important time for finding them. The formation of the sea ice in the fall was looked for eagerly (Johnson et al., **1966:880**), because it presaged the arrival of seals with their layers of winter fat, so that they did not sink when killed. Once the sea froze, and usually until about April, seals were also hunted at their breathing holes, a task usually performed individually, although sometimes a pair of brothers or hunting partners might go seal hunting together, especially if they were hunting bearded seals. During this time there was ice fishing, and hunting of polar bear, although polar bear hunting seems usually to have been opportunistic rather than planned. In areas (including Point Lay) where whales were not present or were less reliably present, and where caribou were not **as** plentiful, subsistence patterns were quite variable, and the seasonal pattern was more pronounced, as illustrated by the case of the **Noatagmiut** at the mouth of the **Noatak** River (**Oswalt 1967:126-27**).

Social Institutions in the Transitional Era

Kinship in the Transitional Era

Eskimo society centered around the nuclear family and its varied extensions. A concise summary of the principal features of Eskimo society has been made by Spencer (**1977:88-89**):

Here was a society wholly kinship oriented. It has been said that the community was non-existent as a unit in itself, being made up solely of independent households and extended families. The latter existed not within communities but across community lines. The solution to the problem of meeting the needs of the environment, of cooperatively working together, **lay** in the extension of kinship to non-kindred. This being so, it can be seen why chieftainship or formality in political organization could **not** exist. But there was a legal system dependent on the family and enforced by it; the customary procedures followed across the Eskimo area had a force of law.

For the most part, whatever political controls existed were integrated into family roles and an ethos of cooperation and mutual responsibility towards kinsmen (see **Burch** 1975; **Guemple** 1972). Often, adult brothers, along with their wives and children, lived together in a single co-resident household or in houses nearby to one another. Within a village, a family's houses might be grouped onto a single mound or within a circumscribed area. The household was the center of social activity,

The fundamental principle of Eskimo kinship is the extension of bilateral terminology. This type of kin terminology is commonly interpreted by students of kin terms to emphasize closeness within a generation and separation between generations. Members of each generation are **terminologically** separated from those in other generations, but family terms are merged. This type of terminology increases intragenerational cohesion because the merging of terminologies permits the extension of a given term -- and its concomitant mutual responsibilities -- to a wider range of outsiders. While in theory bilateral terms can be extended indefinitely outward to define an extremely large group of related kinsmen, the extent to which the actual circle of kinsmen was extended at any given time depended on practical considerations and the changing needs for mutual aid and cooperation. Feuds would develop **along kinlines**. People traveling would seek out their kinsmen in remote villages, and activate kin relationships that were many degrees removed but which still served to define enough of a degree of relationship that a mutual responsibility could be claimed. This is, of course, true at the present time as well.

Although most anthropologists agree that the primary kinship principle was bilateral, some argue that there was a tendency towards **patrilineality** or **patrifocality** in some groups. Bilateral kinship, which traces degrees of relationship to a person equally to the relatives on both the mother's and father's sides, is a format for defining relationships which allows for the greatest extension and flexibility in defining shifting patterns of alliance and cooperation. However, bilateral kin systems often are unable to provide for any large-scale extrafamilial cooperative group on the basis of kinship logic. Instead, in systems based on bilateral kinship terminology, various forms of independently-organized formal and informal groups and associations provide a primary means of group identification and activity. The structural **logic** of Eskimo kinship terms emphasized one set of relations at the expense of another, which had significant ramifications for the specific characteristics of each **kin-defined** role (**Burch** 1975a). One of the most important was that Eskimo kinship structure gave an increased emphasis to peer relations within one generation along with a psychological and social distance between generations. Since some kinship theorists argue that **terminological** distance is directly related to social and psychological distance, such a distinction between generations has implications for contemporary **Inupiat** social patterns. It would in part explain some of the socialization difficulties of the young, already exacerbated by the quite different life experiences of the generations. This would be another force fostering the influence of the peer group over that of parental guidance or authority,

Those conventional and universally known obligations that held sway within the nuclear family, household, and immediate kindred were clearly recognized and were widely viewed as guiding principles at the heart of each and every socioeconomic activity. Relationships outside the family also were defined by kin principles, but in extending sets of obligations outside the family an individual set up a pattern of reciprocal obligations that simultaneously extended his social network (and thus gave his family some additional security) and created relationships in which he assumed obligations that had to be balanced against his obligations within the family.

The Umialik, Marriage, and the Expansion of Kin Ties in the Transitional Era

The most important of these crosscutting ties within the Eskimo community, ties that simultaneously both extended and countered **intrafamilial** bonds, were those created through marriage (which we shall discuss below) and the bonds to a man's **umialik**. For example, many times members in a whaling crew were actually relatives of a particular **umialik** and joined or were cajoled to join that particular crew on the basis of those kin-based ties. This is a pattern of crew formation that seems to extend across the entire **postcontact** period and is still found today. Still, as whaling increased in importance and effectiveness after the advent of more efficient Euro-American killing techniques, and as labor patterns changed after epidemics reduced the supply of available **local** labor in many areas, membership in whaling crews became more fluid, and **umialiks** had to work hard to attract crews.

Indeed, since **umialiks** traditionally had to contribute substantial aid to the maintenance of the crew and their families for extended periods of time, the type of whaling organization most often described in the literature may itself postdate the increased economic differentiation that arose after contact as the result of differential access to wage labor and to Euro-American goods. At the least it is likely that the scope and **scale** of resource mobilization through kinship connections was greatly affected by contact, and the resources and economic opportunities then made available. Similar cases for such a change in the basis of labor-group formation have been demonstrated for the adjacent Northwest Coast (Adams 1973; Walens **n.d.**) and elsewhere in Native North America (see Yerbury 1986 for a relevant critical bibliography). Any tendency for the role of **umialik** to pass down in a family line may also have been a result of a post-contact alteration in patterns of obtaining and redistributing wealth, but given the nature of contemporaneous sources it would be difficult to document such a development of a group of rich and powerful men.

Membership in a whaling crew was voluntary and could be altered at any time by **umialik** or crew member (Chance 1966:53). Men could leave a crew if dissatisfied for any reason. It seems as if many times crews were composed of the **umialik's** kin and quasi-kin (Chance 1966:62), but this may be an artifact of the labor shortages of **postcontact** times. In the competition for crew members, **umialiks** might offer **kin-**like status to crew members. Given the nature of mutual responsibility between kinsmen, it is likely that it was those members of a crew who were not **consanguineally** related to the **umialik** who were the more **likely** to move between crews and their associated **qalgis** based on their assessment of each **umialik's** success. An **umialik** had to keep his crew members loyal by his personal charisma and by ample demonstration of the other traditional attributes of masculinity (modesty, honesty, generosity, industriousness, good judgment, hunting skill, physical strength, and stamina), as well as by organizational skill and financial success.

An **umialik** was a man of wealth, status, and influence and as much of a political leader as existed. The role of **umialik** was sometimes achieved, sometimes partially ascribed. An **umialik** could take over a crew from another relative, or with the backing of his kindred could organize a new one (Spencer 1984 **b:331-32**). An **umialik** used gift-giving and temporary wife exchange to enlist and cement relations to his crew.

Marriage was an important means of creating alliances between groups not united by strong ties of kin obligation, and served to define an auxiliary set of culturally defined mutual responsibilities that supplemented those of kinship. **Affinal** relationships and their culturally defined responsibilities were secondary to

responsibilities among **consanguineal** relatives. Most Eskimo marriages were of necessity monogamous, but polygamy -- both **polygyny** and polyandry -- was permissible and possible. Unlike some other Eskimo areas, **sororal** and fraternal polygamy were not the preferred forms, perhaps since they did not serve to extend a man's circle of interdependence (Spencer, 1984b:331). Marriage rules were "informal," and other than a proscription against marrying close relatives, one could marry freely. While occasionally a man's wife might be selected for him by his family, any such action would more likely have been framed in terms of suggestion and gentle persuasion, since each Eskimo individual was free to make his own decisions.

Eskimo marriages were predicated on the principle of the compatibility of the couple, which was pragmatically tested by their living together. Spencer notes (1984b:331) that "the various shadings of marriage and sex are difficult to define" in Eskimo society. Traditionally, a marriage was basically a cohabitation that coalesced into a long-term relationship, a pattern which continues today to some degree. And just as mutual compatibility was the reason for a couple's bonding, its absence could also become the reason or justification for the breakup of the marriage. There was no onus associated with the dissolution of a couple's relationship: a marriage could break up at anytime if the circumstances of the couple and their families changed. The amount of fluidity in Eskimo marriage is not well understood. While there were many forces that could draw one or the other partner from a marriage, it is not easy to discern just how important or frequent each of these factors was.

Even though there was much fluidity in traditional marriage, still the ideal marriage was a stable one. A stable marriage was an important part of a family's success, because the sexual division of labor played so important a role in work performance. The sexual division of labor was relatively marked, fostering interdependency through both performative and spiritual dimensions. Industriousness was one of the most important Eskimo values for both sexes. Many other cultural practices increased the mutual dependency inherent to a married couple, practices such as the rituals for the division of food a hunter brings back to the house, where the food is given over to his wife's aegis (Spencer 1977:85-86). In some relationships, an interdependency based on shared ritual activity developed, most notably in the **umialik's** relationship with his wife. They were constrained to perform certain ritual acts in tandem, and her behavior was an important part of the rituals which guaranteed the success of the hunt (see Spencer 1959:267-77).

Of the different stabilizing factors in marriage, the most important was the birth of children which lessened the chances for the disintegration of that pair-bond. Even so, either partner could leave at any time if they could marshal the support to do so. A women's relatives, for instance, might support her if she left an abusive husband, or even simply left her husband and went to live with another man. A man's relatives might support him in getting back an abducted wife or one who had left him or even in capturing another man's wife. Obviously, the key feature here is that whatever effort was taken involved enlisting the cooperation of kinsmen, thus invoking a set of cultural principles of moral right and wrong as the basis for the support of one's actions. The individual acting alone could probably not expect to achieve his way without the support of others: an abusive husband might want to get his wife back but be unable to find anyone to support him in his aims (see Spencer 1984 b:331).

Still, it must be said that Eskimo marriages were fluid and that the social forces that characterized male-female relationships in Eskimo society, combined with the active sexual competition between men, made gender relationships problematic. Sexual success was an important component of a person's status. A man might be measured by

the number of women whose labor **he** controlled or to whom he had sexual access, a woman by the number of men whose **sexual** rivalries she could exploit (Spencer 1977: 84-90).

Institutionalized Partnerships, the Qalgi, and Social Cohesion in the Transitional Era

Kinship and marriage were not the only principles for forming cooperative alliances in Eskimo society. One practice that was of great importance was institutionalized partnership, which was widespread throughout the entire Eskimo domain [see **Balikci** (1970), **Guemple** (1972), and Burch (1975a) for detailed descriptions of the nature of partnerships in other Eskimo groups]. Most partnerships were between men, but occasionally partnerships would be formed between women. Partnerships were of several different types, to take advantage of the range of personalities found in Eskimo society, but the most conventional and widely adopted forms of partnership were joking partnerships, trading partnerships, hunting partnerships, name partnerships, wifesharing partnerships, etc. Partners referred to one another as if they were kinsmen, so that the rhetoric of bonding between non-kin was validated within the terminology of relationship and obligation. A relationship between partners was extended to their children, so that children of partners had special alliances as well.

Whatever the basis for a partnership -- and nearly any rationale could be given for establishing a partnership between two men -- most reportedly involved a ritualized consecration of the relationship through temporary wifesharing (or wifelending) (Spencer 1977:88;1984b:332-33). The special connection between men that came from their having had **sexual** relations with the same woman was considered to have a spiritual basis and important **social** ramifications. Spencer (1984b:33 1) states that such relations had obligations **nearly** as strong as those of kinship, and that they carried over into the generation of the children of the wife-exchange partners. By the beginning of the twentieth century, missionaries and other outsiders had begun actively to discourage wifesharing practices, and they gradually disappeared from use or were hidden from view. Wifesharing is no longer practiced. Thus, it is very difficult to determine any facts about the frequency and social importance of wifesharing in traditional **Inupiat** society or the historic process of its disappearance from the repertoire of cultural forms. The **Inupiat** words for the relationships formed between such men, their children, and other people are now known and used only by the elderly (**Nageak**, personal communication to **Yarber**, 1988).

Qalgi activities were androcentric, but women were not excluded from them, and wives might bring food to their husbands. At those activities which did involve women, a wife went to the **qalgi** of her husband, a not unexpected pattern, given the importance of wives in integrating and cementing peer relations between their husbands and other men. In the spring and fall, dances, games, and feasts were held regularly at the **qalgi**. Dancing was very important both as a recreation and as a ceremony, especially mimicry dancing and the choreographic representation of hunting processes and events.

Activities at the **qalgi** play an important role in building and maintaining social networks, and also serve to provide a communal educational context in which men can watch one another work and learn from one another, thereby reaffirming male ties to partners and reaffirming the centrality of male-oriented activities. Eskimo survived by passing on knowledge and **expertise**: life in the **qalgi** was an important arena for the exchange of information. The exchange of practical information was an important facet of many types of interpersonal interactions: husbands and wives were often

noted politely instructing one another and assisting one another on tasks (Chance 1966:5 1), and such instruction-oriented behavior was an important part of the traditional techniques of parenting in Eskimo society. Much learning was organized along a model of observational learning accompanied by a practicum (learning accomplished by the experience of doing), and the **qalgi** provided a primary arena for such learning experiences.

Eskimo society, like much of all human behavior, is underlain with ambivalent and apparently contradictory motives. There is a constant balancing of cooperative and competitive forces, and networks of relationships are fundamentally based on situationally manipulatable criteria of independence and interdependence. One may argue that this is the general human condition and thus true of all human behavior. Nonetheless, issues of cooperation and competition in Eskimo society (and whether one is more prevalent than the other) have been widely discussed and debated throughout the entire Eskimo literature and form a significant portion of it.

While much of this literature emphasizes the bonds of mutual cooperation, generosity, and sharing that seem to characterize Eskimo life, it would be incorrect to imply that there was no Eskimo ethos of self-advantage, coercion, and manipulation of others for personal gain and for self-aggrandizement. Power and success could come to any man who dominated others, and especially to those men who could form or maintain an alliance with other males to dominate others. Such domination often was manifested through men's control of women as sexual partners and as laborers (Spencer 1977:84). Yet this domination was counterbalanced by an ethos of cooperation, interdependency, and collective responsibility. The same alliances between men that enabled some men to dominate others also provided the basis for social networks beyond the nuclear family. The same marriage that gave one man primary control over and responsibility for a woman also served at once as an important avenue for the formation of alliances to other groups and at the same time as a means of defining his obligations to his in-laws that precluded his alliance with other families.

For all the dependence on the family as the central unit of Eskimo society, the individual Eskimo family can be seen as fundamentally unstable. **Oswalt (1967:188-89)** argues that the high mortality rate, short life expectancy, and frequency of divorce all contributed to such instability. Thus, a dependence on a variety of diverse relationships was probably essential for long-term survival. Since most of a person's cooperative relationships would have been in his home area, a person or family may have been reluctant to move away from its local support network of immediate kin (although, of course, kin groups could move together). Present-day families may **well** be more stable than families in the historical and prehistorical past, but they are still unstable enough. (A discussion of contemporary marriage patterns begins on page 69.)

As we mentioned earlier, those Eskimo groups that practiced whaling probably were more stable than those that did not, both because the greater productivity of the resources made mutual aid more effective and because the **umialik-centered** organization gave some insurance of support for a crew member even when his own summer hunting may not have been particularly successful. Areas peripheral to whaling communities would not have this benefit; and such is likely to have been the case for Point Lay. Thus, over time whaling communities had an inherently greater chance, compared to non-whaling communities, of remaining permanently populated. Peripheral areas and limited- or seasonal-use sites, such as Point Lay, would be repeatedly abandoned and resettled. Any remnant population would integrate itself

into the more stable population at the permanent whaling villages. This pattern was widespread throughout the arctic during the entire **postcontact** period and was probably also in effect in the **precontact** period.

Many arctic anthropologists have stressed the lack of formal mechanisms of social control in aboriginal Eskimo society (**Hoebel** 1963, Spencer 1959, Chance 1966, Hippiar 1973, **Briggs** 1970) and assert that the real force that keeps Eskimo society together is the Eskimo's strong sense of what constitutes correct and moral behavior. This is combined with the extreme flexibility of **the** system and the ability of **the** actors to manipulate relationships depending on the situational context. Some have expressed this in terms of personality or socialization. These **moral** components are the inherent and requisite part of every kin-defined **role** and circumscribe the acceptable and appropriate behavior of the person who is enacting that role. The "force of custom" (even though it alone cannot serve as an explanation of behavior) stands behind Eskimo action with a power that is visible over a wide range of aspects of Eskimo life. Social sanctions, customary law, common goals and norms, and the force of public opinion (exercised through gossip, ridicule, and ostracism) provided the framework for establishing and maintaining **social** order. This was especially important in Eskimo society, in that there was both a strong ethos of individualism and a lack of organized political groups to act as guardians of the social order.

The primary means of establishing and maintaining social order was through various institutional forms of interpersonal criticism meant to induce conformity (Chance 1966:65-66). Much of the time, and especially between close relations, this criticism was often very indirect, nonverbal, or couched in a language of instruction, suggestion, and **subtle** correction. The ethos was one of individual freedom tempered by cooperation and sharing, and it was considered inappropriate for **one** person to **tell** another what to do or how to act. Even in institutionalized forms of public criticism, such as song duels (Spencer 1959:173-176), the arguments were reportedly phrased not in personal terms but in terms of the moral principles implicated in the dispute at hand. This is still much the case today, although no one has reported any recent song duels.

In traditional Eskimo society, the most common response to inappropriate or deviant behavior would be for others to "ignore" it, to exclude the miscreant from their company or from community affairs, or even to move away from him. Recalcitrant misbehavior usually was handled by "a reprimand or retort from a **family** member, but if such rebukes did not work sometimes village elders would get together to speak to the miscreant, and if he did not mend his ways, to urge him to **leave** the village and move elsewhere. Certain ritualized forms of antagonism also served to display and work out tensions between individuals. Most notable was the song duel, in which contestants taunted each other with witty and sarcastically pointed songs they composed for the occasion that referred to the basis of their conflict. The approbation of the crowd that gathered to hear the songs was the arbiter of the contest, indirectly informing the contestants where the weight of social opinion lay. Ridicule was an important means of stating social conflicts and restating social mores. Shamans sometimes played a role in defusing conflicts both by divining hidden animosities between people and by invoking supernatural rationales for group cooperation. Shamans also performed rituals of **ensorcellment** that redirected the animosities held within a group outward onto alien groups. Under very unusual circumstances, the members of a community might band together to execute a persistent and unrepentant wrongdoer. Still, most of these methods had little if any strongly coercive force as even within a family there was no real figure of authority.

Feuds could develop for any number of reasons. It was generally stated that feuds involved men in dispute over women. This does not mean that women were the cause for feuds, but only that men might use a conflict over women as the excuse for a feud. If a person was killed during a feud, the family of the victim would if possible band together to exact revenge, while the family of the murderer would band together to protect him. Any member of the murderer's family was an appropriate target for avenging the victim's murder. Since there were no overweening political groups that could adjudicate disputes, no institutional mechanisms to end feuds once they had started, it was thought essential that feuds be settled as quickly as possible. People tended to move rather than risk escalating conflicts if possible; villages fissioned rather than remained fictionalized. Violence within a community was settled as quickly as possible, but the solution might require that one of the involved families leave the area. Feuds between families in different villages lasted longer and there was less social pressure to resolve them. Numerous such feuds are visible in Eskimo history in the **postcontact** period [e.g., see **Burch** (1981: 16-19)], but the number of conflicts seen in those years cannot be seen as indicative of an aboriginal pattern, since contact situations exacerbated the fissioning processes.

LATTER TRANSITIONAL ERA: 1880-1927

Sociocultural Change in the Latter Transitional Era

The first significant modern **ethnography** of a north Alaska Native group was produced more than a century after contact. Given the scarcity of relevant documentary **ethnohistorical** evidence, it is not surprising that there is substantial disagreement about the nature and timing of **acculturative** change among the Eskimo. Some authors argue that despite whatever persistent traits in Eskimo culture may seem to both predate and postdate contact, few features of Eskimo society were unaffected by the contact experience. Other authors, taking a far more conservative standpoint, argue that Eskimo culture remained fundamentally unaffected by the initial contact experience, and only after much more extensive contact, the spread of epidemic disease, and the increased administrative subjugation of Natives to non-Native governmental and religious authority, was there any significant change in Eskimo culture. Other authors argue that the core of Eskimo society remained fundamentally unaffected during most of the **postcontact** period, and that only recently have any changes been occurring. It can be very difficult to gauge just what the significant processes of change were, when they occurred, and whether changes in one aspect or area were indicative of other concurrent significant changes. Different aspects of culture are affected differently during the course of the **acculturational** process, much change is at the **microlevel**, or is long-term, or is oscillatory, or takes place without being documented. It is clear that **behaviorally** change has been extensive and rapid. The cultural ideas and values which underlie behavior, the cultural **ethos** as it were (**Geertz** 1973,1983), are more difficult to evaluate in this regard. The relationship between ideas and behavior, and the correspondence between the two (if any), has a long history of debate. One of the purposes of the contemporary descriptive work which occupies the major portion of this report is to present present day **Inupiat** behavior in Point Lay in sufficient detail so that the reader may draw his own conclusions, and judge the adequacy of those presented by the authors in later sections.

It must be reemphasized that whatever period we might choose to term "traditional" is itself a period of dynamic cultural change and alteration, no matter what dates that period is supposed to have. The cultural practices that might seem to exist in the

timeless ethnographic present actually were in a complex context of change and reformulation. In that sense, it could be said that we do not have any knowledge about Eskimo culture from any period when it was not undergoing some sort of reformulation.

Without question, the period of first contact in the 1850s introduced the north Alaska Eskimo to the technology of Euro-American whaling. This technology was significantly more effective at killing whales and other sea mammals than Eskimo technology, and after an initial period of resistance, was widely adopted. Since Eskimo economy was firmly based on the exploitation of resources, a change in resource exploitation abilities, unless equably distributed throughout the Eskimo area, would have given some individuals or groups an improved success rate **while** reducing the importance of other groups. It is this potential for imbalance success rates and the implications such an imbalance has for the preexistent aboriginal system of mutual dependencies that may have been the most significant feature of early **acculturative** change among the Eskimo. Chance (1966:2-3) says:

As explorers, whalers, and other whites moved north, the Eskimo world changed dramatically. The introduction of the rifle, iron and steel implements, drugs and medicines, and other items of Western manufacture resolved many of the earlier technological problems of the Eskimo; this, in turn, stimulated changes in other spheres of their life. Although the use of the rifle made hunting easier, it reduced the need for sharing and cooperation among kin groups, lessened the prestige of the hunter, and brought into question the validity of the traditional religion by raising doubts about the importance of certain rituals and taboos associated with hunting. The questioning of religion affected the traditional means of social control **in** that the threat of supernatural punishment for deviation from Eskimo practices lost much of its force.

Similar responses to contact and to the technological and economic changes of the postcontact situation have been widely reported throughout the rest of Native North America. See Wolf (1982), Washburn (1988), **Cronon** and White (1988), **Yerbury** (1986), **Walens (n.d.)**.

Chance (1966:62-63) argues that although dramatic social changes occurred in the early 1900s, traditional patterns of leadership began to reemerge in the period between 1930-45, when economic necessity required a partial return to subsistence economy. **He** further maintains (1966, 1984) that most sociopolitical groups in Eskimo society today (i.e., 1960) are instigated and organized by non-Natives. Throughout his 1966 book, Chance delineates a pattern, starting at the beginning of the twentieth century, **of** decreasing group interdependency and increasing individualism, isolation, and alienation, which he ties to changes in the economic situation the **Inupiat** faced. He feels that even subtle and seemingly temporary historical events, , such as the brief period during the 1920s and 1930s when fox trapping altered winter patterns of family interaction, have had lasting psychological effects on **Inupiat** social patterns.

In contrast to Chance, Hughes (1971:399) feels that technological innovations may not have dramatically affected labor and social patterns at the start of the contact period. Seals were still hunted individually, and not communally as in central Canada; nor did the use of the rifle lessen the importance for Eskimo of the interior

of hunting caribou in a communal fashion. Eventually, of course, caribou hunting did become a more individual activity, and cooperative caribou drives lessened in frequency and centrality.

Prior to 1848, direct contact between Euro-Americans and north Alaskan Natives was relatively sparse, in direct contrast to the situation in southwestern Alaska (see VanStone 1984:149-53). The first expedition to reach the Point Lay vicinity was that of Captain Cook, who in 1778-79 reached the vicinity of Icy Cape. In 1820-21, **Vasiliev** and Shishmaref sailed as far north as Cook had. **Beechey** led an expedition aboard the **H.M.S. Blossom** in 1826 that also got to the Icy Cape region; while the **Blossom** could not sail further north, the ship's boat continued northward and reached Point Barrow in 1826. Kashevarov, traveling in umiaks, explored the northern coast almost as far east as Point Barrow in 1838 (VanStone 1977). **Kashevarov's** ethnographic observations are probably the finest of any of these explorers. Selections from the logbooks and notes of these explorers that are directly relevant to Point Lay have been excerpted in **Neakok et al.(1985:4-7)**.

VanStone (1984:153) emphasizes the difference between the situation of the southwestern Alaskan Natives, who by the middle of the nineteenth century had been "brought within the orbit of various coastal and interior trading posts," and the Natives of northwestern Alaska, where despite the several coastal explorations, the interior areas were to remain unexplored until the beginning of the twentieth century. VanStone also feels that even the extensive and well-outfitted search for the Franklin expedition (1848-52) affected the North Alaskan Eskimo population only slightly (1977:153).

Even before the advent of direct and extended contact with whites in the **mid-nineteenth** century, the existing north Alaskan Eskimo trade network permitted the widespread diffusion of Euro-American artifacts. Although authors disagree on the effects on the traditional trade networks, it seems most likely that with the advent of whalers beginning in 1848 the patterns of **precontact** trade relations was overturned more or less suddenly. As long as outside goods were obtainable only intermittently, traditional trade **interdependencies** remained useful. Yet, once there was a dependable annual source of Euro-American goods, coastal Eskimo could obtain goods directly from the whalers, and their trade links to the inland Eskimo broke. Many inlanders, no longer able to obtain the trade goods they needed from their former partners among the coastal Eskimo, abandoned their territories and resettled along the coast themselves.

At first, the Euro-American whalers arrived annually and left before the formation of the pack ice in the fall. The goods they exchanged in return for meat, whalebone, and furs included rifles and ammunition, liquor, flour, tobacco, matches, lead, and molasses (**VanStone** 1984:155). Even though these whalers were present only on a seasonal and intermittent basis, the amount of influence they had on Eskimo society should not be underestimated. Evidence from the Northwest Coast (**Walens, n.d.**), where ships' logbooks and sailors' journals have been more fully researched, shows that long before the arrival of missionaries, members of the ships' crews actively promulgated Christian doctrine to the Indians. Furthermore, Northwest Coast Indians made significant alterations in the political organization of their society in a manner that was in accordance with white political structure, in order to better exploit their newfound economic opportunities. The records for whaling in Hudson Bay have been discussed in detail by Ross (1971, 1975, 1979). It would be reasonable to expect that many of his conclusions about the social effects of Euro-American whaling upon the **Inuit** of the eastern Arctic would probably also hold true in the western Arctic, given the cultural and historical similarities between the two areas.

However, a significant difference in the amount of contact between whites and Eskimos occurred when steam vessels were introduced into arctic whaling in the 1880s. These ships, which carried crews of as many as several hundred men, could winter in the Arctic, so the length and amount of contact between whites and Eskimos increased. In 1897, for example, 275 men on an **icelocked** whaling ship were marooned for the winter in Barrow, where they were housed and fed by the local Native population. Whaling and trading stations were set up in several areas and Eskimos worked as deckhands and guides on the ships or were put to work provisioning the whalers, by hunting or making caribou clothing. Eventually some Eskimos set themselves up as whalers, in competition with the Euro-Americans and their Native allies, paying wages to other Eskimos (Chance 1966:14). A season's wages **would** be enough for a man to buy supplies to last through the winter. It is generally believed that whatever and however serious **the** effects of the first several decades of contact may have been, the effects of this second portion of contact were severely disruptive to Eskimo society. Lawless sailors, whiskey, disease, and depletion of game were significant new problems for the Eskimo peoples (Hughes 1971:396). **Burch (1981:16, 23)** feels that the effects that accompanied and resulted from this increased contact, especially the virtual elimination of whales and walrus from nearby waters, were so great that the onset of year-round Euro-American presence marks the end of what he calls the "traditional period" of north Alaska Eskimo history. VanStone argues to the contrary (1984:159), saying that the adoption of a mixed subsistence-wage economy was a relatively easy step for the northwestern Alaskan Eskimo to take.

The effect of epidemic diseases was an extremely serious one in the Arctic, as it was elsewhere in North America. Native Americans seem to have had little resistance to disease organisms that were endemic in the Euro-American population. As **Cronon and White state (1988:422):**

Wherever Indians encountered Europeans for any extended period of time, disease and depopulation were the eventual results Mortality rates varied with the specific disease organism, population density, the season of the year, a community's historical immunity, and so forth, but at their worst they could range as high as 80 or 90 percent The indirect effects of disease may have been at least as important as direct ones in bringing environmental change to North American Indian habitats. The strain placed on economic subsistence practices, hierarchies of political power, and **ritual** belief systems in societies drastically reduced must have been quite extraordinary Villagers were forced to move into new alliances with each other, shuffling the decks of kin networks and political alliances to accommodate their altered circumstances. These changes, like depopulation itself, were bound to have significant effects on the ways Indians used the plants and animals around them.

By the time commercial whaling on the north Alaska coast ended, at the beginning of World War I, its direct and indirect effects had dramatically changed Eskimo cultural patterns. For whatever reasons (non-Native overhunting, natural cyclical population dynamics, unique chance fluctuations) there had been such wholesale depletion of both land and sea subsistence resources that survival based on a traditional subsistence base was no longer possible for the major portion of the surviving **Inupiat** population. The spread of diseases brought about serious depopulation, promoting resettlement of the remaining population to a handful of coastal communities. The

introduction of alcohol brought a set of social problems of its own. There were the beginnings of administrative takeover of Native governance by both governmental and non-governmental entities. Moreover, there was the significant expansion of the trade and market sector of the economy (including wage labor as well as the sale or trade of "subsistence" resources) that dramatically affected the economic principles underlying **Inupiat** behavior and expanded the economic choices and alternatives available (Hughes 197 1:398). The separation between subsistence activities and market or wage labor activities was made untenable as both became essential elements in everyday life on the North Slope. Comparable conditions were manifested among the Eskimo cultures of the eastern Arctic (Ross 1971, 1975, 1979),

Schools in the Latter Transitional Era

One very important step in the process of Eskimo history began during the 1890s, when schools were erected in various North **Slope** villages. **At** first, the schools were associated directly with Church missions, but later they were administered by the United States government. (See Beaver 1984, especially p. 432, for a discussion of the distribution of Protestant missions in Alaska; Dorais and **D'Anglure** 1984 for a discussion of Roman Catholic missions in the Arctic.) Those villages that were selected to have schools, notably Point Hope, **Wainwright**, and Barrow, benefited significantly from that fact, and those that did not obtain schools suffered concomitantly. The presence of a school and its non-Native personnel gave a village status and recognition (both among the Natives themselves and among the non-Natives off-slope), as well as providing a source of goods, subsidies, and wage income. Medical and non-medical missionaries arrived in north Alaska communities at about the same time, giving an additional institutional basis to village identity. One adjunct of the economic and administrative benefits was that such villages presented a more attractive living situation than villages which did not. Thus, **Inupiat** from outlying areas would have been induced directly or indirectly to resettle in such magnet villages. Again, comparable processes in reaction to the formation of schools and missions can be found among the peoples of the Northwest Coast (**Walens n.d.**) and elsewhere.

The effects of education and religion were quite different in the villages of Point Hope and Point Lay. Point Hope received a school and a church early, in 1890 (although indications are that the school was open for two years or so before Dr. **Driggs** began to preach). Point Lay had never had a church as such until very recently (1987), and did not have a school built until 1927-30. Point Hope's first school teachers were also missionaries, and it was not **until** 1920 or so that the two functions were separated. In Point Lay, the people were exposed to organized religion only when they visited other communities or when a traveling religious functionary came through their area. The latter was not an uncommon event, but neither was it something of great frequency. The clergy from Point Hope tried to visit Point Lay on a semi-regular basis, and several other clergymen are remembered as well. In Point Hope the Episcopal Church is still central to the power structure and is quite evident in almost all public affairs. In Point Lay, on the other hand, while prayer is evident at most public gatherings, the church (and organized religion in general) does not have much of a presence. The difference in organizational history in the two villages, and the early combination of education and religion in Point Hope, would seem to account for much of this difference. The two villages also differ in their acceptance of more Pentecostal religion in much the same way -- there is a congregation (although relatively small) in Point Hope, whereas in Point Lay it

has so far made little headway. It must be admitted that **the two are** not completely comparable, as the Assembly of God has existed in Point Hope for a number of years and is much less conservative and doctrinaire than the Baptist Church in Point **Lay**.

Economy in the Latter Transitional Era

The end of the whaling era also left the Eskimo with some serious economic problems that did not exist prior to contact. First, there had been significant **overhunting** of a wide variety **of** both marine and terrestrial food animals, precluding any economic self-sufficiency. Second, the Eskimo had become fairly dependent **on** white's goods, which could be obtained only in trade (Chance 1966:16-18, 42-43). The loss of the wages and other cash income that the whaling industry provided forced the Eskimo to seek other sources of **cash**. This search took several general forms, most notably reindeer herding, fur trapping, and, by the 1930s, subsidies. Cash subsidies, such as pensions, relief aid for dependent children, unemployment compensation, and other government subsidies, and wage employment in governmental and other institutional programs remain an essential source of income even today (Chance 1966:17).

The introduction of reindeer to resolve the problem of the depletion of game was begun by Sheldon Jackson, who in 1882 moved to Alaska to serve both as Presbyterian superintendent of missions and territorial superintendent of education (Beaver 1984: 455). He was active in fostering missions throughout Alaska. His use of reindeer herds established at missions and mission schools had both a humanitarian and a proselytizing aspect to it, providing food and income for Eskimo entrepreneurs while at the same time requiring them to become more familiar with and even more committed **to** Christianity. For several decades, this **plan** was phenomenally successful -- the herd at Wainwright expanded from 2,300 to 22,000 between 1918 and 1934 -- but within a few years after this there was a sharp decline in the reindeer population throughout the entire region. Chance (1966:1 5-16) estimates that the 1,250 reindeer that had been imported from Siberia between 1892 and 1902 increased to more than 600,000 by 1932, by 1940 only 200,000 remained and by 1950 fewer than 25,000.

For a short time from the 1920s onwards, fox trapping became important as a source of cash income for north Alaska Eskimo (Chance 1966:1 6). While there was little technological change involved in fox trapping, the changeover to the emphasis on trapping may have had some important social effects. Chance suggests that trapping was a more individualistic activity than more traditional hunting and fostered a more dispersed population (Chance 1966: 16). Similar patterns are widely documented for the Indians of the subarctic (**Yerbury** 1986).

After 1929, when the price of fox pelts declined, there was some return to traditional subsistence activities. Sea mammal and caribou populations had risen somewhat (Chance 1966: 16), at least in part because of the reduced hunting pressure during the period of reindeer herding. Still, there was not a return to a prior patterns of socioeconomic existence. Village **qalgis**, which were viewed critically by missionaries, and the social life and ceremonial activities that were associated with them all but disappeared. With the end of the **qalgi** as a center of interaction, an important force for communality in north Alaska Eskimo society disappeared. The development of cooperative stores changed the status of those particular Eskimo families who could gain control of the stores, while at the same time increasing the interdependency of Natives by reducing the control of non-Natives over the trading process (Chance 1966:1 6-17).

For a person arriving **in** the village for the first time in 32 years, the actual physical layout of the settlement fairly staggers the imagination. There is virtually **no** reason at all for me to believe that I am actually in Point Hope. I recall that as I approached the village from the air in the fall of 1954, my impression on looking down on the settlement was one of continuity with the past. The remnants of the **Tigara** site could be seen on the point with more recent ruins and the occupied dwellings stretching along the various raised beaches. In a glance one could grasp the significance of more than 1000 years of continuous occupation. Even the school and church buildings, symbols of the outside world, had their position in this long established arrangement (VanStone 1987: personal communication).

A decision to move the village was made in 1977 because the point was rapidly washing away and the construction of a protective sea wall was deemed too expensive. At the new location the beach ridges were leveled and the individual lots laid out in a regular pattern. There is no physical resemblance between the Point Hope of 1955 and that of the present; even the old houses and public buildings that were moved to the new site appear anachronistic rather than as familiar landmarks.

New housing is significant in both Point Hope and Point Lay. In the Point Hope of 1955, each house was different from all others. Although VanStone visited frequently in all of them, he does not recall being greatly aware (except in extreme cases) that some were neater or cleaner than others. When houses are identical, or nearly so, (as they are today) standards of housekeeping, arrangements of personal effects, etc. are clearly discernible and certain to be perceived by any visitor. Nearly all housing in **Point** Lay is fairly new, but even in this “new” category are some structures (the first form of ASRC/NSB housing) that were moved from the site on the barrier spit or the site in the river delta. In Point Lay it was certainly true that there was, if not a ranking, at least a categorization of households as to their housekeeping, amount of worldly goods, and general ability to function. The ranking of households per se is **not** done by informants within the villages. No informant would make such comparative evaluations of other households, except perhaps noting the two extreme points if they are very far from the normative “average” situation. In Point Hope, for example, informants typically spontaneously commented only on those households that had a well above-average amount of material goods. Comparisons of relative resources were sometimes made at whaling time, but only the two extremes **were** noted. Of a crew that went out onto the ice early it was said “that guy [the captain] has a lot of money, he can stay out there a long time,” implying that his relative prosperity allows him to increase his odds of being successful at whaling in a way not open to others of lesser means. At the other end of the spectrum, one captain was very worried about his ability to fulfill his captain’s obligations with the material goods of his household, and this situation was commented upon.

Housing in Point Hope is a mixture of structures moved from the old site and new houses. The spatial arrangement, and the way it has evolved, is significant in terms of visiting patterns, population movement, interpersonal and **interhousehold** relationships, and so on (see **Galginaitis** et al. 1984). In Point Hope VanStone (1988 :**personal** communication) believes that the new arrangements have resulted in a change in visiting patterns. Point Hope is nearly twice as large as it was in the 1950s and now covers a considerable area. People interact more frequently with those who live closest to them, especially in winter. In the 1950s related families tended to live near each other when possible (VanStone 1962:99-100) and while this is still

preferred, it is not always the case today. In any event, **the** presence of CBS (in Point Hope -- in Point Lay there are no household CBS) and/or telephones in virtually every house makes **intravillage** communication much easier than it was **in** the past, and reduces the need for face-to-face contact while at the same time reducing isolation.

In 1955 there were only three "public" buildings in Point Hope, although the store might also be considered public since it served as a gathering place for people and a point of dissemination of information. The church, school, and community hall were "official" places where public gatherings were held and where the teachers and priest, outsiders with authority and influence, could be consulted. These buildings were distributed throughout the village rather than centralized as most of the public buildings are now (see plan of the old village in VanStone 1962:1 1). The **Kalgi** Center has replaced the church-owned community hall as the location for community events and it also houses village offices. Sporting events, public assemblies, and some private meetings (for example, the Tigara Corporation **annual** meeting) are held in the school. The present public buildings, although many in number, are, with the possible exception of the store, places where people go only if they have business. Their number and variety is an indication of the vastly increased services available to the villagers. They represent the growth and differentiation that has taken place in Point Hope since 1955.

In the 1950s the formal institutions at Point Hope were few and clearly defined. There was the BIA school, the Episcopal Church (with a few related formal groups), the National Guard, and the IRA council. The council ran the village, but the teachers and priest could be consulted or asked for assistance to solve local problems. The National Guard, as well as the church organizations (altar guild, mothers' club, etc.), were specialized groups not normally providing leadership to the village as a whole. Overall, the village seemed to function smoothly in 1955. There was a minimum of factionalism and most problems were solved promptly. The school teachers, as government representatives, virtually never interfered. The authority of the church, other than moral authority, was benign.

Today the situation is vastly more complicated. The proliferation of formal institutions -- state, federal, borough, and local -- seems to have resulted in bureaucratic paralysis. There are several aspects to this. Many people have observed that there may well be a contradiction between the qualities of a "traditional" **Inupiat** leader and those required by more "modern" institutions. This tension reduces the number of individuals willing to try to fill such roles, which leads to the perception that there are too few individuals available to fill leadership roles. Because of the stress often generated by trying to do too much, at least some of these individuals burn out or lack the necessary training. One major result is that now few people desire to be in the position of ultimate authority for **any** of these organizations. The result is sometimes procrastination, incompetence, or both in high places. As in all political systems, there **is a certain** amount of nepotism or cronyism as well.

Overlapping authority is perhaps part of the problem. It seems to be difficult for the city council, the corporation, and the IRA council to agree on a course of action that they can then present to the NSB. Thus, people do not know where to turn for answers to their questions about village problems.

In 1955 VanStone observed that people were not adverse to criticizing each other in private but were reluctant to do so publicly. At least some of the problems at that time were allowed to resolve themselves and never came to the attention of formal authority unless they caused, or seemed likely to cause, disruption. This appears to

be true now as well. Many of the questions and comments directed to the mayor of the NSB at the village meeting were, in fact, obliquely (and some not so obliquely) directed at local authorities. People wanted to voice their concerns in a public forum but were either reluctant to approach local authority directly or were confused as to where to turn.

In 1955 local control did not seem to be an issue in Point Hope. There was little or no direct perception of competition for scarce resources (commercial whaling was **long** over, the caribou had recovered, oil exploration had not as yet had much physical or psychological effect). The local school was tied to the BIA which set the curriculum, but its day-to-day functions were entirely in the hands of the teachers. Local problems were handled by the IRA council. In the cases of violations of state or federal law, a U.S. Marshal could be called in from **Nome**. Game laws, with the exception of those relating to migratory birds, were not an issue. However, when the subject of shooting ducks out of season did come up, people, then as now, voiced their opinion that game laws should not apply to Eskimos.

Today the subject of local control over resources seems to be a **vital** issue at Point Hope and elsewhere in Alaska as a result of game laws reflecting increased environmental concerns. For the past ten years whaling has been controlled by an international commission. Almost all community services are controlled by the NSB. Local control of the school is greater, at least in theory, than it was in 1955 and there is an elected school board. This board meets in Barrow, however, and is composed almost entirely of Barrow residents. The outlying villages each elect a local School Advisory Council. This is a totally local body, but has no powers as such. The NSB School Board listens to their advice on local matters, but their only real influence is through the local principal. Each local principal has a fairly free hand in terms of local hire, use of school facilities after school hours, and extracurricular activities related to Native culture. Issues of curriculum, teacher selection and evaluation, and most budgetary matters are little influenced on the local level. In Point Hope (and Point Lay) perhaps the most important issue concerning the school that was the focus of a fair amount of discussion was the recreation program. There was not enough money to have the school open for recreation year-round, so the question was what times to close it, and what facilities to close (Point Hope has a swimming Pool, requiring a lifeguard, whereas Point Lay does not). Expressed local preference was followed on this, and perhaps some local money allocated to help alleviate the problem.

The general impression is that today people feel that they have much less control over their own lives than they did in the past. This is doubtless due in part to their greater involvement with the outside world, employment opportunities, etc. and is accepted as a perhaps bewildering but necessary aspect of their better standard of living. No **Inupiat** wishes to return to the North Slope of the past. At the same time it must be recognized that in terms of institutions such as the school and the public safety department that local control is much less than in the 1950s and before. Power may now be centralized in Barrow under an **Inupiat** regional government rather than in Washington or Juneau under a non-Native administration, but interventions are now on an everyday and routine level rather than only in cases of unusual need. Benign neglect has given way to festering solicitude. Paradoxically, the school is probably seen to be more of a reflection of the village now than it was in the days of the BIA. This would seem to reflect the change in the general awareness of being **Inupiat** as much as anything else.

People in a variety of administrative positions feel that they work at a disadvantage because so many decisions and allocations are made in Barrow. This includes the

school where the principal believes that **personnel decisions** are made without input from the local school advisory board, administrators of various programs who feel that purchase orders are held up, and individuals who feel that Point Hope should have more representation in the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission. In general, people believe that Point Hope “gets the short end of the stick” and that Barrow serves its own needs first. In 1955, employment outside of the village was a matter between employer and employee. Today, virtually all employment is in the village, and the majority of the jobs are available through the North Slope Borough. This dependency on the Borough for employment, village improvement, and administrative efficiency is largely responsible for the general feeling that important decisions affecting the village are not made in Point Hope.

The recent **re-creation** of an IRA Council is another indication that villagers are uncertain about their future and feel that control of their lives could slip out of their hands. The “sovereignty” movement, which is becoming a major militant factor **in** villages in the Yukon-Kuskokwim delta, could spread to the North Slope. It is even conceivable that Point Hope, like Akiachak, on the lower Kuskokwim River, could reject its status as a second-class city, thus antagonizing both state and federal governments.

The Point Hope School in the Transition to the Contemporary Era

In 1955 the school and its teachers (a married couple) were a central focus of village life. Classes were offered through the eighth grade only and students who wished to go to high school had to go to Mt. **Edgecumbe**. Since they did not return for summer vacations, this meant that they were away from the village for four years. This prolonged absence took place at an age crucial for learning subsistence skills. Nevertheless, students were anxious to obtain more education and the graduating **class** in **1955** was the first in which all members went off to high school. It now appears that the “old” pattern may be repeating **itself** as the desire for higher education increases. Point Hope has eight students currently enrolled in higher education programs, the most of any of the NSB villages. While it will be some time before an entire graduating class leaves the village for college, the numbers are gradually increasing.

The school teachers in the 1950s had many duties in addition to teaching. They maintained daily radio schedules with the ACS station in **Kotzebue** to receive telegrams and they also talked daily with the **Kotzebue** hospital. Thus, they virtually controlled contact with the outside world. In addition, the teachers maintained a clinic and supervised weekly movies which were shown in school. In a very real sense they seemed to be holding open house all the time, something that was perhaps inevitable since their living quarters were in the school building. Today, the school is an impressive physical plant that would not be out of place in a wealthy Chicago suburb. It employs 45 people full-time, of which 25 are certified teachers and the rest local people. The school is the biggest employer in the village. Since classes through high school are taught, it is no longer necessary for students to leave the village to continue their education. Although teachers clearly have a variety of duties in addition to teaching (officiating at basketball games, etc.), they no longer are involved in as many community affairs as they were in the past. Teachers are still important community resources, but are much more confined and certainly no longer control contact with the outside world in any real sense. They do have a profound influence on the socialization and value structure of

their students, but all of the functions outside of the school have been taken over by other specialists. In addition, industry, the media, and the NSB have insured that there are multiple channels of communication.

Since the school is a Borough institution, the villagers theoretically have more control over it than they did in the days of the BIA when there was no such thing as a school board. However, this control may be more apparent than real. The school obviously must prepare students for participation in the wider society and it seemed that as a rule the professional staff rather resented the one hour each day devoted to language study; Native dancing is also taught. These seem to be the only concessions to the culture of the student body. The textbooks seem to be the same as those used in Alaskan urban school. The school library does have a fair amount of material relating to North Slope affairs.

Community Activities in the Transition to the Contemporary Era

In 1955 virtually the only activities which brought the villagers together were church-oriented. There were two church services on Sunday and one in mid week in Browning **Hall**, all of which were well attended. Movies were shown at the school on Friday nights and these were also popular, although some people objected to them on moral grounds. Occasionally an Eskimo dance was held in the National Guard building. Episodic seasonal festivals, such as those at Thanksgiving and Christmas, had Episcopal Church sanction since they were held in Browning Hall. **Nulukatuk** was observed outside at the **Qalgi** locations.

The big ongoing event in Point Hope and Point Lay today is bingo. Games are held every night of the week except Sunday in Point Hope, but only three nights a week in Point Lay. Most of those observed to attend bingo in Point Hope were middle-aged or **older**, whereas in Point Lay all age groups attended (high school students and younger children were not allowed). Bingo is a major topic of conversation in both villages. Some residents do object to bingo on religious or other grounds, and the addictive nature of the activity is generally recognized.

The Thanksgiving and Christmas festivals are today held in the **Kalgi** (Community) Center and thus physically separated from the Episcopal Church. They are well attended and thus continue as important unifying events for the village. The Thanksgiving festival is essentially just a feast as it was in 1955. At that time the Christmas festival represented a grouping together of various seasonal festivals that had formerly been held **at** specified times during the seasonal round (see VanStone 1962:1 14-21). Christmas in Point Lay did not seem to contain any reference to traditional seasonal feasts, other than the general form. Feasts in both communities are explicitly celebrations of the community. The Easter "feast" in Point Hope did take place in the Episcopal Church immediately after the service; this was done, however, not by design but because the heater in the **Kalgi** Center was out of fuel, forcing a change in location.

Other functions which seem to be unifying events revolve around the school -- basketball games, school programs, and cultural events from Barrow (or elsewhere) most commonly staged in the school. All attract large and enthusiastic crowds. Basketball games, which are played against teams from North Slope villages and villages in other parts of Alaska, have the capacity to create village pride in a way that no public event could in 1955 and that few others of today can match.

Competing with various public activities in the village are the increased opportunities for entertainment at home. In **1955** some families had battery-operated radios, but today every family in Point Hope has at least one television set which receives eleven channels and VCRs have replaced the weekly movies. Card games were popular home entertainment in 1955, but appear to be much less frequent today. In Point Lay every house has a television, but the cable system is not functional so there are only three channels. There is no radio reception in Point Lay except in certain prime locations, but VCRs have started to proliferate as more people can now afford them and a minimal number of owners for the effective distribution of the costs for sharing of movies seems to have been attained. A village consensus on use of "**VHS**" format (a specific commercial tape configuration) machines seems to have been reached, further facilitating the economy of use of **VCRs**.

Contact with the Outside World in the Transition to the Contemporary Era

There is no doubt that today Point Hope is considerably less isolated than it was in 1955. The few radios in use at that time provided opportunities to listen to the ACS and medical transmissions as well as one station in Nome. Today, telephones make it possible to call relatives and friends in remote places and aid the consumer wishing to take advantage of outside sources of supply. Television is more than entertainment. Eleven channels can provide a great deal of information about the outside world. Point Hoppers are more sophisticated concerning current events, nationally and internationally. People have also traveled a great deal more than in the past, both to other villages and cities in Alaska, and to other parts of the U.S. Military service abroad has expanded the world view of a few young men.

In 1955 a mail plane from **Kotzebue** served the village twice a week when the weather was good. Sometimes in winter there might be as much as a month or six weeks without any service. Today there are commercial flights every day from both Kotzebue and Barrow (although weather can still prevent landing for weeks at a time). In addition, there are regular flights that bring freight for the store. A lighted runway makes it possible for planes to land after dark on short winter days.

Employment outside the village is an important factor in increasing knowledge of the outside world. Almost every adult has worked away from the village at one time or another, some for considerable lengths of time. This seems to be a common characteristic in other villages as well. Point Lay, of course, scores almost 100% on this count, as would **Nuiqsut**, and probably **Atkasuk** and Anaktuvuk Pass, since all four are "resettled" villages. Where these people came from and what they were doing there may or may not be different from the "out-of-village experiences" of the residents of the four more permanent villages -- Point Hope, **Wainwright**, Barrow, and Kaktovik (**Wainwright** and Kaktovik are themselves fairly recent as permanent villages, but for the sake of this comparison seem to fit here).

Consumer goods are available in much greater variety and amounts than in 1955 when virtually everything in the store arrived on the annual supply boat. People today have many more economic resources to expend and can order by phone from outside suppliers. The store receives new stock regularly by plane. In the past **people** could order durable goods and other unusual items to arrive by boat, but this had to be done nearly a year in advance. Sears catalogs were used extensively in the past and are one source used presently, but perhaps not as exclusively as before. Certainly catalogs were not readily visible in houses today as they always were in 1955 (VanStone 1987: personal communication). The post offices in both Point Hope and Point Lay do a big "cash on delivery" (COD) and money order business.

The Episcopal Church in the Transition to the Contemporary Era

In 1955 homogeneity of religious faith was an important factor in creating solidarity and served as a unifying force in the village. At that time Point Hope lacked the religious factionalism that characterized many Alaskan villages. The priest, frequently referred to as a “missionary”, was aided by the church council, an influential group of older men, each qualified as a lay reader who could conduct services (with the exception of the Eucharist) in the absence of the priest. At the Sunday services the priest spoke in English which was translated by a member of the church council. The council’s authority was moral and it was not involved in secular affairs. Nearly everyone attended church at least half the time and even those who didn’t were likely to be lukewarm about church-going and not about religion itself (VanStone 1962:151-57). The existence of Browning Hall, a large community center where community activities took place, also served to strengthen the church’s importance in the village.

At some time in the late 1960s the last non-Native priest served at Point Hope and a local (**Inupiat**) man was ordained. Since then indigenous clergy have served the church and this doubtless has helped the institution to be viewed more as a part of the community than as one (like the **BIA**) imposed from without. Browning Hall apparently burned sometime prior to the move to the new site. Although a new church was built, so were a number of secular community buildings which are now used for most community events. This seems to have led to a reduction in the church’s influence on community activities, which no longer receive implicit church sanction by being held in church buildings.

Today the Episcopal Church appears to be far less central to community social life. Attendance at the new church is less than attendance at the old one in 1955, although precise figures are unavailable. The **Kalgi** Center has replaced church buildings as the site of major village festivals and meetings, thus effectively secularizing these activities. Bingo and basketball, as well as increased availability of entertainment in the home, has diverted people’s attention from formal religion. The Episcopal services are attended largely by older people who, as young men and women, attended church in the 1950s. The existence of a second church (Assembly of God) in the village also dilutes influence of the “established” church. It appears, however, that religion of any kind plays a greatly reduced role in village life,

The Role of Elders in the Transition to the Contemporary Era

Old people were respected in the 1950s and cared for by their children and other relatives. Their old age assistance checks were an important contribution to household finances. **Old** people did not occupy positions of authority and those who formerly possessed authority through their prestige as hunters or through family connections found themselves shunted aside in favor of younger, more vigorous individuals. The Elders accepted this (VanStone 1962).

The situation appears to be much the same today. Several old people receive some form of assistance from their children. Several were whaling captains or village council members in the past, but they no longer occupy these positions. Other elderly men still formally hold the title of whaling captain but no longer go out in the boat, delegating that task to a son who is acting captain. The big difference today in the status of the elderly is that care and concern for the elderly has, to

some extent, been institutionalized. There is a senior citizen center and a special bus to transport elderly people about the village. They receive discounts at the store and receive lunches five times a week. The Borough pays a number of young women to check daily on the welfare of old people and to assist them with housekeeping and shopping. This is, in some ways, affecting the socialization of **Inupiat** youth and the transmission of cultural values, but it is obvious that many young people still care for "their" elders and do not rely exclusively on formal programs to see to the seniors.

One possibly significant change from the past is that old people are respected as a valuable source of information about the old days. With increased ethnic awareness goes an increased interest in everything that is likely to help provide a meaningful ethnic identity. The importance attached to Eskimo dancing and the oral history project are examples of this new interest. Also appreciated is the fact that many traditional skills once familiar to virtually all adults are now known by only a few individuals. Thus, where previously most all adult women knew how to sew skins for an **umiak** cover, this skill is now known by only a few and their services must be purchased for cash.

Land Use in the Transition to the Contemporary Era

Land use is not discussed in VanStone's work on Point Hope. There appears to have been no perception of competition for resources in the **1950s**, however, either with the outside world or with fellow **Inupiat**. There was no conception of private ownership of land in the 1950s and people apparently hunted anywhere they could locate game. Geographical boundaries were very important in the past and violations **could lead** to armed conflict (**Wells and Kelly i 890; Burch 1980, 1981 j**). There were no cabins used for the support of subsistence activities in the past as there are now, for instance at fishing sites on the **Kukpuk** River. Cabins have **also** been constructed at Point Lay fish camps **in** the recent past. The institution of trading partners made it possible for Point Hoppers to visit and trade in territories other than their own. In the 1950s, however, these sorts of concerns were not operative.

The land issues of the present day are obviously the result of ANCSA, further complicated in Point Hope by the move to the new site, given its status as a federally protected archaeological resource. There is a concept of private land ownership now (house and lot, also Native allotments) but this seems to apply only to residentially occupied land and not to that used to harvest subsistence resources except in those cases where the harvest activity is in one particular area every year and there is also some sort of structure there. The ideal is for cabins built for such subsistence use to be open for the use of all, with the understanding that anything used will be replaced and that the cabin is left in as clean a condition as it was found. This ideal may be changing to a more exclusive use concept, on the way to a transformation into private (or at least organized group, limited use) property.

Employment in the Transition to the Contemporary Era

There certainly are many more jobs in the village today than there were in the past (20 people other than teachers are employed by the school alone). At the same time, there is a village perception of a very high unemployment rate. One informant gave his current estimate as 85%. The best figure available from the NSB is for April 1986, and depending on the assumptions one wishes to use, gives a range of 55% to 63% unemployed (Sampson 1986). In 1955 the only full-time jobs were the "janitor"

(actually an all-purpose maintenance man) at the school, the postmaster, and the storekeeper. The airline had a part-time agent and one or two women may have been employed part-time to assist the teacher with school lunches and other tasks.

Employment outside the village was an important aspect of the economy in 1955 primarily because a White Alice radar station was under construction at Cape Lisburne at that time. Some men also left the village to work on construction sites elsewhere in Alaska and those who spoke little or no English could work at the gold mining operations in Fairbanks. At that time VanStone believed that employment outside the village did not threaten traditional subsistence activities because it took place during the summer months when there was relatively little hunting and fishing (VanStone 1988:personal communication). Obviously the situation is different today when the range of local jobs seems similar to that in any small town. However, not all Inupiat want full-time jobs, and not all Inupiat are always looking for employment.

Changes in Whaling in the Transition to the Contemporary Era

Although the bowhead whaling complex has always been the foundation of Inupiat culture and society, it has been changing continuously since prehistoric times. In 1955 many of the traditional practices were abandoned and the complex then was much different than it is today. The whaling season lasted from the first appearance of the animals off the point in late March until all whales had passed in early June. Dog teams were used to travel to and from the camps at the edge of the ice (something not permitted in Rainey's time) and outboard motors were not used on the umiaks. Older children were dismissed from school when the crews were on the ice. The darting gun (rather than the shoulder gun) was used exclusively to kill whales.

It is apparent that there are many differences in whaling at the present time. Dog teams, of course, are no longer used, but snowmobiles and three-wheelers transport people and equipment between the village and the whaling camps. Whaling crews are apparently less self-contained units. Since few women know how to sew skins for umiak covers, those that do must be hired, to prepare the skins for several crews. There are apparently many more crews today than there were in 1955, presumably due, in part, to the fact that more men have the financial resources to become whaling captains. The subsidization of whaling crews by the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission (AEWC) also encourages the formation of an increasing number of crews.

In 1977 the International Whaling Commission (IWC) imposed a moratorium on whaling. The Inupiat joined with the Siberian Yupik whalers of St. Lawrence Island to form the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission and, after concerted political effort, a quota system was established. The actual quotas change from year to year, based on studies of the whale population. The quota system has resulted in further changes in the whaling complex. The active whaling season may be much shorter since it would end as soon as the quota is filled. In early spring the whaling captains go to Barrow where quotas for the coming season for each village are established. The IWC sets the overall quota, and the AEWEC divides it up among the Native whaling villages. The AEWEC also subsidizes the hunt and this is almost certainly another factor in the increased number of "subsistence days" off from school each year and these must be taken consecutively. This means that if the whaling season is short, the children will lose some of their days which might be spent profitably on other subsistence activities.

External control of whaling is obviously a matter of concern to Point Hopers. Since the activity is the most significant aspect of cultural identity, the restrictions are resented and it may not be an exaggeration to say that whaling is at the center of the “subsistence issue.” **One** wonders also whether under the present circumstances young people will have an opportunity to learn the techniques of whaling sufficiently so that they can hunt effectively in the future.

Cultural Awareness in the Transition to the Contemporary Era

In 1955 ethnic awareness and pride were present to some extent but they were not discussed very much. In fact, some Natives did talk about what they believed to be the “inferiority” of Eskimos. On the other hand, it was obvious that men took considerable pride in their hunting ability and their knowledge of the sea ice environment. The term **“Inupiat”** was never used. A few of the older men were especially proud of their knowledge of traditional technology (such as lashing a skin cover on the **umiak**). The current common use of **“Inupiat”** and the outspoken pride in the abilities of all **Inupiat** are significant changes.

Many Point Hopers at that time made craft objects for sale at the store or to outsiders who visited the village. Whalebone masks were especially popular and there were some good ivory carvers. These craft activities continue at the present, with the addition of the making of baleen baskets, sleds made of caribou jawbones, and other items.

Our impression is that ethnic awareness has increased today as a result of ANCSA and the political issues that have grown out of it. People have seen that **Inupiat** are important and that their points of view are taken seriously by the state and federal governments. The shift from “Eskimo” to **“Inupiat”** is significant. A people using their own name for themselves has symbolic importance. Extensive employment outside the village has shown that **Inupiat** can compete successfully with whites.

Point Hopers seem to have a certain amount of interest in their past, but it is not clear whether it has really increased over the years. Native dancing, however, has always been an accomplishment of which many villagers are especially proud, and is currently taught in the school because of local interest. It appears that in spite of the bilingual course taught in the **local** school that less **Inupiat** is spoken in the village today than in 1955, but this is difficult to gauge because no systematic records of language use were made at that time. Certainly, the bilingual program at school is not effective in producing **Inupiaq** speakers. However, it doubtless increases language awareness. The issue is rendered more complex by the fact that within a single more-or-less bounded event, language use varies. For example, when the NSB mayor came to the village for a meeting in December 1987, he spoke mostly in **Inupiaq** but the questions he fielded were mostly in English. The Point Hope City council meetings attended, on the other hand, were conducted in English. VanStone (1989:personal communication) on his second visit to the village within two years, after an absence of over thirty years, noted “my impression is that more middle-aged people speak, or at least understand, **Inupiaq** than I had previously believed. This means that the children in 1955 who I believed would lose the language have not done so. Since someone in every household I visited [in 1987 and 1989] spoke **Inupiaq**, young people continue to be exposed to the language on a daily basis.”

THE CONTEMPORARY ERA: 1971 -PRESENT

The main concern of this section is to provide a description of Point Lay within the context of ANCSA and the formation of the North Slope Borough.

General Population -- Point Lay and Point Hope

With the passage of the ANCSA and the formation of the NSB, both the existing community of Point Hope and the soon-to-be-resettled community of Point Lay suddenly acquired a substantial wage economy base. As noted elsewhere, similar programs in the two communities have resulted in greater per capita employment in the smaller community, Housing appears to limit the population of Point Lay, so that there is essentially a wage job for anyone who wishes to work, and certainly for at least one person in each household. The same cannot be said of Point Hope. This is also partially due to the fact that Point Lay has had to be essentially built from scratch twice since 1973, whereas Point Hope had at least the rudiments of an infrastructure and housing supply to begin with (although Point Hope has also been relocated once in this time period, and hence experienced a general construction boom on top of the **CIP-related** work). Both villages reflect this in their population figures, with the Point Lay gain being more impressive in a relative sense.

General Population Description of Contemporary Point Lay

The central feature of the contemporary **sociocultural** system of Point Lay is the resettlement of its population in 1972. Point Lay residents maintain that the ASRC organized and directed the resettlement of Point Lay, including soliciting individuals to enroll in the **Cully** village corporation. The strategic motivation of the ASRC (and the NSB) would seem relatively straightforward: the greater the number of traditional villages that exist under the ANCSA, the more land the **Inupiat** as a group would be entitled to and the more widespread the potential area for selection would be. There are also extensive coal deposits in the Point Lay area that may be commercially exploitable at some future time. At the time of the formation of the NSB, there was some doubt as to whether Point Hope would align itself with the NSB or with the NANA region, and it was perceived that without a permanent community between Point Hope and Wainwright that perhaps the former community would be too isolated from the rest of the NSB to be a functional part of that entity. As organizers in Barrow considered Point Hope important to the NSB for a variety of reasons, the resettlement of Point Lay was seen as both a politically appropriate move and one which at the same time fulfilled the desires of the people who had ties to the area.

Most of the people who moved to Point Lay in 1972 and during the years soon after were **Inupiat**. (A few **non-Inupiat** workers were hired to help with the construction of houses and infrastructure, and most who did come were strictly short-term.) The motives the **Inupiat** residents had for having moved to Point Lay were fairly consistent, and fell into two general categories. First, most had either grown up in the area themselves or had parents who had lived in the area. They personally wanted to reaffirm an identity with that community which they perceived as having existed at Point Lay from about 1930-58. Many of these people, or their parents, had been part of that community, but had then dispersed to other NSB communities or even to various parts of the lower-48. When given the opportunity to regroup as a viable community, many wished to return to the Point Lay area.

TABLE 1

TOTAL POPULATION, POINT LAY AND POINT HOPE, ALASKA

YEAR	Population of Point Lay	Population of Point Hope
1850	---	854
1880	30*	276*
1890	77*	295*
1900	---	623****
1910	---	243*
1920	---	141*
1929	---	139*
1939	117*	257*
1950	75*	264*
1960	---	324*
1970	...	386*
1973	31	376
1975	27 or 48	384 or 404
1976	51	408
1977	54	412
1978	57	464
1979	72	527
1980	68* or 91 or 94	464* or 480 or 527
1981	105 or 126	531
1982	71** or 105	513** or 544
1983	76** or 126	499** or 570
1984	129	---
1987	144*** or 153***	---
1988	151***	591

Unattributed figures are from various (often inconsistent) North Slope Borough sources.

* U.S. Census

**** Alaska** Permanent Fund Checks distributed to people in the village

*** Counts by Impact Assessment, Inc. (9/87, 12/87, 6/88)

**** Fullerton and Hall 1987. This figure, if taken at face value, is in stark contrast to that estimated by **Burch** 1981 of about 240 for the entire Point Hope area. It seems likely that the high number includes a significant number of transients employed in whaling operations (both ship and shore) that the low **number** may not. In any event, this period was characterized by a decline in natural Native population of the area, combined with an influx of Natives and non-Natives from other areas. As both population estimates agree that this was the operative population dynamic in effect at that time, the numerical difference is not as significant as it may first appear to be, and a reasonable estimate would be closer to the lower number than to the higher.

The second important component of the desire to return to Point Lay derived from the perception that the Point Lay area possesses adequate subsistence resources to support a village. Nearly all current repatriated village residents cite the potential ability to live a subsistence life-style as the (or least a) major determinant in their decision to relocate to Point Lay. However, the labor demands necessary to maintain the village's infrastructure put substantial restraints on people's time, and mitigate against some types of subsistence activities. The contrast between the Native desire to live at least partially free from the **wage-labor** system and the central and incontrovertible importance of that wage-labor system comprises the cornerstone of the economic and social dynamics of contemporary Point Lay.

The situation is further complicated by the contrast between **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** attitudes about economic motivation. This contrast is very well recognized in Point Lay and is one of the reasons for relatively frequent conflict between "outside" contractors and village residents. Local people realize the need somehow to accommodate their wage-labor commitments with other highly valued economic and social activities (subsistence pursuits, camping on the land, and so on), and have developed various flexible work patterns to try to combine their need for wages with their **non-wage** activities. Contractors, however, with an appropriately single-minded priority of completing a short-term construction project on time, within budget, and while making a profit -- whether for themselves, for a Native corporation, or for both -- most often do not recognize the need for such flexibility,

Differences in work ethic and economic values create difficulties for long-term Native wage labor. When viewed in its cultural context, the decision to give up the economic security of a full-time wage position because of a desire to live a more traditional life-style is certainly based on long-term social and economic considerations, even if those considerations are not in concordance with non-Native socioeconomic values. Few village residents think poorly of a fellow villager who does not "hold a steady job," or quits such a job for a more seasonal position, even though a year-round job may be more financially secure. Full-time wage positions provide a Native with the economic **income** necessary to obtain and maintain the equipment needed to hunt, but also may preclude him from having the free time, either daily or seasonally, to go hunting. Full-time jobs also contravene an important Native value, that a person has different labor commitments to different people at different times. Whaling captains in Point Hope report that full-time wage earners are less reliable crew members because of their necessity to work, and Point Lay residents report that their participation in whaling in other villages is limited because of their need to work. On the other hand, when the **beluga** come nearly all able-bodied adults in Point Lay participate and all NSB services are manned by skeleton (and mostly **non-Inupiat**) staffs. The **beluga** harvest takes a week at the most, however, while whaling can be a matter of weeks or even months. The general perception is that wage employment interferes with other activities that are less scheduled in nature but are much more preferred when the opportunities occur to engage in them, and that such opportunities frequently conflict with the schedule of wage activity. Thus, even the common pattern of finding a succession of seasonal or temporary jobs has a number of important long-term considerations behind it, and what may appear to be strictly "short-term" considerations to an outsider (increased opportunities to harvest subsistence resources, a more flexible schedule, often higher wages) may be dictated by a strategy of keeping oneself available to fulfill shifting social commitments.

The contrast of the recent “resettlement” or changing use patterns of the Point Lay area with the continuous occupancy the area immediately around the site of **present-day** Point Hope is of primary importance. Land use patterns in both communities have changed significantly over time. Point Hope has always been a settled community, or at least the home base or hub community for a fairly substantial population. The model of Point Hope as a regional center for satellite communities in the hinterlands to both its north and south is useful as at least a starting point in any historical discussion. Even though traditionally such relationships may have been **full** of tension, in the **precontact** and immediate **postcontact** periods a true center-periphery situation existed between Point Hope and the surrounding areas. However, with the concentration of population into widely scattered permanent settlements and the continued development of transportation networks, Point Hope no longer functions as a regional center. To some extent, a mobile population which once used a more extensive area of land to the north and the south of the Point Hope area -- overlapping in the north with the Point Lay area -- has now settled more permanently in Point Hope and is **living** under a residential and territorial constriction that was not characteristic of earlier time periods.

There are substantial differences between the resource bases of Point Lay and Point Hope communities, and therefore it may be argued that Point Lay is the product of different, but complementary, socioeconomic and historic processes from those that affected Point Hope. Point Lay had always been only a seasonally-occupied site, and was not necessarily used from year to year, or used by the same people from one year to the next. Those people who historically had used the area were very **mobile** and were familiar with the coast (and even the interior) to the north and south of the Point Lay for some distance. The history of settlement patterns at Point Lay prior to 1972 is a testament to this. A truly permanent village was founded only in 1972. The comparison of Point Hope as the prototypical long-term, relatively permanent whaling community on the North Slope with Point Lay, where there has been no whaling since 1938 or so, and where it was never extensive in any event, will best exemplify the differences between the communities.

More detailed population breakouts by **ethnicity**, age, and sex are provided for Point Lay in Tables 3-7 (located on following pages). A more accessible version of this information is summarized in Table 2 and presented graphically in Figures 1 - 8, which will be the basis for the following discussion.

Good information is lacking for years prior to 1980, and even in 1980 the household survey was incomplete so that household size information is not available. Because of the small size of Point Lay, the sample used cannot be considered to represent Point Lay as a whole. Because Point Lay is so small in absolute terms, and because the assumption of the “normal” distribution or variation cannot be expected to hold (and **observationally** it can, indeed, be seen not to hold), any sample of less than 100% will not accurately represent the village. Statements and generalizations made from such a sample will apply **only** to the sample and will not be accurate descriptions of the community as a whole.

Although information for the period 1973 to 1980 is even more fragmentary, certain consistencies emerge. The population of Point Lay is increasing, with the largest increases (relatively) in the early 1970s when the village was refounded, and in the early 1980s when the CIP funding was greatly increased. Growth since then has been steady, but much more restrained. Except for the anomalies of 1984 and December 1987, the **Inupiat** population has been at about 80% of the total population of the village, with the **non-Inupiat** (Caucasian) population being somewhat over 15%. The remainder of the population is made up of “mixed” children of **interethnic** marriages.

Because of the small size of Point Lay, a relatively few more **non-Inupiat** during the time of a population survey can radically affect the figures. It is suspected that this is the cause of the 1984 perturbation, as 1984 was the final rush of many of the CIP projects in Point Lay, for which a significant amount of non-local labor was brought in. In December 1987, there was also construction activity not normal for that time of year going on, involving non-Native, non-local labor. It appears to be a valid generalization, then, to say that Point Lay's population is now about 80% **Inupiat** and 15% **non-Inupiat**. The "mixed" cases will be discussed as a special category for various reasons, but mainly because they demonstrate the complexity of the Point Lay context.

"Mixed" is not a local term. It is used for purposes of this report to describe the children of **interethnic** marriages between **Inupiat** and Caucasian parents. It is thus an analytical category. It is also a behavioral category. All adults in Point Lay are either **Inupiat** or Caucasian (actually there are two Alaskan Indians, but they are treated as if they are **Inupiat**). Adults thus have an inflexible ethnic identity, whereas children (through the choices of their parents) of **interethnic** marriages have some flexibility in defining their ethnic identity. The concept of ethnic identity in Point Lay can perhaps be best understood through a detailed examination of households that feature **interethnic** marriages. This is the case because it is within these households, rather than being clearly attributed from outside of the family unit, ethnic identity is forged from a range of options, and the process of identity formation is observable to an extent. The socialization of these children varies with each household context. Some are very **"non-Inupiat"** oriented, while still maintaining contact with the **Inupiat** world. Others try to blend the two cultures, and tend to be those with **Inupiat** male and **non-Inupiat** female adults. The situation is further complicated since legally these children are classified as Alaska Natives and are thus entitled to certain rights that non-Natives are not.

TABLE 2

Population Percentage Comparisons -- Point Lay, Alaska

	1980	1984	09/87	12/87	1988
Total Pop,	91	129	144	153	150
# of Inupiat	77	88	116	113	121
% of Total Pop.	84.6	68.2	80.6	73.9	80.7
% Male	57.1	59.1	62.5	61.6	60.2
% Female	42.9	40.9	37.5	38.9	39.8
% 0-19	49.4	42.9	43.1	39.8	41.7
% 20-54	45.5	47.1	50.0	49.6	52.5
% 55+	5.2	10.0	6.0	6.2	5.8
# of Non-Inupiat	14	30	21	33	24
% of Total Pop.	15.4	23.3	14.6	21.6	16.0
% Male	78.6	56.7	52.4	60.6	50.0
% Female	21.4	43.3	47.6	39.4	50.0
% 0-19	11.1	25.0	19.1	15.2	16.7
% 20-54	88.9	75.0	76.2	81.8	79.2
% 55+	0.0	0.0	4.8	3.0	4.2

Point Lay Population Pyramid July 1984

Inupiat Population

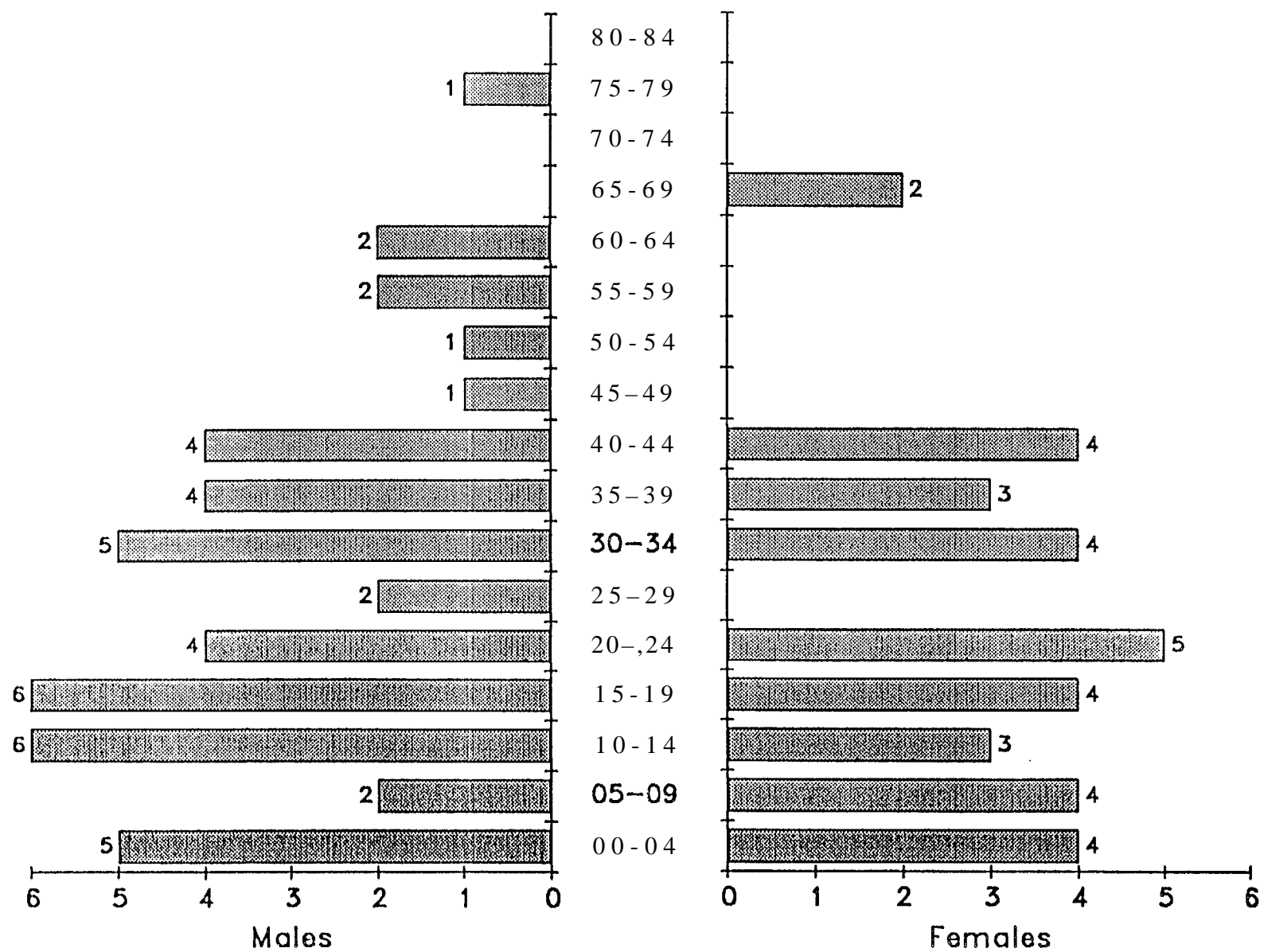


Figure 1
56

Point Lay Population Pyramid December 1984

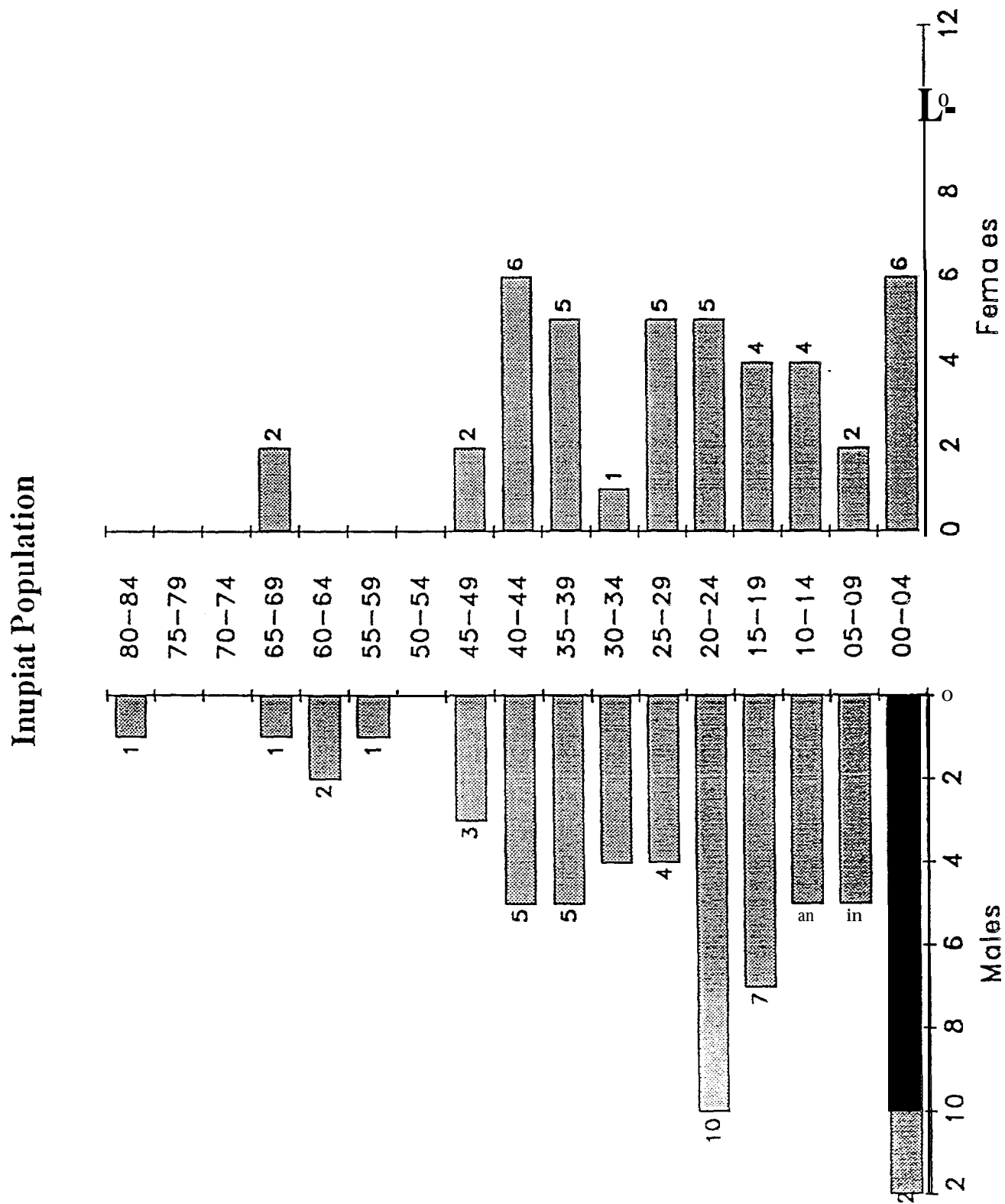


Figure 2
57

Point Lay Population Pyramid September 1987

Inupiat Population

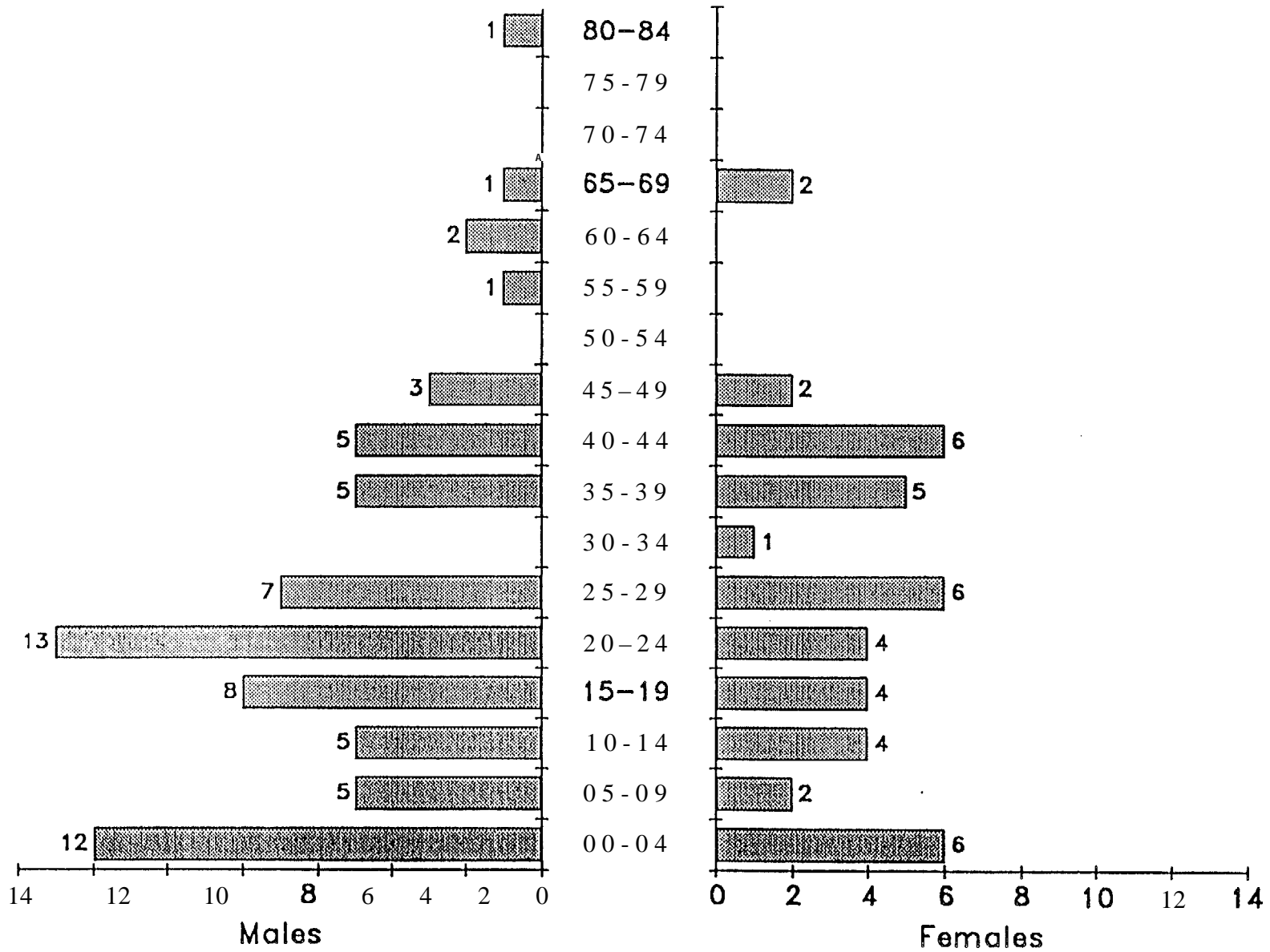


Figure 3
58

Point Lay Population Pyramid

June 1988

Inupiat Population

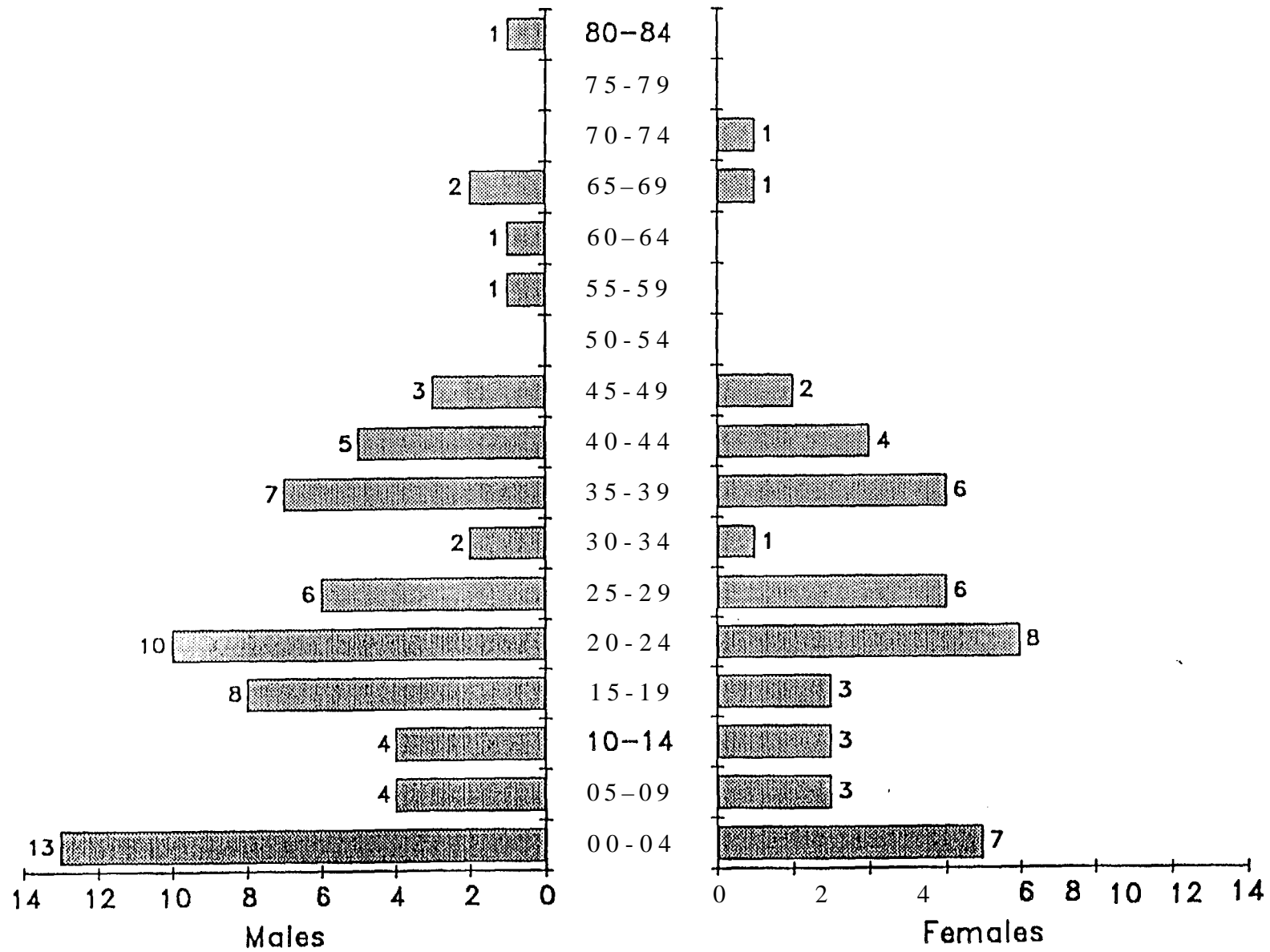


Figure 4
59

Point Lay Population Pyramid July 1984

Non-Inupiat Population

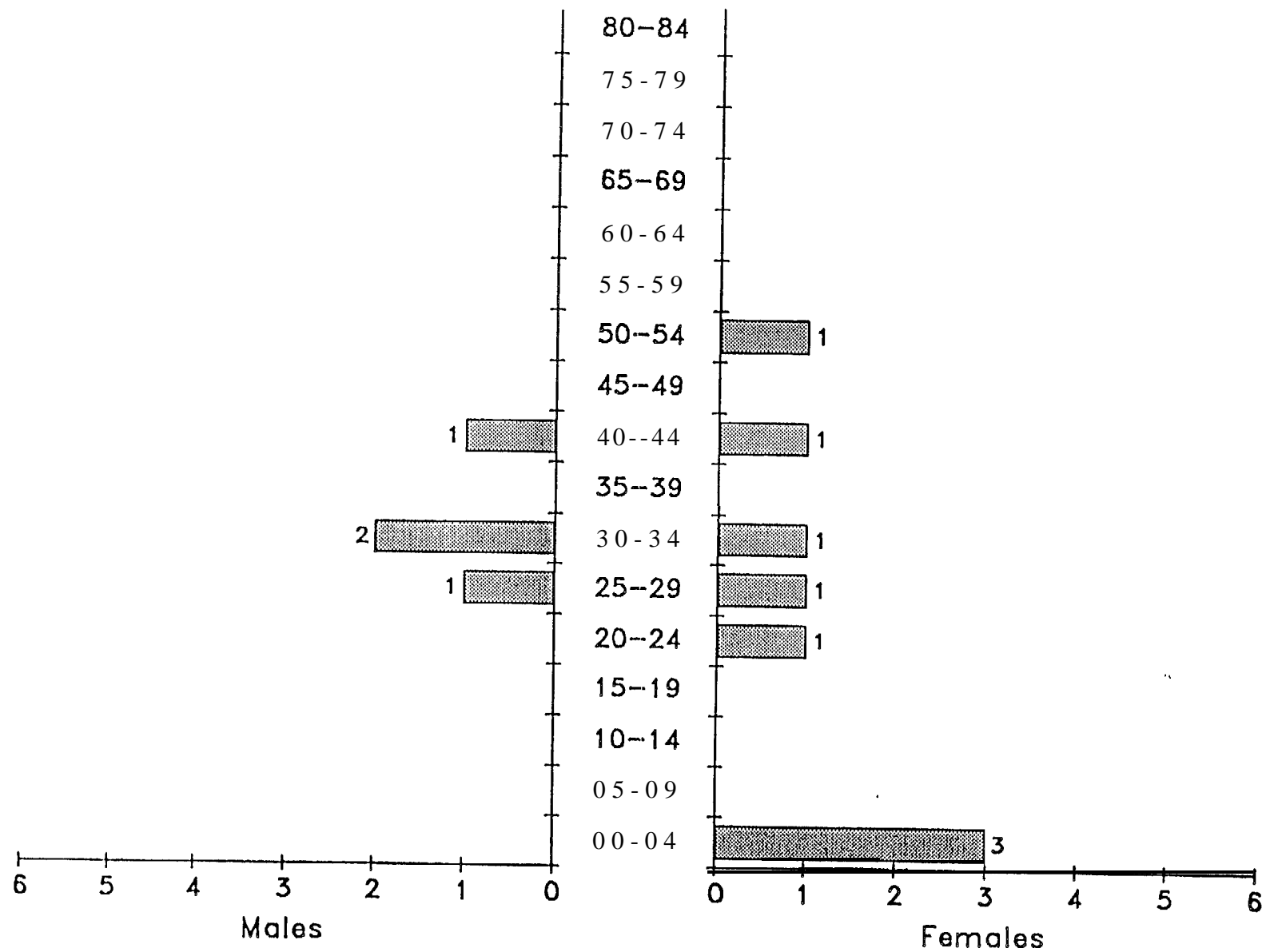


Figure 5
60

Point Lay Population Pyramid December 1984

Non-Inupiat Population

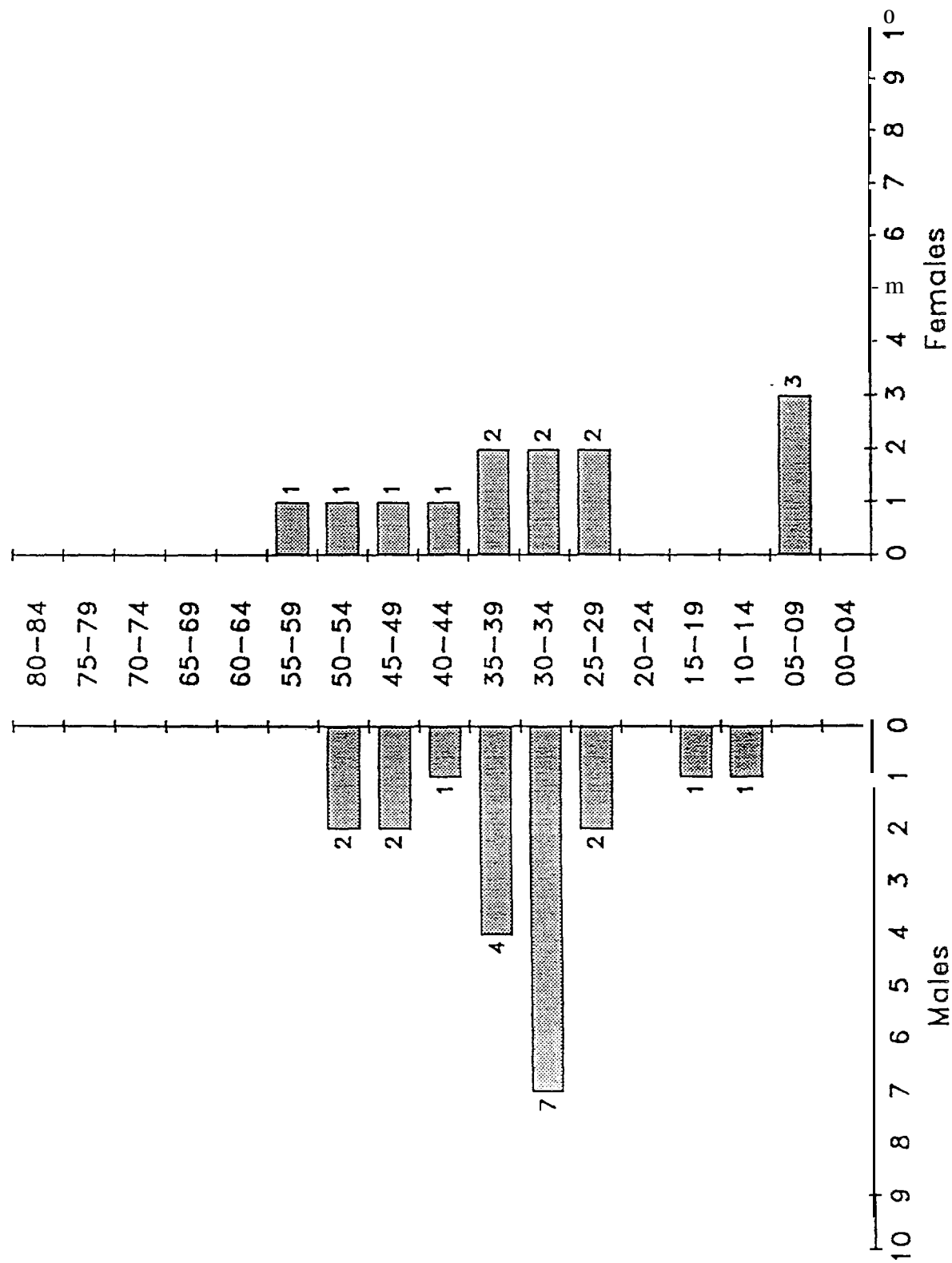


Figure 6
61

Point Lay Population Pyramid

September 1987

Non-Inupiat Population

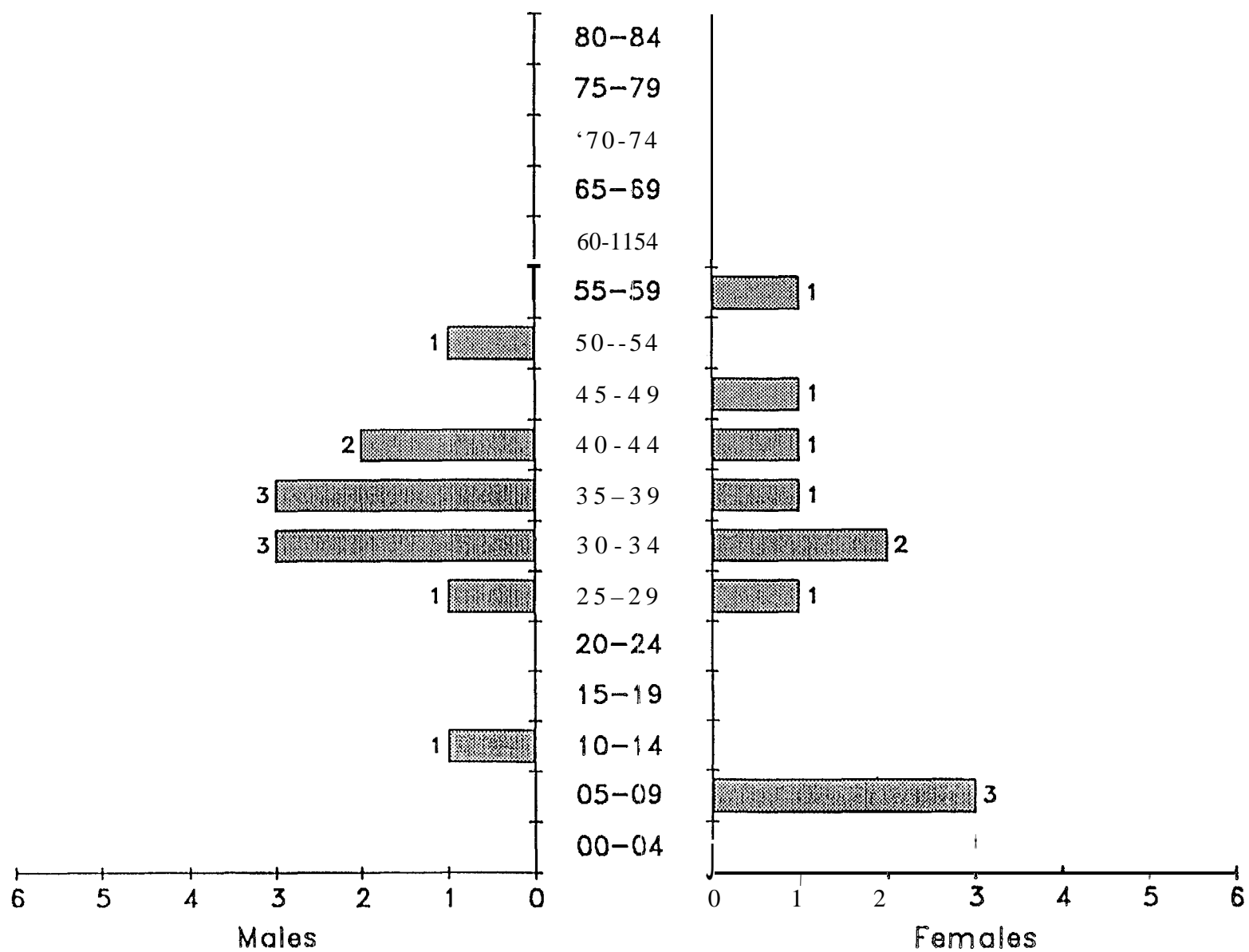


Figure 7
62

Point Lay Population Pyramid

June 1988

Non-Inupiat Population

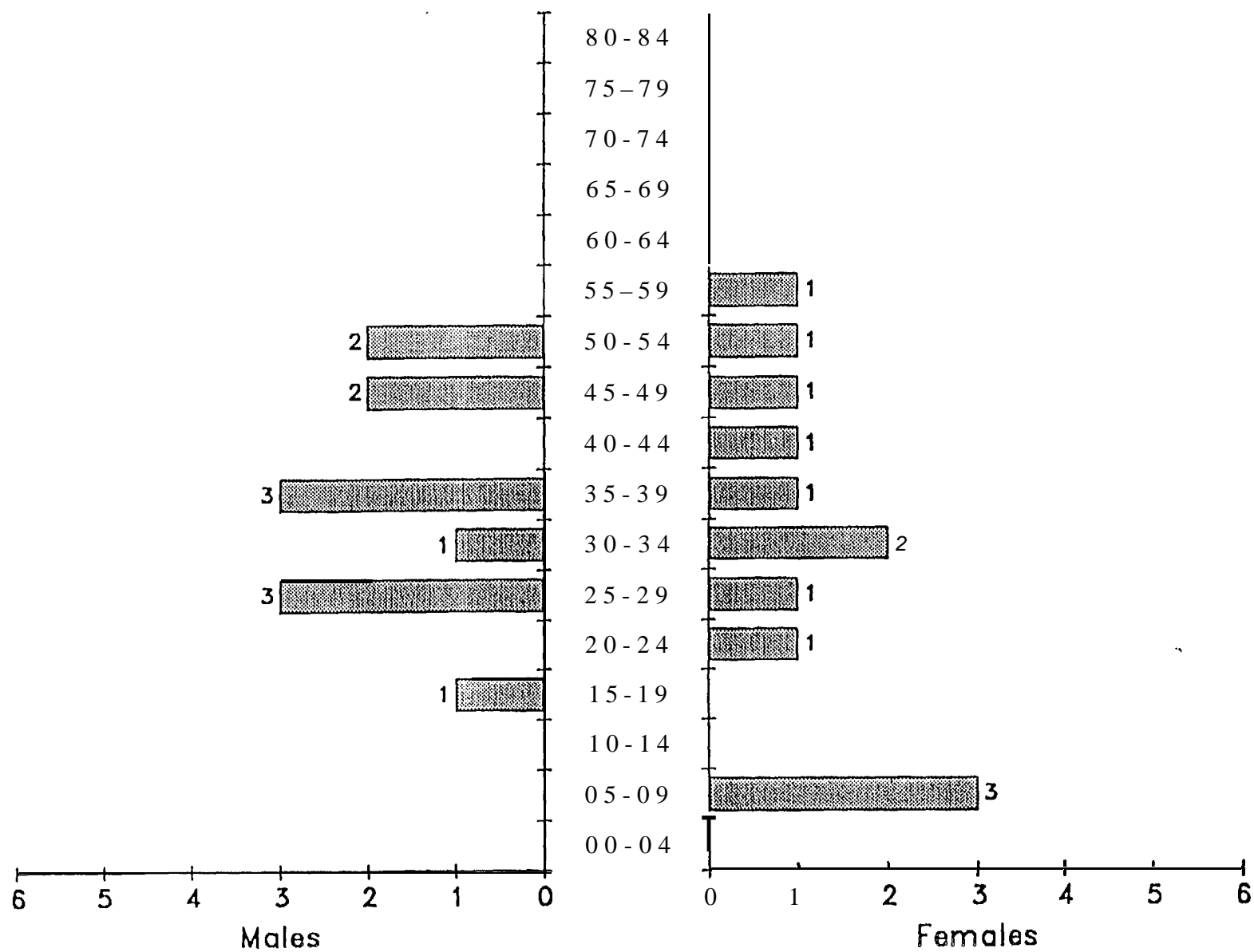


Figure 8
63

TABLE 3

Age, Sex, and **Ethnicity**
Point Lay, Alaska -1980

Age Category	Inupiat		Non-Inupiat		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
00-04	8	4	0	0	8	4
05-09	8	5	0	1	8	6
10-14	3	2	0	0	3	2
15-19	2	6	0	0	2	6
20-24	3	2	1	1	4	3
25-29	3	4	2	0	5	4
30-34	3	5	2	0	5	5
35-39	6	3	0	1	6	4
40-44	4	0	0	0	0	0
45-49	0	1	1	0	1	1
50-54	1	0	0	0	0	0
55-59	0	1	0	0	0	1
60-64	1	0	0	0	1	0
65-69	2	0	0	0	2	0
70-74	0	0	0	0	0	0
75+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	0	0	5	0	5	0
Totals	44	33	11	3	55	36
	77		14		91	

Source: Alaska Consultants et al. 1984

TABLE 4

Age, Sex, and **Ethnicity**
Point Lay, Alaska - July 1984

Age Category	Inupiat		Non-Inupiat		Mixed		Unknown
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
00-04	5	4	0	3	1	1	0
05-09	2	4	0	0	1	0	0
10-14	5	2	0	0	0	0	2*
15-19	5	3	0	0	0	0	0
20-24	2	5	0	1	0	0	0
25-29	2	0	1	1	0	0	0
30-34	4	3	2	1	0	0	0
35-39	4	3	0	0	0	0	0
40-44	4	4	1	1	0	0	0
45-49	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
50-54	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
55-59	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
60-64	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
65-69	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
70-74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75-79	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
80-84	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	12	6	13	5	0	0	6
Totals	52	36	17	13	2	1	8
129	88		30		3		8

* Both are male teenagers, either **Inupiat** or "Mixed"

Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc. 1984 (unpublished)

TABLE 5

Age, Sex, and **Ethnicity**
Point Lay, Alaska - September 1987

Age Category	Inupiat		Non-Inupiat		Mixed		Unknown
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
00-04	12	6	0	0	0	4	4*
05-09	5	2	0	3	1	1	0
11-14	5	4	1	0	1	0	0
15-19	8	4	0	0	0	0	0
20-24	13	4	0	0	0	0	0
25-29	2	6	1	1	0	0	0
30-34	6	1	3	2	0	0	0
35-39	6	5	3	1	0	0	0
40-44	5	6	1	1	0	0	0
45-49	3	2	1	1	0	0	0
50-54	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
55-59	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
60-64	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
65-69	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
70-74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75-79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80-84	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	70	42	11	10	2	5	4
144	112	21	7	4			

* All **Inupiat**, sex unknown

TABLE 6

Age, Sex, and **Ethnicity**
Point Lay, Alaska - December 1987

Age Category	Inupiat		Non-Inupiat		Mixed		Unknown
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
00-04	12	6	0	0	0	1	5*
05-09	5	2	0	3	1	1	0
11-14	5	4	1	0	1	0	0
15-19	7	4	1	0	1	0	0
20-24	10	5	0	0	0	0	0
25-29	4	5	2	2	0	0	0
30-34	4	1	7	2	0	0	0
35-39	6	5	4	2	0	0	0
40-44	5	6	1	1	0	0	0
45-49	3	2	2	1	0	0	0
50-54	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
55-59	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
60-64	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
65-69	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
70-74	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75-79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80-84	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	2**
Totals	66	42	20	13	3	2	7
153	108		33		5		7

* All Inupiat, sex unknown

** 1 male, 1 female - sex and ethnicity unknown

TABLE 7

Age, Sex, and Ethnicity
Point Lay, Alaska - June 1988

Age Category	Inupiat		Non-Inupiat		Mixed		Unknown
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
00-04	12	5	0	0	0	1	9*
05-09	4	3	0	3	1	1	0
11-14	4	3	0	0	1	0	0
15-19	8	3	1	0	0	0	0
20-24	10	8	0	1	0	0	0
25-29	6	6	3	1	0	0	0
30-34	2	1	1	2	0	0	0
35-39	8	6	3	1	0	0	0
40-44	5	4	0	1	0	0	0
45-49	3	2	2	1	0	0	0
50-54	1	1	2	1	0	0	0
55-59	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
60-64	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
65-69	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
70-74	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
75-79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80-84	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	68	45	12	12	2	2	9
150	113	24	4	9			

* 8 Inupiat, 1 "Mixed" - all sex unknown

Marriage and Migration in Point Lay

A brief discussion of the differences in the characteristics of relationships between the partners of those couples who are formally married and those who are not is necessary at this point. Information is not complete on this subject as it was not deemed prudent to directly ask anyone about their marital status. If the information was volunteered, it was duly noted. Reports about the marital status of others was also noted, and cross-checked with other informants. People who were known or reported to be formally married were asked how long they had been married as a way to confirm their status. This felt need to be circumspect resulted in less than perfect data, but is not seen as affecting the validity of our statements. These qualifications may be necessary only because of the sensibilities of the researcher, as people may have been very willing to discuss the nature of their relationships, married or not. It was our perception in the field that most people would have considered such direct inquiry as inappropriate.

The above preamble notwithstanding, there are a number of stable couples in Point Lay who are known not to be formally married. All involve at **least** one **Inupiat** partner. There are two types of such couples. The first have endured for several years and most of these couples have produced children. The second are young couples who just recently started living together. It is not unusual for an **Inupiat** couple in Point Lay to live together in a separate household for quite a while before marrying. In other villages it appears that such young married couples are also common, but that they are usually part of a larger household. Given this pattern in Point Lay and several other villages visited, the unusual case is probably that where a couple marries before they begin to live together.

It is nonetheless evident that people in Point Lay consider a union more permanent once a couple is formally married. A couple with children is also considered more likely to remain together than a couple without children. A married couple with children was considered to be less likely to break up than an unmarried couple with children. All married **Inupiat** couples had children and it was difficult for people to consider a case where this would not be true (of course there were older couples whose children were all grown and now in other households). Thus, it is difficult to assess which is the greater "stabilizing" factor for a couple, having children or becoming formally married. It does seem to be the "normal" progression for the birth of at least one child to precede formal marriage,

Not all young couples live together, of course, especially in the age groups that are just becoming sexually mature and active. It is remarkable, or perhaps not, that nearly every girl age fifteen and above in Point Lay has borne at least one child. This may be partially due to the disproportionate number of males to females in these age groups, which in turn puts an extreme amount of attention and potential pressure upon each of the young women to participate in sexual activities. These babies do not lead to the formation of stable unions and in many cases the father is not known for sure. This is not an unknown pattern from previous times but may have been far less prevalent in the period of time when individuals were sent out to school until perhaps fifteen to twenty years ago. Information is lacking to discuss this in any depth, but the period of time when Christianity was a strong force did seem to have fewer births to unmarried teenage women. Today such births seem to be more the rule than the exception,

The **Inupiat** population of Point Lay is constant at about 60% male and 40% female. Such unequal proportions are not expected from normal birth and death processes, implying that other factors are at work. One suspects differential migration in the case of Point Lay. Given the number of single males in Point Lay, and the generally high level of economic activity in the village, it appears that Point Lay is attracting a surplus of young males of working age. This appears to be reinforced with a greater frequency of male births in the recent past. There are also indications that young women, after graduating from high school, are more likely to continue to go to school or to look for work in a larger village or city, while men generally find it satisfactory to remain in the village.

We do not have enough systematic data for a definitive treatment of this topic. However, we can discuss the reasons given for individual migration, with some suggestions as to the differences between males and females as **well** as between different age groups. Such a discussion is logically related to several other topics. Among these are marriage, wage labor, kinship-related behavior, and ethnic relations.

There have been at least three identifiable “waves” of **Inupiat** immigration to Point Lay. The first was when the village was refounded in 1972. The second, for lack of a better term, will be called that of the “**Kotzebue** people” and consists mainly of a group of siblings who have moved to Point Lay at various times and for different lengths of time. Several of this group have married people who lived in Point Lay from the first **Inupiat** “wave.” While related to certain Point Lay families before coming to Point Lay, these people were not very closely related, and only to a small segment of the Point Lay population. The third “wave” will be called the “**Kivalina** people” and consists **mostly** of people from **Kivalina**. Unlike the “**Kotzebue** people,” they are fairly directly related to “first wave” Point Lay **Inupiat**, are not closely related family members themselves, and for the most part are young and unattached or have a spouse/significant other from somewhere other than Point Lay. These three categories will be further described **below**, and contrasts drawn between them.

The reasons given for the reconstitution of Point Lay have been discussed elsewhere (see pages 82-83), and were several. For individuals, the most common stated motive was a desire to live a subsistence-oriented lifestyle in a more pleasant social environment than Barrow. For the people who came from Wainwright, moving to Point Lay added an element of returning to the land associated with their parents (or grandparents). For the **ASRC** and the NSB, motivations were not explicitly stated but are reported to have been economic and political. The **ASRC**, as the regional Native Corporation, is vested with subsurface ownership rights to all Village Corporation **land**. The more villages entitled to select land under the **ANCSA**, the more land the **ASRC** would have an ownership interest in. NSB strategists, in order to foster the formation of a powerful and unified borough, were said to have encouraged people to go back to Point Lay. The immediate costs of housing were assumed by the **ASRC** (for materials) and the people themselves (who built them), in a program similar to **Nuiqsut’s**. The NSB was clearly making a financial commitment to the people of Point Lay, however, as it was explicitly understood that facilities would be built and services provided on a par with the other communities of the North Slope. The reestablishment of the “new” communities was clearly perceived as one of the ideological aims of the NSB and was closely linked with the land issues which drove **Inupiat** participation in passage of the **ANCSA** in the first place.

Most of the people who came back to settle Point Lay were related in fairly direct ways. Most were young, and the children of a few couples who had used the Point Lay area extensively in the past. Several of these couples also returned to Point Lay, but the population in general was young and male. As time passed, families were

formed either by marriages within the village or by marriages with people who had come to Point Lay from other places later on. These later **Inupiat** immigrants were mainly "**Kotzebue** people" or non-Natives. Each of these groups will be discussed in turn. A logical beginning point is the censuses which **will** provide the bulk of the information for this discussion.

There are five different censuses available for this analysis. Unfortunately, the earliest one is from July 1984, well after Point Lay was resettled. We also have informant accounts for the period prior to 1984 (and especially the period when the community was being reestablished), but these are often vague, incomplete, and inconsistent from one informant to another. This census was conducted by Alaska Consultants, Inc. for the NSB, and all that we have is a list of residents by household. The other four censuses are dated September 1987, December 1987, June 1988, and May 1989 and derive from our own field notes. Thus, for these later censuses we often have rich contextual information to supplement the presence or absence of certain people. The two censuses for 1987 are similar enough (being separated by only 3 months) that we will analyze only one of them -- that from September 1987. This gives us data representing intervals of approximately 38 months, 9 months, and 11 months.

The first section provides a summary **table** for each census and a short paragraph highlighting the salient points. **Non-Inupiat** Alaskan Natives are included as **Inupiat**s in the **Inupiat** discussion. Formal marriage and couples living together who are not married are both considered equivalent for this discussion for the reasons noted above. The level of detail provided is judged to be the optimal choice given the constraints of the report format and informant confidentiality. Following this discussion is a detailed account of individual motivations for moving to or leaving Point Lay.

CENSUS OF JULY 1984

Of the sixteen **Inupiat** couples living in Point Lay in 1984, eight had at least one member who had been previously married. Two of these had been terminated by the death of the spouse. The other seven had ended in divorce or separation. If the three couples living in the homes of others are eliminated so that only couples who are heads of households are considered, this ratio becomes eight of thirteen. These three couples were **all** quite young.

In 1984 ten **Inupiat** heads of households were unmarried. Of these individuals, three had previous spouses who had died. One had remarried but the partners were living apart for reasons mostly beyond their control. Two were divorced or separated. Information for one was uncertain, and four had never been married. Of the ten single **Inupiat** of marriageable age who were not heads of households, two were divorced, information for another two was uncertain, and six had never been married.

The most salient observation is that over half of **all Inupiat** couples have at least one spouse who has been in a previous relationship. The same can be said of all single individuals who are heads of households. However, only about 1/4 of single individuals who are not heads of households had been in previous relationships. This appears to be related to age, but cannot be tested for this data set because too many of the ages are unknown.

Point Lay Marriage Status, 1984

	Married Couples	Single Head of HH	Single Not Head of HH
Total N	16	10	10
Widow(er)	2	3	.
Separated	7	2	2
Never Married	.	4	6
Unknown	-	1	2

CENSUS OF SEPTEMBER 1987

Of the seventeen **Inupiat** couples living in Point Lay in 1987, ten had at least **one** partner who had had a previous relationship. Of these ten, four had ended in divorce or separation. An additional three unions had ended in separations even though they had children. The nature of these three unions was unclear. Three of these ten unions had been terminated by death. Six of the seven couples whose members had not had previous relationships were young. The only exception was an "original" resettlement couple.

In 1987 there were fifteen **Inupiat** heads of households who were single. Of these, five had had spouses who had died. Another five were divorced or separated. Information for two is uncertain, and three had never been married. Of the fifteen single **Inupiat** of marriageable age who were not heads of households, four were separated from unions which had resulted **in** issue and eleven had never been married. None had ever been part of a really stable relationship,

Point Lay Marriage Status, 1987

	Married Couples	Single Head of HH	Single Not Head of HH
Total N	17	15	15
Widow(er)	3	5	-
Separated	7	5	4
Never Married	.	3	11
Unknown	.	2	

Again, over half of all **Inupiat** couples have at least one spouse who has had a previous relationship resulting in a child. This is true for **Inupiat** single individuals who are heads of households as well. Single **Inupiat** of marriageable age who are not heads of households are much less likely to have had such a relationship. Age is a covarying variable here.

CENSUS OF 1988

Of the twenty-two **Inupiat** couples living in Point Lay in 1988, twelve had at least one partner who had had a previous relationship. Of these twelve, four had ended in divorce or separation. An additional five unions had ended in separation even though they had children. The nature of these five unions was unclear. Three of these twelve unions had been terminated by death. Eight of the nine couples whose members were not known to have had previous relationships were young (at least one member **below** age 30). The only exception was an "original" resettlement couple.

In 1988 there were twelve **Inupiat** heads of households who were single. Of these, four had had spouses who had died (one widow from 1987 had moved to Narrow). Another five were divorced or separated. Information for one is uncertain, and two had never been married. Of the eleven single **Inupiat** of marriageable age who were not heads of households, two were separated from unions which had resulted in issue and eight had never been married. None of these eight is known to have ever been part of a stable relationship. One man was married and employed temporarily in Point Lay. His family lives in Anchorage.

Point Lay Marriage Status, 1988

	Married Couples	Single Head of HH	Single Not Head of HH
Total N	22	12	11
Widow(er)	3	4	.
Separated	9	5	2
Never Married	.	2	8
Unknown	.	1	.

Again, over half of **all Inupiat** couples have at **least** one spouse who has had a previous relationship resulting in a child. This is true for **Inupiat** single individuals who are heads of households as well. Single **Inupiat** of marriageable age who are not heads of households are much less likely to have had such a relationship. Age seems to contribute heavily to this difference.

CENSUS OF 1989

Of the twenty-one **Inupiat** couples living in Point Lay in 1989, eleven had at least one partner who had had a previous relationship. Of these eleven, three had ended in divorce or separation. An additional five unions had ended in separation even though they had children. The nature of these five unions was unclear. Three of these eleven unions had been terminated by death. Of the ten couples whose members were not known to have had previous relationships, three were older couples and seven were relatively young couples. Two of the older couples and three of the younger couples were new to Point Lay. Thus, information on these couples is uncertain.

In 1989 fifteen **Inupiat** heads of households were single. Of these, four had had spouses who had died. Another seven were divorced or separated. Information for one is uncertain, and two had never been married. One man is married and living in Point Lay while working a seasonal job (reported to be a regular pattern for **him**). Of the seventeen single **Inupiat** of marriageable age who were not heads of households, five were separated from unions which had resulted in children and twelve had never been married. None of these eight is known to have ever been part of a stable relationship.

Point Lay Marriage Status, 1989

	Married Couples	Single Head of HH	Single Not Head of HH
Total N	21	15	17
Widow(er)	3	4	
Separated	8	7	5
Never Married		2	12
Unknown	.	1	see text

Again, over half of all **Inupiat** couples have at least one spouse who has had a previous relationship resulting in a child. This is true for **Inupiat** single individuals who are heads of households as well. Single **Inupiat** of marriageable age who are not heads of households are much less likely to have had such a relationship. Age seems to contribute heavily to this difference.

CENSUS OF 1984

Inupiat

Included in the 1984 Point Lay population were sixteen **Inupiat** couples, six **non-Inupiat** couples, and four “mixed” couples. All but four of the **Inupiat** couples acted as heads of households. Of the sixteen **Inupiat** couples, at least four were married prior to the reformation of Point Lay and participated in that event. It appears likely that two other couples were also married at the time Point Lay was reestablished, but may not have participated in the early part of this activity. All six couples have historical ties to the Point Lay land use area, either from their own pre-1972 subsistence activity or from their families of origin. The primary communities of orientation for these couples (other than Point Lay) were Barrow and Point Hope. Of these six couples, four still live in Point Hope. One alternates between Barrow and Anchorage (mostly the latter) and the last has divorced. One member of the couple remains in Point Lay. The other has returned to Point Hope.

The remaining ten **Inupiat** couples were all married after the refounding of Point Lay. Three of these marriages were among Point Lay people, that is, individuals who came to Point Lay as children of “founding” members. Five other marriages took place between a resident of Point Lay and another person after that other person had come to Point Lay. All five of these Point **Lay people** had also come to Point **Lay** as children in ‘family units. The people they ‘married had come to Point Lay **either** to work on the early **CIP** projects (housing, school) or to visit relatives (and maybe look for a little work as well). The remaining two cases are unclear because of lack of information.

Thus, of the sixteen **Inupiat** couples in Point Lay in 1984, six predated the new village and participated in its refounding. All remaining **Inupiat** couples (except perhaps for one lacking comparable information) include at least one person who came to Point Lay as a child as part of a “founding family,” and three are marriages between two Point Lay people. Of the five marriages between children of Point Lay founders and outsiders, it is significant that the Point Lay partner in each case is female. The males in these unions came from a variety of places. Two came from the **Kotzebue** area, one from Barrow, one from Point Hope, and one is from Southeast Alaska. Motivations varied from case to case, as might be expected, and there were idiosyncratic factors at work as well. However, the two consistent factors in all five cases is that the individuals were visiting people they knew (either relatives or friends) in a place where there would very possibly be wage employment available for them.

Non-Inupiat couples can be described quite a bit easier. Of the five in Point Lay in 1984, three couples were employed by the school. Another included the PSO. Direct NSB employment thus accounted for four of the five **non-Inupiat** couples. The fifth couple had a more complex motivation for locating in Point Lay. The husband’s mother lives in Point Lay and had been married to an **Inupiat** resident of Point Lay. He visited her, went out for some trips with the local people, and decided to stay. He worked on the seasonal CIP construction projects. On one of his trips to visit his old home area, in California, he met a woman. They returned to Point Lay together and decided to stay. Eventually he obtained a steady NSB job. Even though his motivation for moving was not primarily economic, he was able to stay (especially after he married) because of the availability of wage labor.

Non-Inupiat

Non-Inupiat single heads of households number four in Point Lay for 1984. Two of them are contractors working on CIP projects (one is actually in charge of the camp at which many of the workers stayed). A third was the school principal, who was an exception to the **NSBSD** policy of hiring school employees from the outside as couples. The fourth was the **ex-wife** of an **Inupiat** Point Lay resident who, once she arrived in Point Lay, decided that she would never leave.

Mixed

There were five “mixed” couples (**interethnic** marriages) in Point Lay in 1984. Four of the five were composed of **Inupiat** woman and Caucasian men. One was the reverse. Two of these couples came to Point Lay as units, and were quite transitory, as the only reason they were in Point Lay was for employment. The (Caucasian) men worked on village construction projects and the (Native) women worked temporarily at the school in support capacities. The other three “mixed” couples have been long-term residents of Point Lay (although one recently divorced and the **non-Inupiat** wife moved to Anchorage). One is an older couple which has spent most of their time outside of Point Lay. They are beyond retirement age and only have a connection to Point Lay because of the woman’s historical connection to the land. They met in **Kotzebue**, and married some time after the woman’s first husband had died. The other two couples are younger and fully employed. The **Inupiat** member of each couple was a prior resident of Point Lay. One came as a member of a family, while the other came as a single young man in the **early** years of the resettlement. Both **non-Inupiat** members of these two couples came ostensibly seeking employment. However, their motivation was

clearly not an unalloyed economic stimulus. Easier opportunities existed elsewhere. They also sought a rural community and a certain lifestyle, and in this respect shared many of the predilections of those **Inupiat** from outside of Point Lay who married in. Work opportunities allowed these people to settle down in a place where they felt comfortable. As for the **Inupiat** who married in, however, economic incentive was the reason for migration.

CENSUS OF 1987

Inupiat

In June 1987 there were seventeen **Inupiat** couples, all acting **as** heads of households. Ten of these couples appear on the 1984 census. Thus, seven 1984 marriages have dissolved or moved out while seven new Point Lay marriages were formed. There are several logical groupings which should **be** discussed, given this breakdown: the total sample, those unions which have disappeared, and those unions which appear for the first time. **Non-Inupiat** couples numbered four, and there were three “mixed” couples.

Dealing first with the **Inupiat** couples, four were married before the refounding of Point Lay. All four of these couples were present in Point Lay in 1984 and form a convenient way to define a stable core for Point Lay through time. All are from the same genealogical generation. While it may seem strange to use them, rather than Elders, to define the core residents for Point Lay, this is the pragmatic basis upon which local informants make these decisions. Point Lay has few resident Elders, and the few who live there have widely divergent histories. The core group of families can ideologically trace their connections to these Elders, and it may be those connections which were activated to legitimize those families who participated in the refounding of Point Lay.

The other thirteen **Inupiat** couples were by definition married after Point Lay was resettled. Three of these marriages were between two Point Lay people and were discussed for 1984. Of the seven relationships between an **Inupiat** from Point Lay and one from outside, three existed in 1984. The other four are newly formed and are anomalous. One consisted of a Point Lay woman and a Native man from southeast Alaska who came to Point Lay to find work and to be with friends he attended high school with. He met his partner after **living** in Point Lay. Two consist of a Point Lay male marrying a woman from outside of the village. In both cases, however, the couple met outside of Point Lay. In one case the man had moved to Point Hope, and in the other the man was a frequent traveler through the woman’s home area. The fourth case is even more of an anomaly. A woman not originally part of Point Lay moved to Point Lay either married to a man or married him in Point Lay. He subsequently passed away and she now has a relationship with another man who moved to Point Lay from Point Hope. Most long-term Point Lay residents do not seem to classify this couple as Point Lay residents as yet. However, they certainly conceive of themselves that way. Thus, this case sits on the border between the “resident marriage” cases and the “imports.” The three remaining **Inupiat** couples are all clearly “imports” as they came to Point Lay as a couple. One was the PSO and essentially had Point Lay assigned to him as a work station. He and his wife were minimally related to the residents of Point Lay (**part** of the reason he was assigned there). The other two couples did have relations in Point Lay (one spouse in particular for each couple) so that the reason they came to Point Lay is understandable. The male in each of these couples soon found a permanent NSB job.

The seven “new” couples in Point Lay in 1987 were all fairly young. They were also diverse in their origins. One resulted from the marriage of two people who had been in the village in 1984. One was a daughter of an “original” family while the other was an Alaska Native (from Southeast) who grew up in Anchorage. He had come to Point Lay to find work at the invitation of one of his old high school mates (whose parents were from the North Slope, but who spent most of his early life in Anchorage). Three others involved people who had lived in Point Lay for various periods of time. Two of these people, both men, were part of the original resettlement group. Since that time, one has done extensive traveling and so is often out of the village while the other has just recently (less than two years ago) returned from living for perhaps five years in Point Hope. They married women from Noatak/Kotzebue and Point Hope respectively. The other union involved a young woman who was not part of the original resettlement group but who was in Point Hope in 1984 married to a young man. He had died in the meantime and through time she had developed a relationship with a man from Point Hope. This was still relatively new in June 1987, so people were not quite sure if the union was stable and whether the couple meant to stay in Point Lay or not. Interestingly, the man in this couple is the brother of the woman from Point Hope who married the man who had returned to Point Lay from Point Hope. The woman from the Noatak/Kotzebue area was the sister of one man who had already married into Point Lay. Another of her brothers would also marry into Point Lay (married to the sister of his brother’s wife). Her sister was also one party to another of these seven “new” marriages, having moved to Point Lay after marrying an Alaskan Native from the southeast. The last two “new” marriages also moved into the village after the relationship was formed. One was the PSO officer, who was assigned to Point Lay as a duty station, He and his wife had few direct relatives there. The other was a young couple who were not married after all. The woman was from Wainwright. The man was most recently from Point Lay but had apparently been rather mobile. He had intentions to make Point Lay his permanent home.

The reasons for the absence in 1987 of six of the Point Lay couples present in 1984 are varied. Two couples simply moved away. Two were divorced or permanently separated. The last two were dissolved by the death of the husband.

One of the couples who moved away was an “original” family (and still owns a house in Point Lay which is periodically rented out). The other could very possibly have merely been visiting or in the village for short-term work at the time of the 1984 census. This couple does still periodically visit Point Lay, but lives in the Noatak/Kotzebue area. The husband is the brother of four people currently (1989) living in Point Lay. Three were present in 1984.

Both women from the two separated couples stayed in Point Lay. The fate of one of the men is unknown, but he could well have gone to Point Hope. He came to Point Lay at about the time construction on new houses and the school was gearing up and at least part of this was managed by **Tigara** Corporation out of Point Hope. He also has many relatives there. The other man returned to Point Hope.

The two unions terminated by deaths do not require much discussion. Both were young. One of the women had formed a new steady relationship by 1987. The other remained a widow. Both had children. The first (and younger) woman had a set of preschool twin boys. The second woman had children with a range of ages from elementary to high school. The former woman was less able to support herself with wage labor than was the later because of inferior work skills and less supportive kinship network to assist her in child care and obtaining subsistence resources.

Non-Inupiat

The four **non-Inupiat** couples consisted of three **teacher/school** couples (one of which was in Point Lay in 1984) and the “complexly motivated” couple from 1984. **Non-Inupiat** single heads of households consist of one school teacher sharing a NSB house with another school teacher, the divorced woman discussed for 1984, and another of her sons. **Non-Inupiat** singles not heads of households consisted of the researcher and the above school teacher’s **housemate**.

Mixed

There were three “mixed” marriages in Point Lay in 1987. Only one of these dates back to 1984. The **non-Inupiat** member of this relationship arrived in Point Lay soon after people first returned, as **she** was the first school aide to the first school teacher in the refounded Point Lay. She was single at the time but eventually married a local **Inupiat**. This has been a central household and relationship for the village as a whole, and will be discussed below to the extent that confidentiality and propriety allow. There is no way to disguise the identity of the people involved.

There were two “new” mixed marriages in Point Lay in 1987. One of these relationships may have existed in 1984, but the information is unclear. The **Inupiat** woman lived in her mother’s household (along with her children from a previous relationship) in 1984. In 1987 she and her **non-Inupiat** partner had their own household. He has worked in several parts of Alaska and is quite skilled with his hands. This **couple** met outside of Point Lay and came to Point as a unit to find employment within an acceptable **social** setting. The second “mixed” **couple** consisted of a Point Lay **Inupiat** man and a Caucasian woman who had been visiting her mother and brother, both of whom had **lived** in Point Lay for a considerable time and had their own households. She worked on the seasonal **CIP** construction jobs, as she found Point Lay to her liking as well. She had several children from a previous relationship. It is not known how long she and her husband knew each other before they were married.

The four “mixed” couples who left Point Lay after 1984 can be briefly described. One left to spend a year in Anchorage. Another was split because the **non-Inupiat** husband had to leave the village. A third left after the construction project which employed the male was completed. The fourth was employed at the school and were either transferred or **left** voluntarily. **All** four couples consisted of an **Inupiat** woman and a Caucasian man. The first two were, and are, considered Point Lay residents, although the second has now moved to Anchorage. The last two were seen as only temporary.

CENSUS OF 1988

Inupiat

In June 1988 there were twenty-two **Inupiat** couples, twenty-one acting as heads of households. Ten of these couples appear on the 1984 census (the same ten as for September 1987) and fifteen on the 1987 census. Thus, two September 1987 marriages have dissolved or moved out while seven new Point Lay marriages were formed. There are several logical groupings which should be discussed, given this breakdown: the total sample, those unions which have disappeared, and those unions which appear for

the first time. **Non-Inupiat** couples numbered four (with one September 1987 couple leaving and another coming in), and there were three ‘mixed’ couples (the same ones as for September 1987).

Dealing first with the **Inupiat** couples, five were married before the refounding of Point Lay. We have discussed above how four of these couples, present in 1984, are used as a reference by which to define Point Lay residence. The fifth couple had been living in Wainwright, but had returned to Point Lay to take up residence. They had maintained their ownership of a house in Point Lay and the male is the brother of the male head of household of two of the households mentioned above.

The other seventeen **Inupiat** couples were married after Point Lay was resettled. Three of these marriages were between two Point Lay people and have been discussed above. Of the nine relationships between an **Inupiat** from Point Lay and one from outside, three existed in 1984 and six in 1987. The other three were newly formed. One involves a Point Lay man and a woman who apparently came to Point Lay primarily for social reasons, that is, to visit relatives. Another was composed of a Point Lay woman and a man who had been in Point Lay off and on for several years. He is one of the **Kotzebue** family siblings and came to Point Lay to find work and to live near family members, outside of **Kotzebue**. He and the woman he married had known each other a long time. The third was a very young couple living in the household of the male’s grandfather. He has spent most of his life in Point Lay. The woman is from **Kivalina**. She came to Point Lay with some friends, either for a short-term social visit or to find employment. This couple met for the first time when she came to Point Lay.

Two of the new **Inupiat** couples are clearly “imports.” They came to Point Lay as couples, primarily for economic reasons. One was from **Kivalina** and one from the Kotzebue area, and both had relatives in Point Lay. However, each couple maintained that they relocated to Point Lay mainly because of the employment opportunities that did not exist where they came from. One couple lived with a Point Lay family until they could locate a vacant unit. The other rented a vacant house from an absentee owner (at what was locally considered to be an exorbitant rate).

Below are described three unusual cases. One is a couple new to Point Lay in 1988. However, both partners have tangential relationships to people in Point Lay, and the male had been living in Point Lay since at least 1987. He moved from Kotzebue, again primarily for economic reasons and because he knew people in Point Lay. He is not part of the **Kotzebue** sibling group. His partner came to visit relatives in Point Lay in December 1987, met this man, and did not leave. The other two couples were discussed as “imports” for 1987. However, their situations may be somewhat more complex. The young widow with children (who established a new household with a young man who moved to Point Lay from Point Hope) seems to be considered a Point Lay person for at least some purposes in the **local** categorization. Similarly, the woman from the Kotzebue/Noatak area who moved to Point Lay with her husband from southeast Alaska has a special status because of her several brothers who have married Point Lay women and are living **in** Point Lay.

The seven “new” couples in Point Lay in 1988 were rather diverse in their origins. One is an “original” couple returning from living in Wainwright for a time. Two were the “imports” discussed above. Four resulted from marriages within the village (between a village resident and an “outsider”) and have been described above.

The two couples absent from Point Lay in 1988 who were there in 1987 simply moved away. One couple went to Wainwright to be near the woman’s family (and where the man

also had relatives). The second couple moved to **Kaktovik** where the woman's relatives lived and where the man hoped to find employment (he had resigned his Point Lay position). **No** couples were dissolved in the period of September 1987 to June 1988.

Non-Inupiat

The four **non-Inupiat** couples consisted of two teacher/school couples (one of which was in Point Lay in 1984, both in 1987), a new missionary couple, and the "complexly motivated" couple from 1984. One school couple present in 1987 was absent as the school year was over and they had already left. They had been transferred to Barrow. **Non-Inupiat** single heads of households consist of one **school** teacher sharing a NSB house with another school teacher, the divorced woman discussed for 1984, two PSOS (each living alone), the researcher, a woman who had gone to high school with several of the village Native residents and who had been invited to the **village** to find **employment**, and the **Cully Camp**. There were no **non-Inupiat singles** who were not heads of households.

Mixed

There were three "mixed" marriages in Point Lay in 1988. They were the same as had been in Point Lay in September 1987. They are thus discussed above. One of the couples had just had another child. There were no "mixed" couples who left the village in this ten-month period.

CENSUS OF 1989

Inupiat

In May 1989 there were twenty-one **Inupiat** couples, twenty acting as heads of households. Nine of these couples appear on the 1984 census, twelve on the 1987 census, and seventeen on the 1988 census. Thus, four marriages have dissolved or emigrated while three new Point Lay marriages were formed. There are several logical groupings which should be discussed, given this breakdown: the **total** sample, those unions which have disappeared, and those unions which appear for the first time.

Five of the **Inupiat** couples present in May 1989 had **been** married before the refounding of Point Lay. All were in Point Lay in 1988, and four were there in 1984. All are likely to have been among the original residents **of** Point Hope when it was refounded. We have discussed above how these couples are used as a reference by which to define Point Lay residence,

The other sixteen **Inupiat** couples were married after Point Lay was resettled. Two of these marriages were between two Point Lay people, that is, individuals who had lived in Point Lay since shortly after 1972. Of the eight relationships between an **Inupiat** from Point Lay and one from outside, three existed in 1984, five in September 1987, and all eight in 1988. Four of these couples can be classified as "imports". That is, they came to Point Lay as a couple and have no direct historical or kinship connection to the present population (although they each have relatives of one sort or another in Point Lay). Two of these are the young couples from **Kivalina** and **Kotzebue** discussed for 1988. The other two are somewhat more special. One consists of a single man from Point Hope who has been in and out of Point Lay for several years, depending on the availability of housing and work. When asked, he says that

he is now a Point Lay person. However, Point Lay residents still perceive him as a Point Hope person. Until recently he had shared a living unit in rather transitory arrangements. He now has a house of his own which he shares with his girlfriend from outside of Point Lay (her exact origin community is not known). Because of his history of work and residence in the community, this couple is perceived as more likely to be permanent residents than the other two. No predictions have been made about the relative stabilities of these unions.

The last "import" couple is a special case. They are an older couple who has moved to Point Lay so the woman may fill a health aide position in the clinic. The couple came from Point Hope and knows most, if not all, of the people of Point Lay. Thus, this woman could begin work almost immediately. Because they were absent from the village for much of the fieldwork (whaling, training), full information on this aspect of their move is unavailable.

The three "new" Inupiat couples in Point Lay in 1989 were rather diverse in their origins. Two were discussed above as "imports". The third "new" **Inupiat** couple in 1989 consists of a man and the sister of his old girlfriend. He is originally from **Kotzebue** and has a history in Point Lay similar to that of the man from Point Hope discussed above. For this reason he is seen as more than a transient wage laborer. He and his girlfriend are currently sharing a house with her brother (a house owned by her family, as far as people in Point Lay know, but exactly in whose name is unclear).

The last couple to be discussed has been mentioned before and is another of these special cases. This union involved a young woman who was not part of the original resettlement group. She is from Point Hope and appears in the 1984 Point Lay census as married to a young man. This man died in December 1985. By 1987 this woman had established a relationship with a man from Point Hope. This was still relatively new in June 1987, so people were not quite sure if the union was stable and whether the couple meant to stay in Point Lay or not. As of May 1989 they were still together in Point Lay. They have visited Point Hope in the meantime, especially for whaling and **Nulukatuk**, but have apparently made Point Lay their home. A question still remains, however, since this man works at temporary construction tasks and has not yet exhibited an ability to consistently support a family. The woman works on occasion, but cannot hold a job on a regular basis because of young children and trouble finding a baby-sitter.

Four **Inupiat** households either left Point Lay or changed their composition between June 1988 and May 1989. Two left Point Lay. One went to Oklahoma as a family unit so the male head of household could attend vocational school as an aircraft mechanic. It is unclear whether this is a two- or four-year program. The second couple that left had been having problems in their relationship and it is not clear if they will remain together. They were not expected to return together and in fact little factual information about the couple was available. The woman did return to Point Lay where she has many relatives, in May 1989. She brought her children but not the man she had been living with. It is presumed that they have split up. Two other **Inupiat** couples from 1988 have split up as well. The woman from Kotzebue/Noatak with several siblings in Point Lay and her husband are separated and in the process of obtaining a divorce. He stayed in Point Lay for a short time after the breakup, but has since left. Another couple's dissolution was part of another couple's formation. This was the case where one sister took the place of another in a "living with" situation.

Non-Inupiat

Non-Inupiat couples numbered four, the same as for June 1988, but the composition was different. The one **non-Inupiat** couple not employed at the school or by the Public Safety Department moved to Washington state. One school couple began to live separately because the wife left her job at the school. She had no **real** reason to remain in Point Lay since the couple maintains another "**real**" home elsewhere. The man sees this as a reasonable way to live at present. He has, at most, two more years before retirement. The families of the two PSOS finally arrived and are counted as the two new **non-Inupiat** households. The PSOS had been in Point Lay for some time as single individuals. School had just ended so there were no new teachers in the village. But there will be at least three new ones next year since three of the five certified staff at the Point Lay school are leaving the slope.

Non-Inupiat single heads of households consist of two **school** teachers sharing a NSB house. Another teacher who was divorced and living with her fifteen-year-old daughter, the head of the school physical plant (the man whose wife was now living out of the village), the researcher, a woman who had gone to high school with several of the village Native residents and was invited to the village to find employment, and the divorced woman discussed for 1984 and every year since. This woman was living at the **Cully** Camp, since she was temporarily in charge of running it. One of her sons was also in Point Lay in his own household, but at the time of this census was in Anchorage at the hospital. There was also a camp run by the contractor working on the USDW building project that housed mostly **single non-Inupiat** men. For part of the time the foreman's wife was present as cook. There were no **non-Inupiat** singles not heads of households except for the one school teacher who was sharing a house.

Mixed

In May 1989, there were three "mixed" **couples**. Two were the same as in June 1988. The third was a couple who had returned from Anchorage where they had been for a little over a year. This couple has long standing in the village, as they appear on the 1984 census. The **non-Inupiat** male of the couple was one of the first outsiders invited to come and **help** build the new houses in the village. He married a daughter of one of the "original" couples and they have lived in Point Lay (except for the unavoidable time in Anchorage) ever since. The couple from 1988 no longer existing has obtained a divorce. The **Inupiat** man remains in Point Lay, while his wife went to Anchorage and has since remarried. This has significantly affected the functioning of the village in the short term. The long-term consequences (if any) are impossible to assess before the passage of time.

Community Migration Sequence

Information reporting directly on the founding population of Point Lay is lacking. The informant accounts which exist pertaining to this period are rather vague about population, who spent how much time (and effort) in the village, and other questions of interest to historians. It is not so much that this is unknown information as that informants are loath to relate this amount of detail to outside researchers. Thus, our information about the population of Point Lay in the early 1970s is based primarily upon inferences made from piecing together information from many different informant accounts.

Those people who first came back to Point Lay to resettle it were predominantly from Barrow and Wainwright. Those who were not from Barrow or **Wainwright** still used that as their “North Slope” identity. They may have been living in Anchorage or the lower-48, but still maintained family connections to the North Slope that were activated upon the passage of the ANCSA. There were at least a few married couples, most no older than in their 40s. What stands out as the most salient characteristic of Point Lay’s population at that time to non-Native informants is the number of unmarried young men and the number of children. It is these people who now make up the core of Point Lay’s population. (Although it is presumed that some of them moved to other places, a very large percentage of Point Lay’s present population came to Point Lay in the early 1970s either as a single young man or as a child of a larger family unit.)

With the beginning of construction of ten housing units, the school, and other infrastructure at the “new site” in the **Kokolik** River delta, another group of people made their appearance. The idea of the resettlement, at least at this stage, was for the residents of the village to build their own housing and other facilities (similar to the case in **Nuiqsut**). While the residents of Point Lay would have preferred to locate the village on the spit, the realities of government finance (and the need for insurance, minimum acreage requirements, and other such constraints) made it impossible for the NSB to support such a location. As the NSB was and is the primary financial support of Point Lay, this meant that a site other than the spit, meeting the NSB’S requirements, had to be chosen. After a period of frenzied mutual consultation, the **Kokolik** River delta site was chosen. At this point, at least one family from Point Hope came to help with the construction. Several unmarried men from Point Hope and **Kotzebue** may also have arrived in this group, but this is not clear. At least two **non-Inupiat** men were invited to come work on the housing. No uninvited non-Natives worked on the building on the “new site.” The non-Natives were invited because of the skills they were presumed to possess and because of personal characteristics. One was married to the daughter of one of the older of the Point Lay residents while the other was young, outgoing, and mixed well with the single young men then essentially running the village at that time. This was a time of disorganized activity in general. The **Inupiat** who came **all** had some kinship or land use connection to legitimize their presence. The parents of the male head of household of the couple herded reindeer in the Point Lay area and lived there for a time. The single men who came were similarly related. After the houses were built most of these people settled in Point Lay. This may be how the first of the sibling group now extensively married into Point Lay first arrived.

The period of construction and labor migration to Point Lay continued through the relocation and construction of Point Lay at its present “hilltop” site, ending essentially when the new school was finished in 1983. There was, however, a change in the characteristics of the people who came in to work. This was due to a number of factors. First, there simply was more to do. Buildings were moved from the **Kokolik** River site, new (and bigger) houses were constructed, and the school and other public service buildings were put up. Second, the management of the projects was much more formal. Primary management responsibility lay with **Tigara** Corporation, the village corporation of Point Hope (they were co-venturing with a non-Native corporation, probably Wick Construction). These two factors combined to ensure that more imported laborers were needed, that more of them than before would be non-Native, and that most of the imported **Inupiat** would be from Point Hope (which would facilitate hiring from the Kotzebue/Noatak area). Many people came to work in Point Lay in this period of time and it is described as a wide-open town where anything could be obtained. For most of this period there was no PSO stationed in the village.

In terms of the present population of the village, a significant percentage of the heads of households arrived in Point Lay, primarily for the purposes of employment. Of the twenty-five current **Inupiat** and "mixed" unions, seven are composed of a "child of the village" and a person who came looking for work. All except for one of these imports is male. The one exception originally came to visit her mother and brother, stayed to work, and then married. Eight of the current unions are composed of people present in the "original resettlement" population (six were couples at the time of resettlement, while two others are composed of individuals who were children at that time). Of the fifteen current single **Inupiat** heads of households, nine came as part of the resettlement population. One was single then and remains single. Three came married as part of the resettlement population and are presently living alone. Five came as part of the resettlement population, married a person who came to Point Lay during this period of time looking for work, and are now separated from that person (male, in all cases except one, and no longer living in Point Lay). Three outsiders were attracted during this period of work and remained unattached (but also tended to float in and out of the village). The other three are special cases about which complete information is missing (one moved to Point Lay after a personal tragedy in Barrow, another is married but tends to come to work seasonally in Point Lay, and the third oscillates between Point Lay, **Kotzebue**, and Anchorage). Thus, most of the current population of the village derives from the original resettlement population or those attracted in during the days of peak construction.

Those people who came to Point Lay during this period and have since become members of the community are almost all men. Each arrived unattached and met his partner in Point Lay (except for one non-Native who was invited precisely because of his relationship to a Point Lay woman). Nearly **all** had kinship relations with someone in Point Lay even before the establishment of a union.

The pattern since approximately 1983 is somewhat more complex. Ten couples currently in Point Lay were not part of the original settlement population and were not attracted to the construction opportunities during 1983 and before. Of these, four moved to Point Lay as units. Three were young, newly-formed couples while the other was an older and more mature couple. The male in one of these units had previously been a "floater" in Point Lay, but had no established position there. **All** four of these couples came to Point Lay specifically for the economic opportunities. The other five couples consist of an individual who has some standing in Point Lay and another individual who arrived in Point Lay for one reason or another. Only one of these people was in Point Lay primarily to find employment. Three of the others were visiting. The fifth came as a minor accompanying a new school teacher. The tenth **couple** is an "original" Point Lay man who met his wife on one of his frequent trips. She then moved to Point Lay to be with him. Neither has steady employment, but both take advantage of seasonal work opportunities.

Residents of Point Lay do not explicitly demarcate the three periods consisting of resettlement, construction of the two community sites, and the time since the completion of the new school. However, they do group people together on the basis of when and why they arrived in Point Lay, who they are related and/or married to, whether they arrived as a couple or an individual, and prior village experience. These local perceptions are not independent criteria. The first group is as the "founding fathers" or their descendants. The second group is made up of individuals who came to Point Lay in search of work, married local people, and stayed. The third group is mostly outsiders (even if they have kin relations in the village) who have come to Point Lay already married and who are predominantly economically motivated. This perception is complimented by the observation that these newest immigrants are

relatively inactive, even by Point Lay standards, in subsistence resource harvest pursuits. The last two groups also overlap considerably in time, although they are quite distinctive cognitively. While it is simplest to think of this in terms of length of contact (those outsiders who have the longest history of work in Point Lay are those closest to being taken in as members), this is only partly true. Kin relationships and marriage are also quite important.

Discussion

The sex ratio of the **non-Inupiat** population is much more volatile, ranging from 79% male/21% female in 1980 to an even 50% male/50% female in June 1988. This most likely reflects the maturation of Point Lay as a corporate entity, at least in the sense that the major part of its infrastructure is now built. The earlier **non-Inupiat** population was oriented to construction work. Now they are more likely to be employed by the school, or to hold full-time jobs in the service sector of the village (utilities, public works). Employment at either location lends stability to the **non-Inupiat** population in a way that seasonal work did not. Seasonal labor attracted mostly single men, or at least men who did not bring their spouses with them. The school actively recruits teaching couples, who tend to be non-Native. Point Lay is unusual in having a significant number of non-school NSB **non-Inupiat** employees, which is a point to be amplified below. These jobs foster the establishment of a home in Point Lay in any event, and have fostered a number of stable and socially central interethnic marriages in the community. The winding down of the CIP program is one explanation for the present equality of the **non-Inupiat** sex ratios. The work provided by outside labor or expertise is no longer differentiated “male” or “female” to the degree that it had been before. The male orientation still holds for hiring at the DEW Line station outside of Point Lay, but that continuity will be discussed in the context of general relations between the DEW Line station and the village of Point Lay.

The sex distributions of both **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** populations have been drifting somewhat, but again descriptive generalities are evident for each population which contrast markedly. **Inupiat** aged 0-19, the dependent years, comprise about 40 to 43% of the **Inupiat** population. Working age **Inupiat**, 20-54, make up about 45 to 50% of the **Inupiat** population. Elders, both unequivocal and “proto” (see definition below), are 5 to 10% of the **Inupiat** population. For **non-Inupiat**, dependents make up from 11 to 25% of the population, with the low figure being 1980 and the most recent numbers stabilizing around 15 to 20%. This is less than half of the **Inupiat** portion. Working-age **non-Inupiat** comprise 75 to 89% of the **non-Inupiat** population, again with the extreme, 89%, being a 1980 figure. More recent numbers are in the 80% area. There are few older **non-Inupiat** in Point Lay. There were none in 1980 or 1984, and the current figure is about 4%. This is the one cohort roughly equivalent to its **Inupiat** counterpart, but there is no special status attached to these **non-Inupiat** because of their age. Because they are so few it is difficult to make generalizations, but they are not treated as a group or category, and so contrast markedly with the category of “**Inupiat** Elder”.

“**Proto-elder**” is a term we have applied to that **liminal** category of persons perhaps not old enough to be comfortably called an Elder, or who perhaps do not want to admit to that age themselves, but who because of their experience are often consulted (about the present and the past) and are given preference, along with Elders, at public events. In age they are usually 50-65, and retired or at least less involved in work than younger individuals. The emergence of this behavioral category seems to be an important development, especially in Point Lay, where there are few “real”

Elders. The small number of “real” Elders may be in part attributed to the recent resettlement of the village (few Elders moved to the village when it was resettled, and not enough years have passed since resettlement for those individuals who moved there during early and mid-adulthood to become Elders) and in part to the **small** size of community itself. It seems also to be the case at present that some **Inupiat** residents may be hesitant to admit to being old enough to be considered an Elder. **“Proto-elder”** is not so useful a concept in Point Hope where there are concrete benefits for “seniors” or “Elders,” a good number of friends with whom to associate who also are in this category, and generally a more obvious attitude of day-to-day deference to Elders. In Point Hope, there is also a more clear distinction between Elders and competent, highly experienced (but younger-than-elder) adults who are consulted on a variety of matters.

These sex distributions underscore certain dynamics in Point Lay. **Non-Inupiat** come to Point Lay to work, and tend not to raise families there. This was even more true in the past when most work was seasonal construction and the permanent service and school positions were not yet fully established (1980). Once past working age, most **non-Inupiat** leave the village. Those remaining in Point Lay are **still** working (one full-time, one part-time) and also have family reasons to maintain residential ties in Point Lay. The **Inupiat** population, on the other hand, is clearly a permanently residential one, as indicated by the large number of young people.

The age category percentages for the Point Lay **Inupiat** population have been relatively constant since 1980, as can be seen in Table 8. Most age groups have not changed significantly in size. The categories for which observed differences must be accounted for are 0-4, 5-9, 20-24, 25-29, 45-49, and “Unknown”.

Since all categories except for 5-9 between 1980 and **1984**, and “Unknown” between **1984** and 1987 increased for the five surveys, and the “Unknown” category for **all** but the 1984 survey is nearly nonexistent, much of the observed change is **merely** due to more complete information. In fact, it could be argued that the simplest reconciliation would be to allocate the July 1984 unknowns to make the age distribution in that census parallel that of the others. It is known, however, that the “Unknowns” of the July 1984 census were all adults -- at least 15, and in most cases 20, years old at that time. Thus the observed difference in the 0-4 year old category is significant. In all likelihood, the other apparent categorical differences are not likely to be real. The possibility that individuals aged 0-4 may have been **undercounted** in July 1984 cannot be discounted; it appears that this is the one age group in Point Lay that has significantly increased in size.

Point Lay Households

Tables 9- I 3 summarize the characteristics of Point Lay households at four different points in time (there was not a complete household **survey** done in 1980, so information for that year is not comparable). Figures 9-16 graphically display the same information. “Household” is used in the same way it is used by residents (and informants) in Point Lay. A “household” is composed of all the individuals who normally reside in the same living structure. In most cases such living structures are separate houses. There are also several apartments, each of which is clearly defined and is considered a separate household. The **Cully** Camp, which is not really a household in the strict sense, will be treated as one in this report. Although group quarters are not treated as households by the U.S. Census, in the case of Point Lay (or other NSB villages) excluding them from consideration distorts the village housing and household picture more than including them does. Teacher housing and

even PSO housing in the villages is merely “group housing” in residential units. Many, but by no means all, teachers and PSOS live with their families and **all** are transient, although not as transient as the people who stay at the **Cully** Camp. Behaviorally, the camp cook is treated as if the camp is his or her home and those staying there are “guests.” In many respects, favors asked of the camp are addressed to the cook/manager rather than to the **Cully** Corporation, the entity in charge of the camp. **Cully** Camp is both a business and a household.

TABLE 8

Age Categories as Percentages of the **Inupiat** Population of Point Lay for Certain Dates

	09/80	07/84	09/87	12/87	06/88
Inupiat Population	77	88	116*	113**	121***
Age Category					
00-04	13.2	10.2	20.0	20.4	20.7
05-09	14.3	6.8	6.0	6.2	5.8
10-14	5.5	8.0	7.8	8.0	5.8
15-19	8.8	9.1	10.3	9.7	9.1
20-24	5.5	8.0	14.7	13.8	14.9
25-29	7.7	2.3	6.9	8.0	9.9
30-34	8.8	8.0	6.0	4.4	2.5
35-39	9.9	8.0	9.5	9.7	11.6
40-44	4.4	9.1	9.5	9.7	7.4
45-49	1.1	1.1	4.3	4.4	4.1
50-54	1.1	1.1	0.0	0.0	1.7
55-59	1.1	2.3	.9	.9	.8
60-64	1.1	2.3	1.7	1.8	.8
65-69	2.2	2.3	2.6	2.7	2.5
70-74	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.8
75-79	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
80-84	0.0	0.0	.9	.9	.8
Unknown	0.0	13.6	0.0	0.0	.8

* Includes four individuals **aged** 0-4 of unknown sex

** Includes five individuals **aged** 0-4 of unknown sex

*** Includes eight individuals **aged** 0-4 of unknown sex

There is a degree of fluidity of membership among **Inupiat** households, ranging from zero to something close to shared membership. This does not lessen the ideology of separate households, any more than the idea of structure “defining” household lessens the **Inupiat** cultural commitment to sharing between households. The net result is that a household is recognized for each separate habitation unit, but that some such habitation units are recognized to habitually share or cooperate more often than do others. In most cases, but not all, this is based on kinship relations (whether “real” or “fictive”). The residents of Point Lay always assign an individual to the household in which he physically resides. In no case is any household considered a satellite dependent of another -- the most extreme case is still expressed as sharing between independent but related households. The definition of such a relationship strictly in terms of dependency is most definitely to be avoided. Some Elders receive substantial subsistence (food and meals) from other households, and provide babysitting, but this does not imply that some households are behaviorally or functionally dependent on others. This may be more of a definitional difficulty than anything else (probably no household provides 100% of its own food, fuel, clothing, and so on) but all are perceived in Point Lay to be able to get by on the resources available through community efforts, should that be necessary. Contributions and sharing are seen as social acts that may make life easier for the recipient, but they do not seem to be budgeted or even expected components of any household “balance sheet,” no matter how informal.

Certain other terms must be defined for the following discussion. **“Inupiat”** households will be used to refer to households where all adults are Alaskan Natives. There are two or three cases in Point Lay where **Inupiat** women are married to **non-Inupiat** (but Alaskan Native) men. Other village residents treat these as fully **Inupiat** households. Except in cases where it is known to make a difference, we **will** also not make this distinction. “Caucasian” households will also be termed “non-Native” households and are those where all **adults** are not Alaskan Natives. These adults may or may not be Caucasian, although currently in Point Lay they **all** are. “Mixed” households are those in which some adults are Alaskan Natives and others are not. In Point Lay, three of the four cases of “mixed” households are of **Inupiat** men married to Caucasian women. Few generalizations can be made about how the children from these unions are being raised, especially given the small number of cases, but they will be discussed as they are quite suggestive in terms of the development of an individual’s concept of ethnicity in Point Lay.

Households will also be discussed in terms of their composition. Five labels will be used to simplify discussion. These five categories are based on the cases actually found in Point Lay, and not on some theoretical typology of family or household form, or on a presupposed dynamic household cycle. A “nuclear” family is one composed of a married couple and their children, and is the predominant form in Point Lay. A distinction **is** made between “young-nuclear” and “old-nuclear” families. The former are composed of young couples who have not started to **have children** or **who have** young (minor) children. The latter are older couples whose children are now all adults, although some may still be living with the parents. “Single-parent” households are composed of only one parent with his or her children. The other (absent) parent may be divorced, deceased, or not known. The adult in these households may be young (teenager) to middle-aged (40s). “Single-person” households are composed of a single adult. “Complex” households are those which do not fit into these simple categories, but do not appear to have any explanatory power as a category of their own. However, they do often offer insights into the adaptations made to “ideal types” when faced with the reality of providing every individual with a place to live. These will be discussed on a case-by-case basis for each census (some, of course, carry over from census to census).

Household Information: The Census of July 1984

Introduction

Table 9 summarizes household characteristics for July 1984. Figures 9- 11 display them graphically. The distribution of household sizes is surprisingly similar for all three ethnic **subpopulations**. This is especially true if the largest **Inupiat** household is discounted, as it was a composite (and temporary) entity, soon splitting into at least four separate households. This **overall** similarity in household size distribution for all three populations differs from all three observational censuses taken during the period of this research. For these three sets of observations **non-Inupiat** households were significantly smaller than were **Inupiat** households, which were in turn smaller than “mixed” households. The dynamics for the observational period are fairly clear, we believe. Few **non-Inupiat** families in Point Lay have children, whereas there are several single **non-Inupiat**. However, even single **Inupiat** tend to live together to share expenses and scarce housing resources. **Inupiat** households include all age groups, and thus include young couples with no children, old people with no live-in children, and solitaries, as well as fully developed families. By definition, “mixed” households are composed of a married couple and most likely at least one child. In Point Lay, 3 of the 4 cases are families still in the growth stage, and the fourth is not without the possibility of further growth.

The 1984 census anomalies, when seen in conjunction with the other three censuses, can be given plausible explanations. The most plausible is that it was taken at the very end of the construction boom in Point Lay. There were four **non-Inupiat** couples with children. This was due more to a random fluctuation than anything else, as two were associated with the school, utilities, or the **Public Safety Department**. However, there were an additional four **non-Inupiat** households composed of construction workers. In one, several brothers lived with their mother, who had been in Point Lay for several years, their sister, and her two children from marriages in the lower-48. Three households were composed of unrelated construction workers living together. Two other couples worked at the school, as did a woman living alone. One household of four adults was split between seasonal workers and a PSO. There were an unusually large number of **non-Inupiat** in the village, but not the full complement for the school, as they were out on vacation. There was also a rather limited housing supply. The limited amount of living space affected the transients and newcomers most. Only one household in Point Lay had over 6 members in 1984. This household consisted of a married couple, joined by five brothers, three of whom were married (two to daughters of the first couple). There were as yet no children from these marriages, and most of the members of this household had arrived in Point Lay not too much earlier from a more southern village. The individuals from this household and their children now make up four separate households. **Inupiat single-person** households were predominantly young and the structures were small trailers from a previous construction project. These are now in very poor repair and not used, as newer units have been built. Total households in Point Lay have increased since 1984, but the increase has been in **Inupiat** and “mixed” households (often splitting off from existing households).

The **Inupiat** households of 1984 have some interesting properties. Ten are strictly nuclear families. One is a single-parent (with children) whose spouse was removed from the village. Six are single-person households (five had immediate relatives in the village -- four subsequently formed or reconstituted nuclear families). There remain seven “complex” households.

TABLE 9

Household Composition, Point Lay, Alaska - July 1984

Household Size	Inupiat	Caucasian	Mixed
1	6	1	0
2	4	4	0
3	1	2	1
4	4	2	1
5	4	1	0
6	4	1	0
7	0	0	0
8	0	0	0
9	0	0	0
10	0	0	0
11	1	0	0
Totals	24	11	2
Average	3.67	3.09	3.5

Household Type

Young Nuclear	9	5	2
Old Nuclear	1	1	0
Single-Parent	1	0	0
Single-Person	6	1	0
Complex	7	4	0
Totals	24	11	2

Inupiat Complex: grandfather + granddaughter
nuclear family + nephew (?)
single parent + **child** + ?
three-generation household
grandfather + grandchildren
two male adults
couple + six sons + three daughters-in-law

Non-Inupiat Complex: two adult males (two cases)
three adult males with one adult **female**
adult female with children + grandchildren

Household Size, Point Lay July 1984

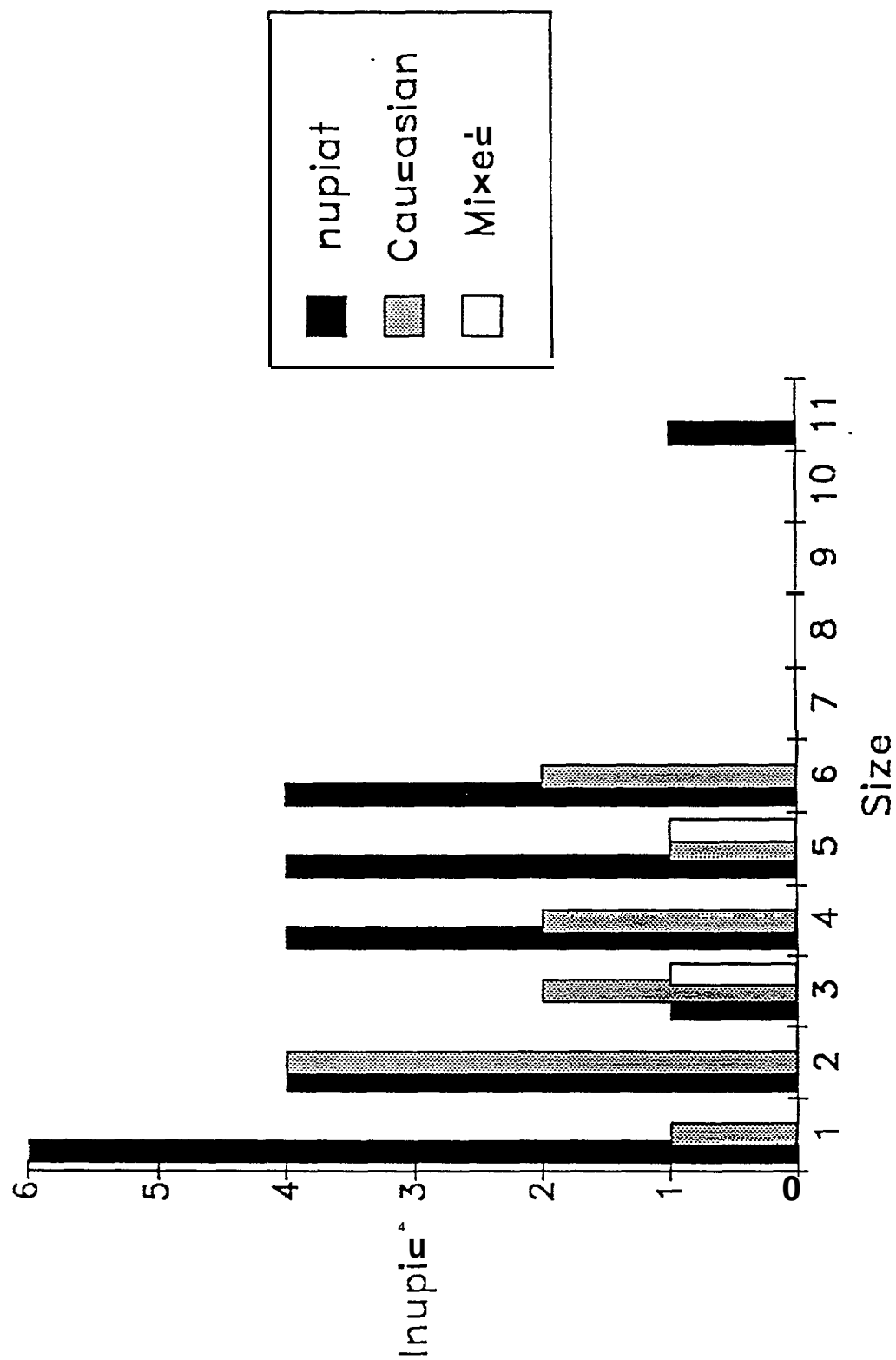


Figure 9
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Household Composition, By Type Point Lay, Alaska July 1984

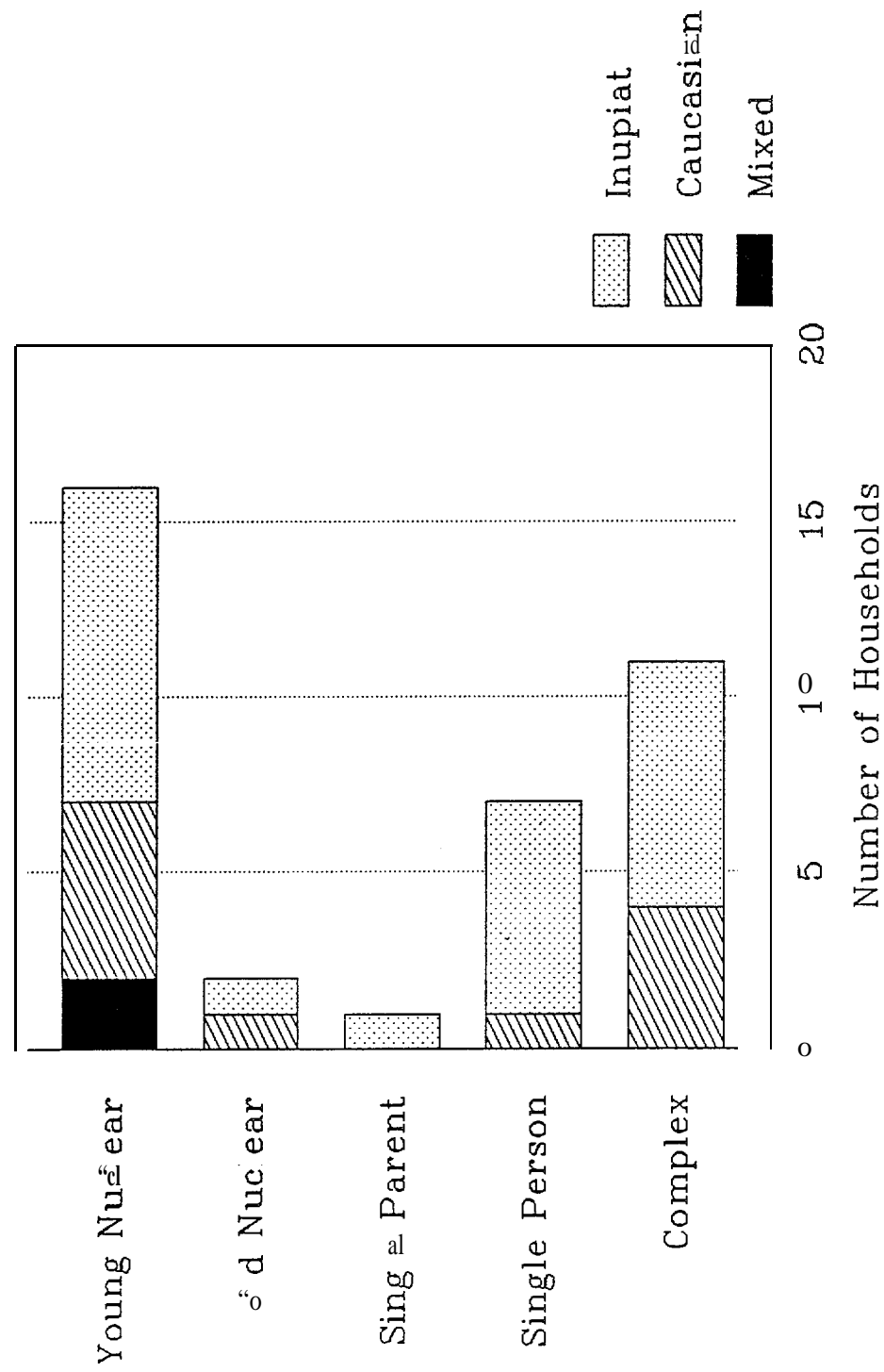


Figure 10
92

Household Composition, By Ethnicity

Point Lay, Alaska

July 1984

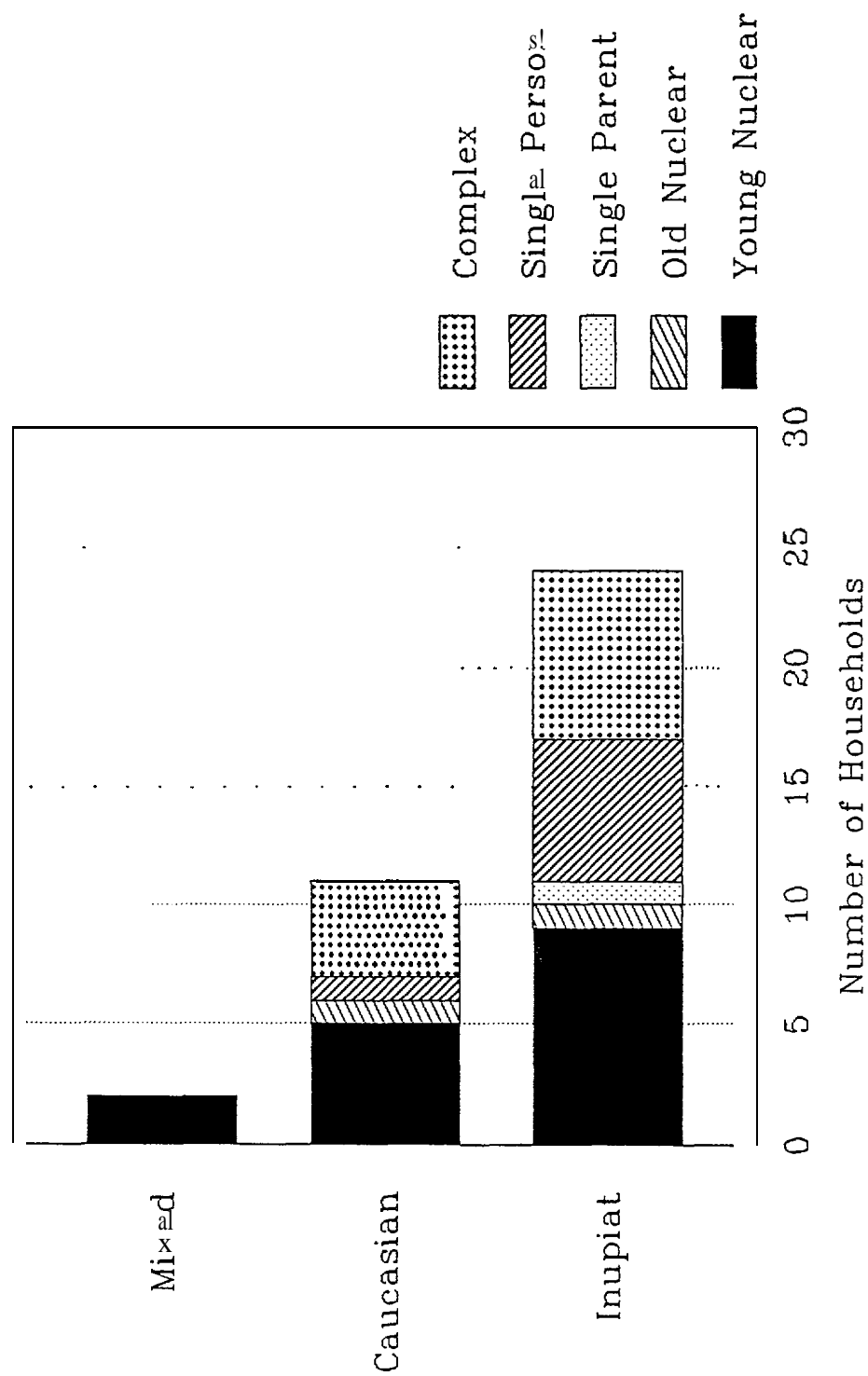


Figure I 1
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Inupiat “Complex” Households

The first “complex” household consists of two adult males who share expenses and living quarters. One of them owns the house and the other is a guest. This is an example of someone with “extra” living space housing another in need of a place to stay. The lack of privacy is why some people are willing to live alone in very small and substandard housing, and why having a little extra room can be more of a **bother** than a blessing. In most cases, the composition of these households is quite fluid, with the “guest” usually staying in any one place no more than a month or so.

The second “complex” household is that of a male Elder (referred to hereafter as “A”) living with his granddaughter. Elder A has several married children, with children of their own, living in Point Lay. He lives in a large new NSB house with only his granddaughter, while that granddaughter’s father lives in a much smaller structure with his girlfriend and three or four other children. Elder A also has two daughters living in Point Lay in their own households. One lived in the same size house as the Elder, along with two of her adult sons, a teenage son, and another man. This is **also** an independent household, supported primarily by a court settlement with the state of Alaska. This household is considered a single-parent household, as there are no relatives other than children present and the marriage still exists (her spouse is presently institutionalized), and has a “young nuclear” form.

The other daughter of Elder A is divorced and lives in Point Lay in a small but neat structure with up to four of her children, and an occasional visitor. During 1984 her household was considered the third **Inupiat** “complex” household, as it is unclear how many of the individuals living with her are her children, as opposed to other relations or friends. She does maintain a separate household, is usually employed, and has a basic household unit of herself and her children.

Elder A is frequently visited by his children, especially his son. The granddaughter lives with Elder A not **only** to help care for him, but also to gain a measure of privacy for herself. She is a high school graduate who finds living in her father’s house somewhat crowded. On the other hand, she also finds the responsibilities of caring for her grandfather taxing at times. This is especially true when the NSB housekeeping program is not working well. She works part-time at the health clinic, depending on their need and her availability. Elder A’s house is used by other **family** members (especially his son and son’s children) when Elder A goes out of town, for personal or medical reasons. It is quite spacious and has a telephone. The son and divorced daughter do not have telephones. Elder A is served a lunch from the **school** every day that school is in session (one of the few Senior programs in Point Lay) and is given a share of most subsistence resources harvested. He is still active enough to carve small **beluga** bone masks, most of which he sells to retailers in Barrow. This is one of the three households in Point Lay that come closest to being a satellite or of forming the nexus of a cluster of households. It remains an independent household, however, for most day-to-day activities.

The fourth “complex” household is also headed by a male Elder (Elder “B”), and in 1984 also included four of Elder B’s grandchildren (all by different parents, two from the families of his married daughter living in Point Lay), as well as the wife of one of these grandchildren. Elder B also lived in one of the larger NSB houses. The available space, and his need for care, were again the reasons others lived with him. In addition, the two youngest grandchildren had been orphaned at a very young age and this Elder raised them as his own. Thus, the other two grandchildren (and the spouse) helped to care for them as well as for Elder B. The married grandchild

came from a crowded household and so this was a temporary measure. He and his wife soon obtained housing of their own. Elder B does have three married daughters, each with her own family, in Point Lay (as well as other children in Barrow, **Nuiqsut**, Anchorage, and other places -- he has been married twice and one of his wives was previously married). He often eats lunch and dinner at one of his daughter's houses, and other household members take care of themselves. He receives some subsistence contributions from his daughters' husbands, but this is not always a steady supply. Some of the younger hunters, especially those related to him, also will leave small game or a caribou portion. On feast occasions or for special harvests (**beluga**, bowhead), Elder B will receive a special portion. As he is especially fond of fish, most people who go to **fishcamp** in the fall will allocate at least part of a sack of fish to him.

This household is also categorized as an independent household, although it consists of closely related households in the village. Elder B also receives a school lunch every day (which he often saves for his grandson) and is entitled to NSB housekeeping services. Elder B was determined to maintain his independence and was recognized by the community as doing so. School teachers remarked that he was among the most active parents or guardians and made sure that the children attended school.

The fifth 'complex' case also involves an Elder (Elder "C"), but one younger than the two discussed above. She also spends much of her time out of the village, and is now married to a white man (her first husband was **Inupiat**). At this time she was living in Point Lay with her husband, an adult daughter, and the daughter's two children. This is as close to a three-generation household as existed in Point Lay. It was also a newer and spacious NSB house. Elder C was entitled to the school lunch and housekeeping program, but did not use it as frequently as the two Elders above. She was more mobile, although she spends most of her time at home when she is in Point Lay. Her most common social activity is playing bingo. She has a son who usually lives in Point Lay. In 1984 he maintained a single-person household, but when the daughter and her children moved out to form another household in Point Lay with a **non-Inupiat** man, he moved in with his mother. There, again, someone helped care for the older person and took advantage of one of the large houses available in the village. Elder C still does her own cooking and most of her own cleaning. The son is available for emergencies and both of them consider it a pleasant living situation. This son does not hunt much. More distantly related hunters sometimes share subsistence resources. As an Elder she also receives a favored share on feast days and during special harvests.

The sixth "complex" household is simply a young nuclear family with the addition of a nephew (or perhaps younger brother) who acts as the male head of household. This nephew was from Kotzebue, the original home of the head of household. He came to Point Lay to go to school and perhaps work a little. There is a good deal of visiting back and forth between **Kotzebue** and Point Lay for members of this family, so that while this unit is basically a nuclear family, there are often additional visitors.

The seventh **Inupiat** "complex" household was the largest household in the village. It consisted of a married couple and their adopted son, five adult males, and three **adult** females. The five males were all brothers. Two of the adult females were daughters of the first couple, and married to two of the brothers. The third female was married to a third brother. Most of these individuals, except for the first couple, were recent arrivals from **Kotzebue** and thus accepted whatever housing was available. This household later split into four nuclear households, with the single males forming single-person households or various small "complex" households. This

household serves as a good example of how kin relations are often used to devise temporary housing solutions. No one here considered this household permanent, however, and they tried to find alternative spaces as soon as possible.

An eighth case could be tabulated as a “complex” household, because of a lack of information about the household members are related. It appears from the census, from present informants, that this household was actually a nuclear family. This household has thus been treated as a nuclear household in summary tables and discussions.

Non-Inupiat Households

Non-Inupiat households in 1984 were essentially of two types -- nuclear households and those made up of seasonal construction laborers. The latter are tabulated as “complex” since they do not fit any standard **typology** of family forms. There was one single-person **non-Inupiat** household. Of the four “complex” households, two were composed of construction workers. One was composed of a PSO and construction workers and a girlfriend. The fourth was a more complex case of a **non-Inupiat** woman divorced from a Point Lay **Inupiat** man, who had been joined in Point Lay by two of her sons, her daughter, and her daughter’s two children. The older woman has decided that Point Lay is where she wishes to live. One of the two sons was working construction while the other was a more marginal character. In addition, the older woman also had another son, married to a **non-Inupiat**, living in Point Lay and working full-time at construction (and later at NSB Utilities). This household had no regular form, however, as its composition was **in** constant flux because the sons would often go to stay by themselves in **small** structures, or the woman would temporarily move out onto the spit. The “mixed” households were **ail** nuclear in form and were young families in the process of growth. In most characteristics they resemble **Inupiat** nuclear families.

Household Information: The Census of September 1987

Introduction

Table 10 and Figures 12-14 show a difference between the **Inupiat** and “mixed” **subpopulations** on the one hand, and the **non-Inupiat** on the **other**. The average size **for** the first to is 3.5-4, while for **non-Inupiat** households it is 2.0. The distribution of **household** types is similar, however, and seems to support the generalization that the populations are similar, except that the **non-Inupiat** families tend to have fewer **children** and older adults. The nuclear **family** (meaning also the childless married couple) is the preferred household form, to the near exclusion of all others.

Inupiat Households

Thirteen of thirty-two **Inupiat** households are clearly nuclear households. Two of these moved in from other villages (one from Point Hope, one from **Kotzebue**). An additional seven are single-parent households with children, a sharp increase from 1984. This is in some ways a statistical artifact. They also serve to point out the importance of individual circumstances when talking about household forms. The six “new” single-parent households developed in a variety of ways. One was formed

TABLE 10

Household Composition, Point Lay, Alaska - September 1987

Household Size	Inupiat	Caucasian	Mixed
1	3	3	0
2	10	3	0
3	2	2	1
4	6	0	2
5	6	0	1
6	4	0	0
7	1	0	0
Totals	32	8	4
Average	3.56	2.0	4

Household Type

Young Nuclear	12	2	4
Old Nuclear	1	2	0
Single-Parent	7	0	0
Single-Person	3	2	0
Complex	9	2	0
Totals	32	8	4

Complex Inupiat: three adult males
two adult males (2 cases)
grandfather + granddaughter
grandfather + grandchildren + son + researcher
nuclear family + nephew or younger brother
young couple (no children) + brother of male
couple with adopted children

Non-Inupiat Complex: two adult males (school teachers)
Cully Camp (a single person)

Household Size, Point Lay September 1987

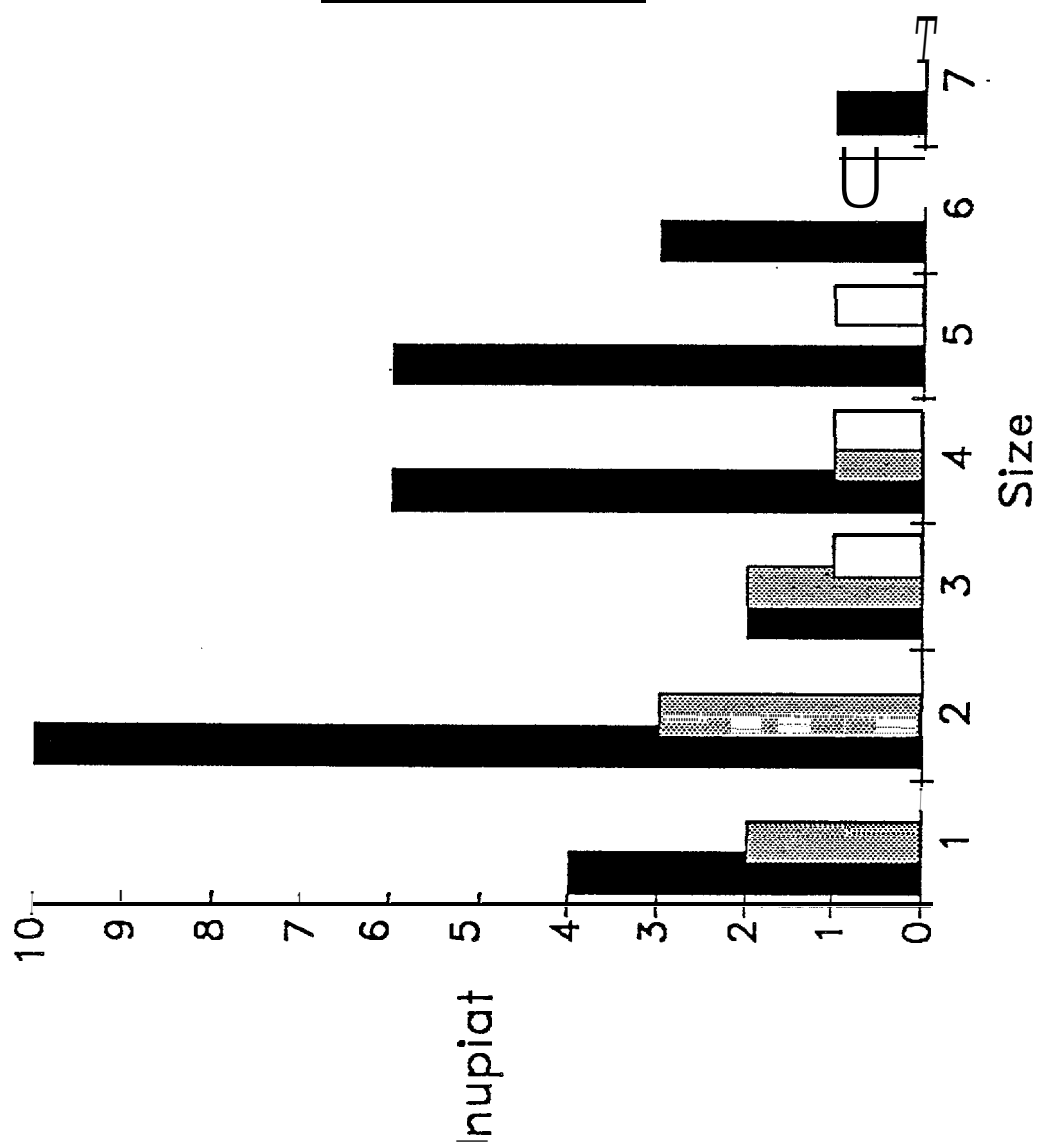
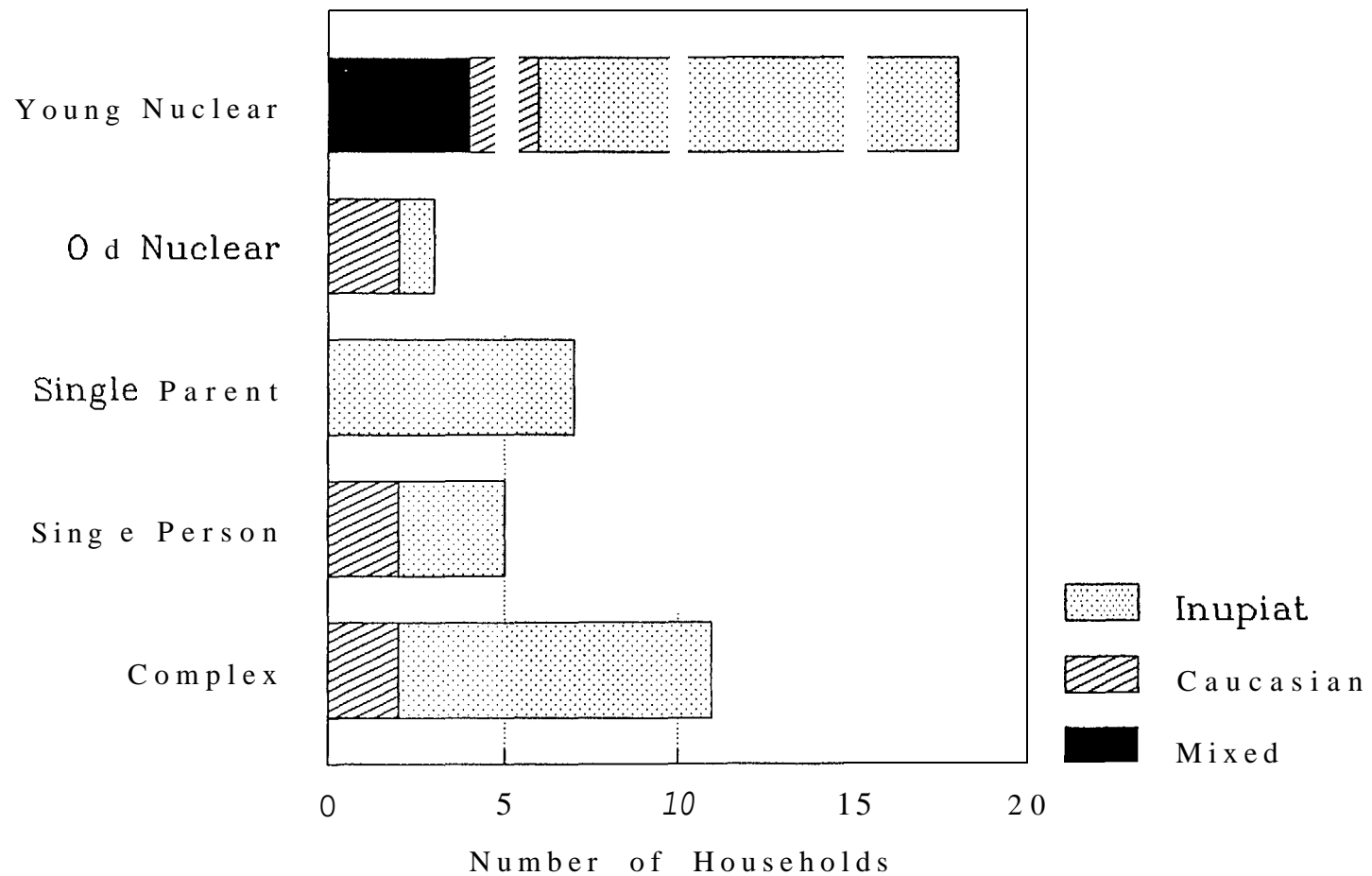


Figure 12
98

Household Composition, By Type Point Lay, Alaska

S e p t e m b e r 1 9 8 7



Household Composition, By Ethnicity Point Lay, Alaska September 1987

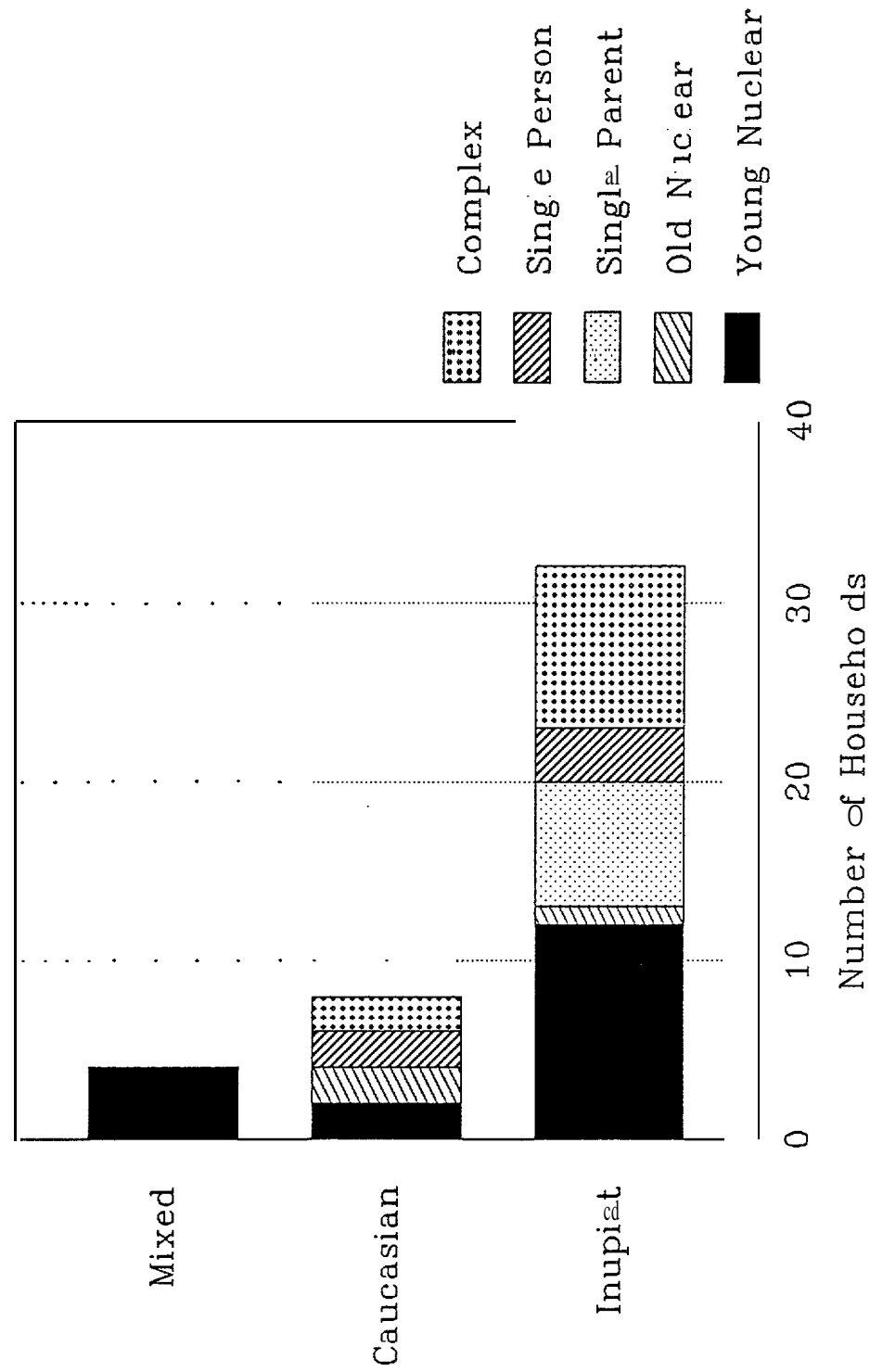


Figure 14
100

through the death of a spouse, and another through separation or divorce. Two were new households from outside of the village, moving in to an area where they had relatives and good prospects for wage income. The other two were “simplifications” of two of the “complex” **Inupiat** households of 1984, caused by the movement of various household members. Most of the individuals from **Inupiat** “complex” household three of 1984 returned to Point Hope, leaving a woman and her daughter in Point Lay. **Inupiat** “complex” house five split off the daughter and her children to form a “mixed” household with a **non-Inupiat** man who arrived in Point Lay to work on construction and eventually settled in Point Lay, working for the NSB; this household also lost the husband relocated outside of Point Lay. Elder C’s son, who had maintained a **single-person** household of his own in 1984, came to live with his mother. Thus, two of these seven households were new to Point Lay, one continued from 1984, and four were the result of natural processes related to the formation or dissolution of a sexual bond between adults.

The six **Inupiat** single-person households were reduced to three in September 1987. Only one displayed continuity. Two moved in from outside of the village and found employment. Of the five **Inupiat** individuals who lived **alone** in 1984 and did not do so in September 1987, two formed a nuclear household together. A third moved in with his mother, Elder C. A fourth moved to Wainwright. The fifth formed a nuclear family with an **Inupiat** woman who moved to Point Lay with several of their children from previous relationships.

Nine **Inupiat** households are tabulated as “complex” in September 1987. The first still consists of two unmarried men living together, one of whom is the owner of the structure. The other man from 1984 has left to form a “mixed” nuclear household with the daughter of the divorced older **non-Inupiat** woman (the fourth **non-Inupiat** case discussed above for 1984). The new member of this first “complex” household came to Point Lay from **Kotzebue**, and is part of the large family which tends to travel back and forth between the two.

The second “complex” household remains the same as the second “complex” household for 1984. The fourth “complex” household of 1984 remains essentially the same, with the addition of one of Elder B’s sons and a non-Native researcher. The sixth “complex” household of 1984 continued unchanged.

None of the other “complex” **Inupiat** households of 1984 remain in that form. The third, as discussed above, was reduced to a single-parent household. The fifth also was reduced to a single-parent household (although one where the “child” is a full adult). The seventh split into a nuclear household and a smaller “complex” household, with a number of people also moving back to **Kotzebue**, and the eighth household moved to Anchorage.

Thus, there are five “new complex” **Inupiat** households in September 1987. One was composed of a young couple from **Wainwright**, still childless, and a brother of the male. Another consisted of an Alaskan Native married to an **Inupiat** with natural as well as foster children. Both of these households were essentially nuclear. Two other households consisted of single **Inupiat** males of young working age living together to share expenses and because of the lack of available housing. One household had two such individuals and the other had three. The last “complex” household was composed of the older married couple from “complex” household seven of 1984, along with their adopted son, a grandchild they have raised, and a teenage girl who is considered part of the family due to her parents’ relations with this couple.

Thus, of these five households, three are nuclear in form, although complicated by the actual origin of the children or by the increase of an additional relative to the household.

Non-Inupiat Households

Four of eight **non-Inupiat** households were strictly nuclear, and all involve NSB employees (three couples at the school and one man at NSB Utilities). Two households consist of single individuals -- the older divorced women then living alone and one **of** her sons also living alone. The two "complex" cases were one example of two single male teachers sharing a house, and the **Cully** Camp, where for the most part, only the camp cook was in residence. The turnover in the **non-Inupiat** population from 1984 was not complete, but was very high. Four households in September 1987 contained people resident in Point Lay in 1984 (two **of** those households remained intact).

"Mixed" households increased in number from two to four, as two single women with children split off from the households they had been living in in 1984 to form nuclear households. The two households existing in 1984 continued to exist, and all were **still** nuclear in form. All continued to be important in the village because of relations to other households through **Inupiat** kinship linkages, and these individuals tend to be looked upon as community leaders, or at least spokespersons for community opinion.

Household Information: The **Census** of December 1987

Introduction

As one would expect, the observations from December 1987 do not differ significantly from September 1987. The same generalizations hold. The overall preference for the establishment of nuclear households appears even more obvious than before. See Table 11 and Figures 15-17.

Inupiat Households

The founding of three nuclear households and a loss of four "complex" households resulted in a loss of one household. This complex household moved to Kaktovik, where the wife has relations, in part because the male wished to pursue employment at Prudhoe Bay. Relations of the head of household left two other "complex" households **of** September 1987 so that they were once again strictly nuclear households -- parents with children. Another "complex" household of two young male **Inupiat** became a single-person household when one left the village. Still another single **Inupiat** male also left the village, but his place has been occupied by a nuclear family from **Kotzebue**. Both of the men who left went to **Kotzebue** and are related to the new family.

Five "complex" **Inupiat** households still exist. Elder A still lived with his granddaughter. Elder B lived with an unmarried son and several grandchildren. The married couple living with an adopted son, a grandson they are raising as their own, and a teenage girl, remains unchanged. There is also a household of two single **Inupiat** males, and another of three single **Inupiat** males.

TABLE 11

Household Composition, Point Lay, Alaska - December 1987

Household Size	Inupiat	Caucasian	Mixed
1	3	3	0
2	9	3	0
3	3	3	1
4	6	1	1
5	8	0	2
6	2	1	0
Totals	31	11	4
Average	3.42	2.55	4.25

Household Type

Young Nuclear	15	4	4
Old Nuclear	1	1	0
Single-Parent	7	0	0
Single-Person	3	3	0
Complex	5	3	0
Totals	31	11	4

Inupiat Complex: three adult males
two adult males
grandfather + granddaughter
grandfather + unmarried son + grandchildren
couple with adopted children

Non-Inupiat Complex: two adult males (school teachers)
Cully Camp

Household Size, Point Lay December 1987

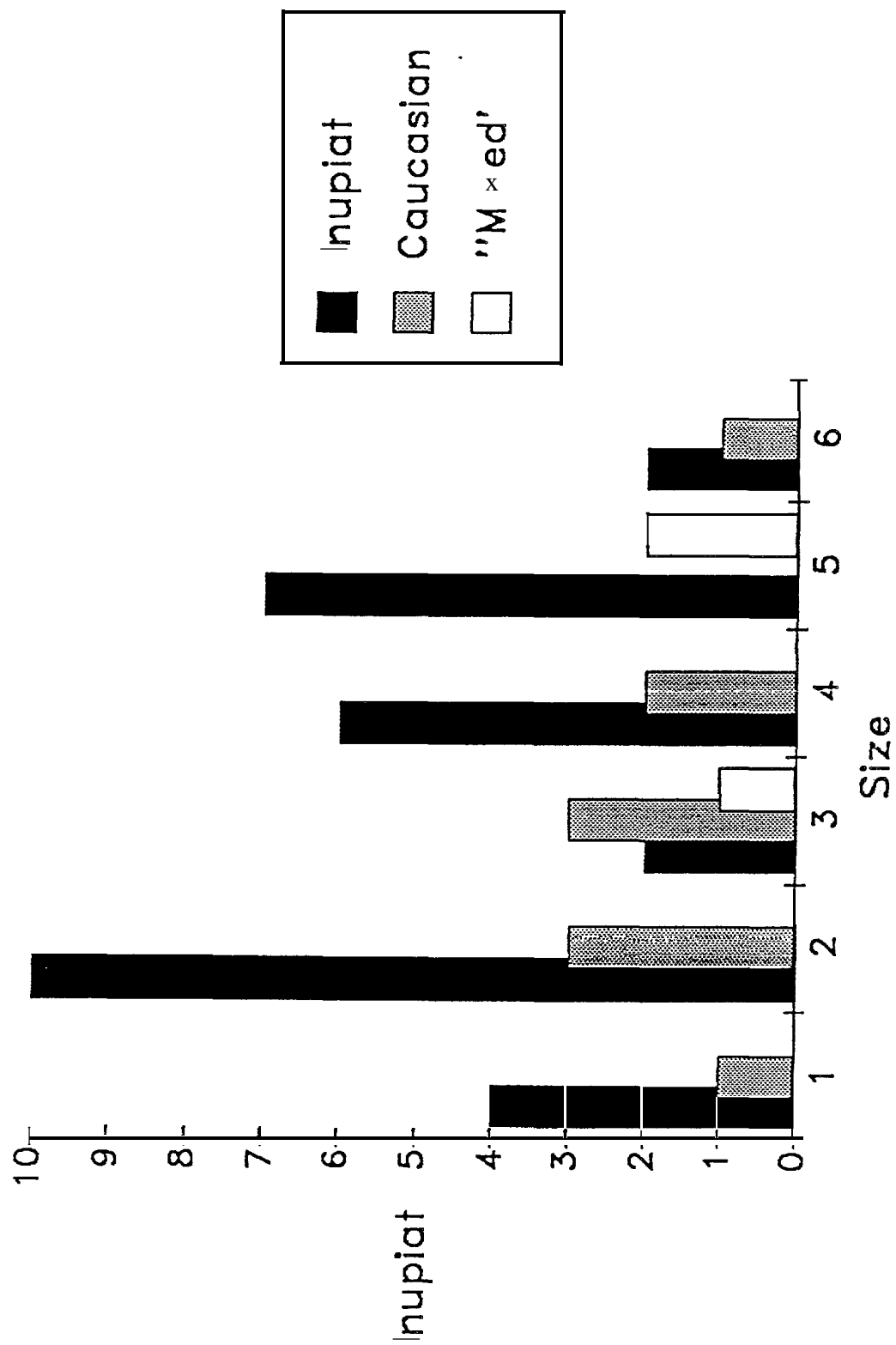


Figure 15
104

Household Composition, *By Type* Point Lay, Alaska

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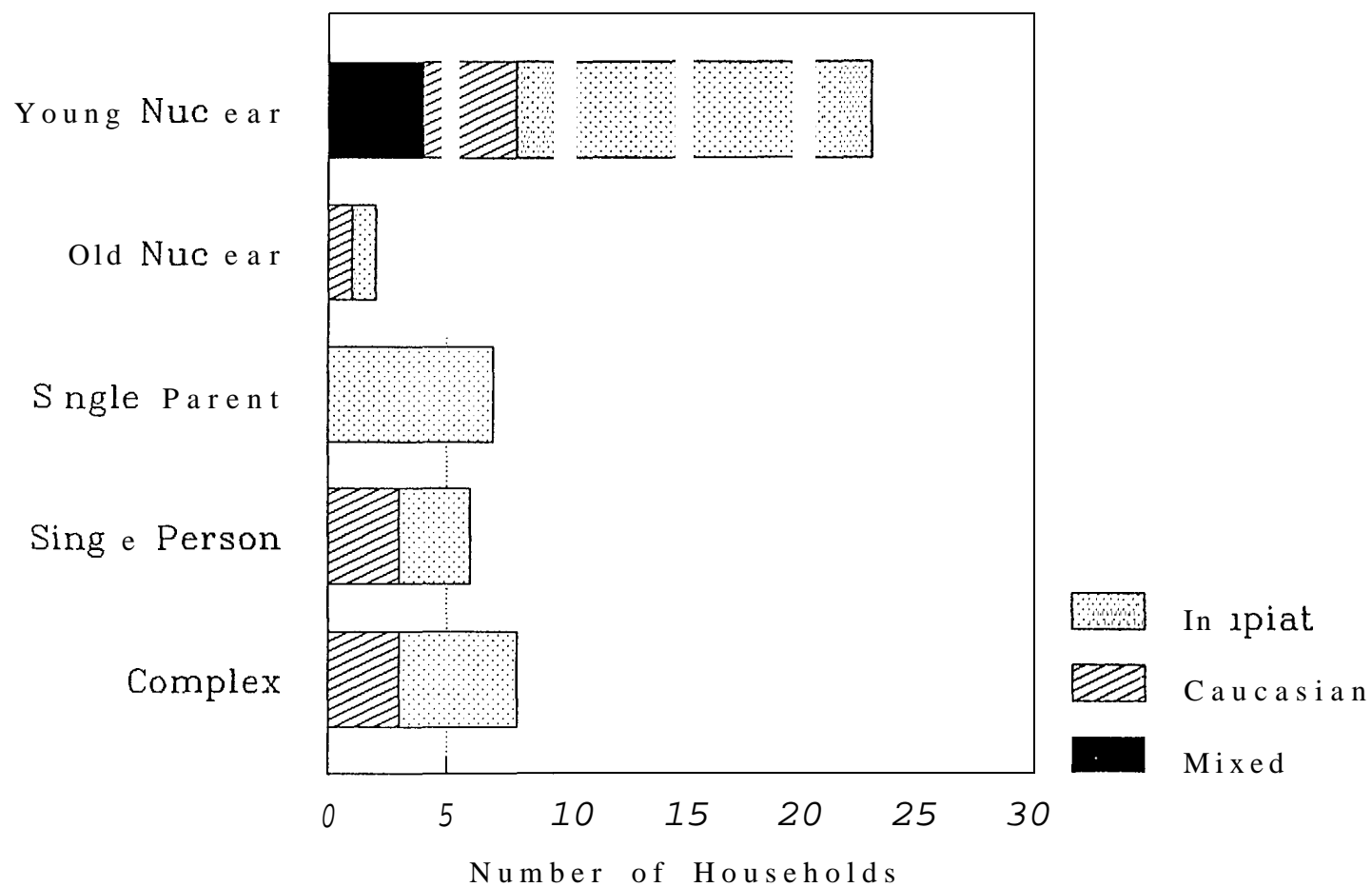


Figure 6
105

Household Composition, By Ethnicity Point Lay, Alaska December 1987

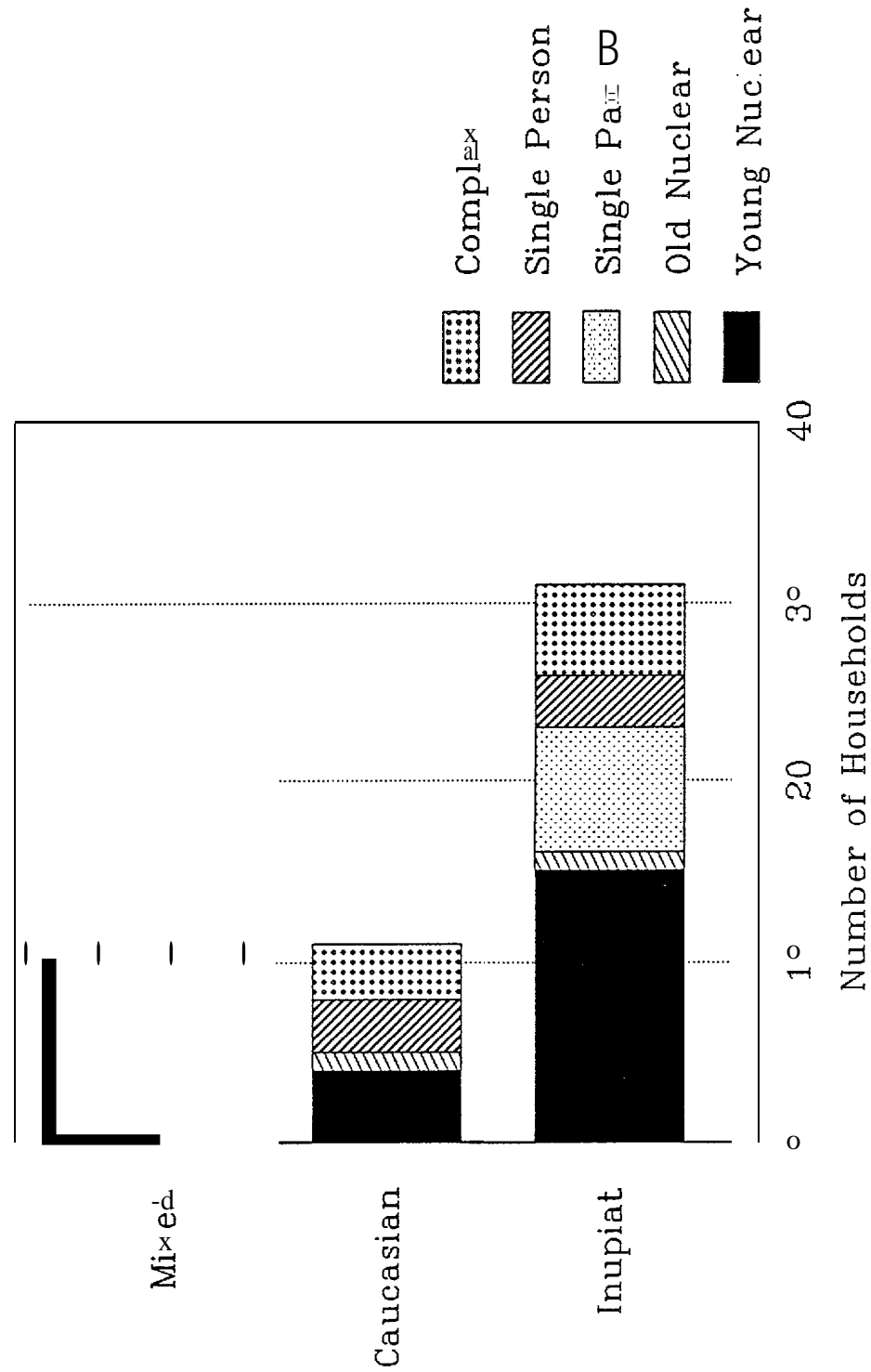


Figure 17
106

Non-Inupiat Households

The **non-Inupiat** household changes can also be briefly summarized. Nuclear households, single-person households, and complex households all increased by one for a net increase of three. The family that moved to Kaktovik has been replaced by a non-Native PSO, who arrived alone. In addition, a non-Native construction worker and his female companion were in the village at the time of the survey. They had no children but were counted as a nuclear family. Also, a **non-Inupiat** couple with one child had relocated to Point Lay from Canada. One of the existing **non-Inupiat** nuclear households became “complex” because it assumed the temporary fostering duties of the parents moving to Kaktovik so that some students could complete the school year in Point Lay.

The “mixed” households remained the same as for the prior period, except for the addition of one child to one of the households.

Household Information: The Census of June 1988

Introduction

The same sort of continuities and changes as were evident for the last survey are also in evidence for June 1988. The **Inupiat** preference for nuclear households is again quite evident, whereas **non-Inupiat** households tend to become single-person. This will be discussed below, based on Table 12 and Figures 18-20.

Inupiat Households

An increase of four nuclear and one single-person household, countered by a loss of three single-parent households, resulted in a net gain of two households. One single-parent household moved back to Kotzebue, while two others were transformed into “complex” households with the addition of one person each. One such person came from **Kivalina** in response to the lack of wage jobs there and the surplus in Point Lay. The tie is apparently one of friendship. The other person came from the dissolution of the three single male **Inupiat** “complex” household of December 1987, and he may be distantly related to the members of the household he joined. At least one other single **Inupiat** working male joined this household at the same time. The other two males from this household each formed a nuclear household of his own by living with an **Inupiat** woman who had been visiting Point Lay and decided to stay. One couple stayed in the house where the three men had lived and the other replaced a nuclear family that moved back to Wainwright. The two single male **Inupiat** “complex” household split into two single individual households. One stayed in the old house and one replaced another single-person household which relocated (to **Kotzebue** or Anchorage, it is believed).

Two new nuclear families moved in from the Kivalina-Kotzebue area, also drawn by the chance to obtain wage jobs. One moved into a previously vacant house, while a unit was created for the other by partitioning an existing unit. The last “new” nuclear family was a couple who had lived in Point Lay previously and had a house vacant and ready for them. They had been in **Wainwright** and have many relations in both villages.

TABLE 12

Household Composition, Point Lay, Alaska - June 1988

Household Size	Inupiat	Caucasian	Mixed
1	4	6	0
.2	9	1	0
3	3	4	1
4	5	0	2
5	10	0	0
6	2	0	1
Totals	33	11	4
Average	3.42	1.82	4.25

Household Type

Young Nuclear	19	2	4
Old Nuclear	1	1	0
Single-Parent	4	0	0
Single-Person	4	6	0
Complex	5	2	0
Totals	33	11	4

Inupiat Complex: adult male + son + man's friend
 grandfather + granddaughter
 grandfather + grandchildren
 mother + unmarried children + two adult males
 couple with adopted children

Non-Inupiat Complex: **Cully** Camp
couple with temporary foster child

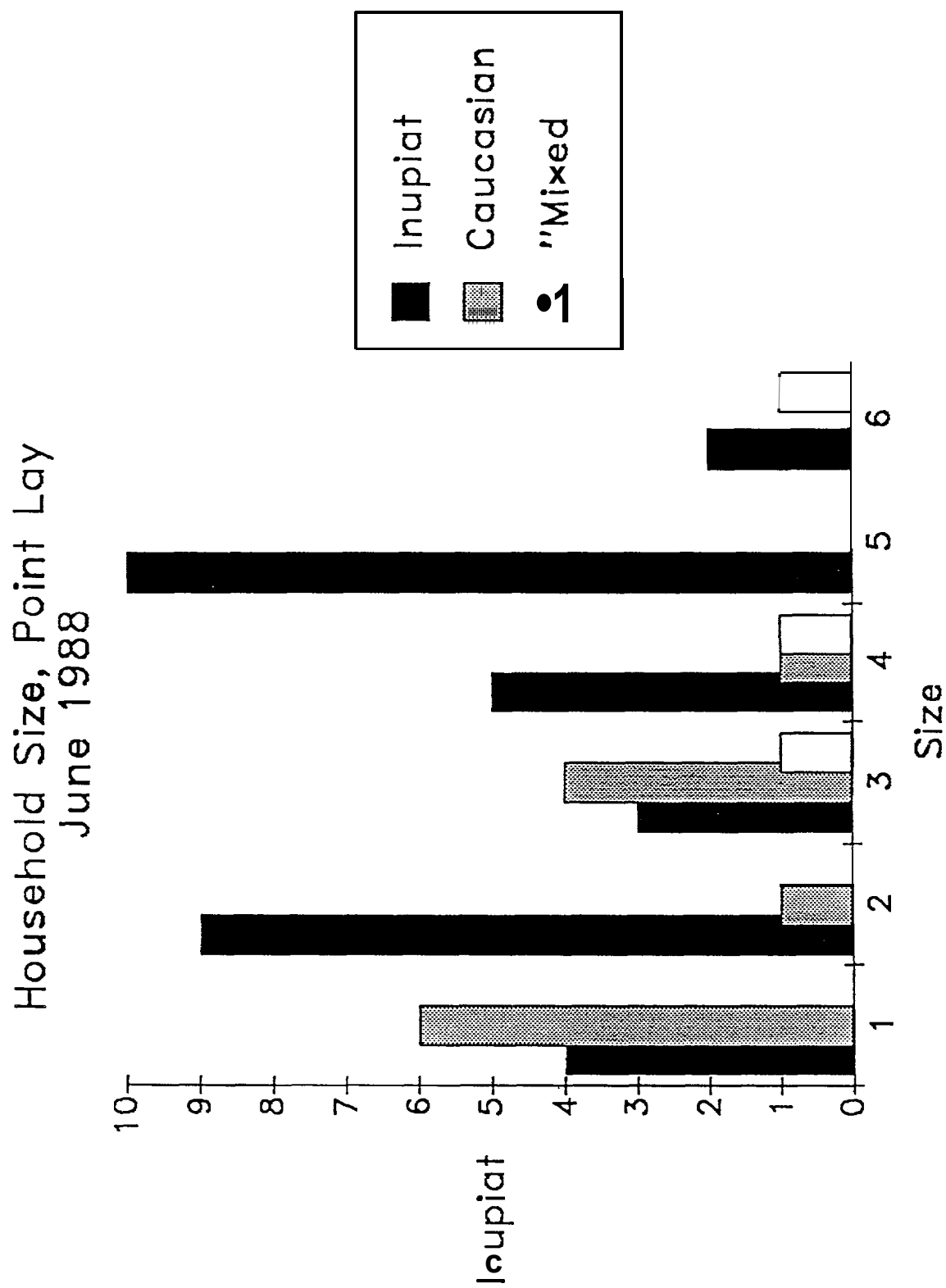


Figure 18

Household Composition, By Type Point Lay, Alaska June 1988

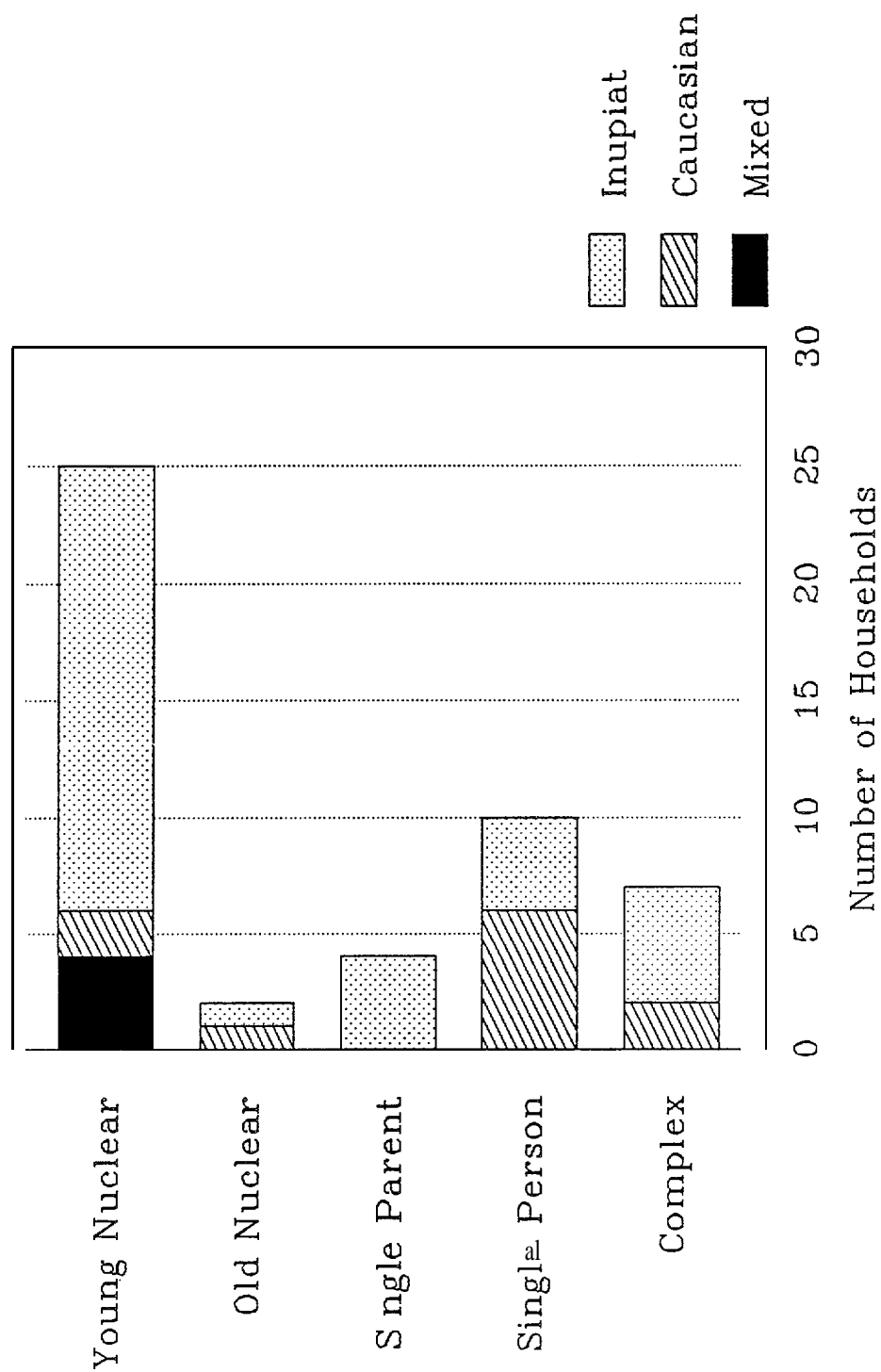


Figure 19
110

Household Composition, By Ethnicity

Point *Lay*, Alaska

J u n e 1 9 8 8

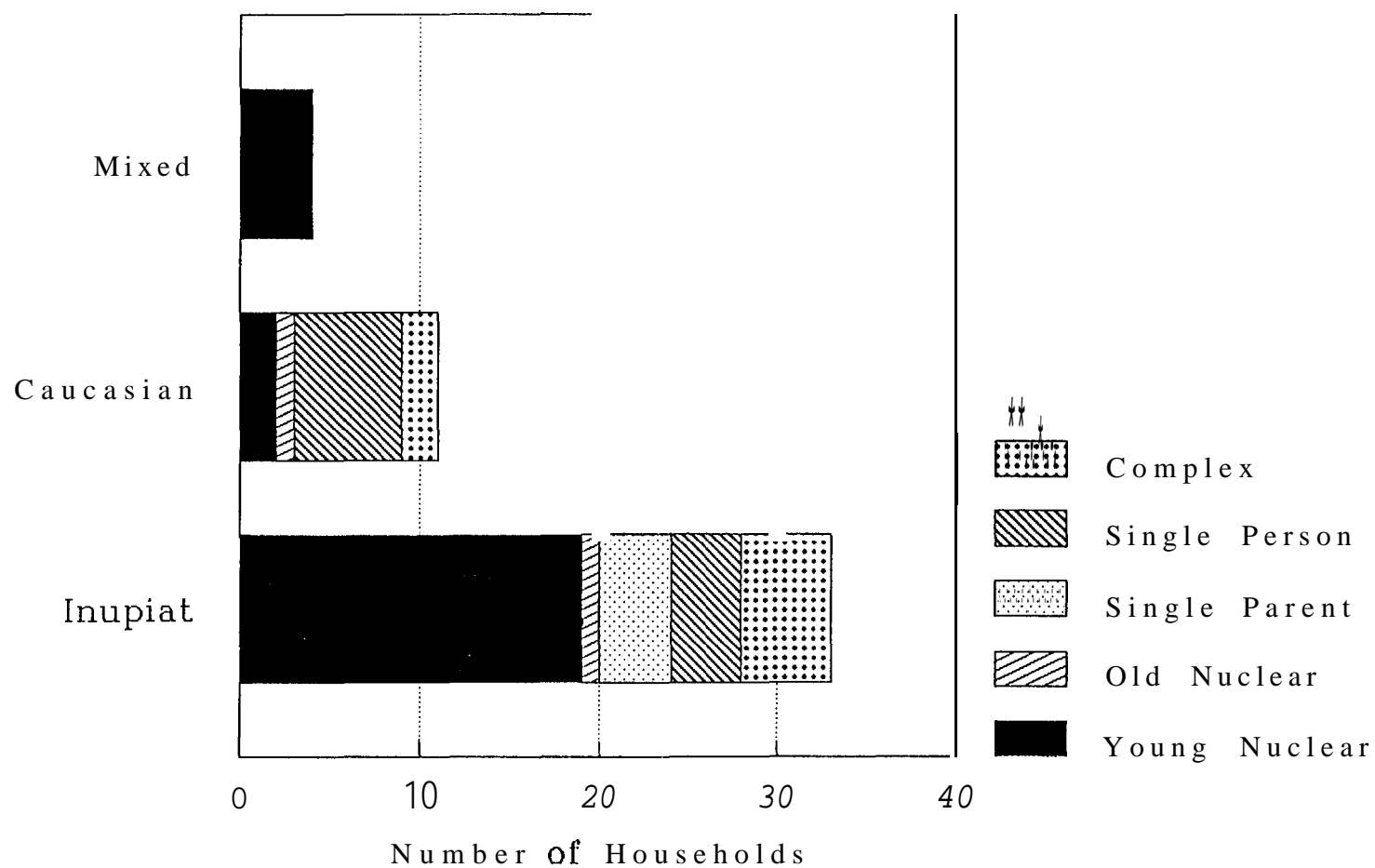


Figure 20
111

Non-Inupiat Households

A gain of three single-person households was countered by a loss of two nuclear households and one “complex” household. This was due to the departure of two nuclear households, one well before June 1988 when the construction work was ended. The other was a teaching couple transferred to Barrow at the end of the school year. The transformation of a “complex” into a single-person household was similar, as one of the two single male teachers was also transferred to Barrow at the end of the school year. Two single-person households remained unchanged. Additional single-person households were formed by two individuals who came from other parts of Alaska (one a PSO, the other a childhood friend of people in the village). **.Another** was formed by the researcher who rented a house for a few months. One single-person household was lost when the person left Point Lay and did not return.

“Mixed” households again remained the same, except for changes in the number of children.

Discussion

Any discussion of household and population comparisons runs the risk of bogging down in detail. A few simple, salient points emerge from the above information (along with a welter of complex ideas, of course). Table 14 summarizes household size information for Point Lay by ethnicity, without paying attention to household type. The mode and median information are redundant, so that the further simplification to Table 13 is possible.

TABLE 13

Average Household Size, by Ethnicity, Point Lay, Alaska

	07/84	09/87	12/87	06/88
Ethnicity				
Inupiat	3.6	3.6	3.4	3.4
Caucasian	3.1	1.9	2.6	1.8
Mixed	3.5	4.0	4.3	4.3

It is clear from Table 13 that, aside from 1980, **Inupiat** and “mixed” households are significantly larger than are Caucasian households. Caucasians are a temporary work force, for the most part, and an attempt is made to employ married couples. Such couples, mostly school teachers, tend to have finished raising their children or not to have started doing so. In any event, there are relatively few Caucasian children in Point Lay.

“Mixed” households are the largest, on average, in Point Lay. This is somewhat surprising, as all are nuclear in form and are limited in size by certain constraints that “complex” households need not be. What this implies is that the households concerned have decided to work and bring up their families in Point Lay. As

TABLE 14
Household Size Statistics, Point Lay, Alaska

July 1984				
Type	Total #	Average Size	Mode	Median
Inupiat	24	3.67	1	4
Caucasian	11	3.09	2	3
Mixed	2	3.50		
Total	37	3.5	2	3

September 1987				
Type	Total #	Average Size	Mode	Median
Inupiat	32	3.56	2	4
Caucasian	7	2.00	2	
Mixed	4	4.00		
Total	43	3.3	2	3

December 1987				
Type	Total #	Average Size	Mode	Median
Inupiat	31	3.42	2	4
Caucasian	11	2.55	2	
Mixed	4	4.25		
Total	46	3.3	2	

June 1988				
Type	Total #	Average Size	Mode	Median
Inupiat	33	3.42	5	4
Caucasian	11	1.82	1	1
Mixed	4	4.25	4	
Total	48	3.1		3

described above, all four male heads of household (two **Inupiat**, two Caucasian) have full-time NSB **jobs**. One **Inupiat** and one Caucasian are active in community affairs. As every **Inupiat** living in Point Lay is related in some way, all four do have a feeling of relation to the community. This is perhaps stronger for the **Inupiat** partner of each household, but cannot be discounted for the Caucasian member.

Inupiat households are much larger than Caucasian households, but smaller than “mixed” households. This no doubt reflects the presence of a fairly large number of small **Inupiat** households and the relative lack of large and “complex” households. Point Lay does not have a housing surplus, but neither is there a severe shortage. Combined with each nuclear family’s preference to have its own home, this explains the order of average household size by **ethnicity**.

This point can be amplified further by an examination of Table 15 which suggests the convergence through time of the average sizes of **Inupiat** nuclear families with children (or young enough to expect them) and **Inupiat** “complex” households in Point Lay. Whether this is taken as a preference for the nuclear family specifically cannot be shown. What is displayed is an inclination to have a family household size of about four, which often turns out to be a nuclear family or single-parent unit.

TABLE 15

Average **Inupiat** Household Size for “Young Nuclear” and “Complex” Households
Four Points in Time

Household Type	07/84	09/87	12/87	06/88
Young Nuclear	4.22	4.5	4.33	4.0
Complex	5.29	4.22	3.6	4.0

Another interesting table for the discussion of family and household development in Point Lay is Table 16. For **Inupiat**, the head of household for a young nuclear family (with children or capable of having them) is about the same as for a single-person household. This implies that a fairly good number of marriages occur at a relatively late age. Genealogical information dealing with the recent historical past in Point Lay supports this conclusion. Age differences of 20 years between spouses were not too unusual, with older men marrying younger women. This is sometimes interpreted as the continuation of the tradition where an individual married when ready to assume family responsibilities. Women demonstrate this capability at a much earlier age than men. One result was that it was not common for a woman to marry more than once. It may be that this pattern is presently changing, because many young families (head of household below 25) have recently formed or are in the process of forming in Point Lay. This may be a result of the many wage opportunities available to young men, who are marrying young women. Two **Inupiat** Point Layers have married younger Caucasian women. Neither man had ample wage opportunities when young and was perhaps handicapped in competition for younger **Inupiat** women in the **villages**.

TABLE 16

Age of Head of Household, Point Lay Natives

Household Type*	07/84	09/87	12/87	06/88
Young Nuclear	35.1	36.8	35.3	34.2
Single-Person	38.3	39.3	36.0	44.0
Single-Parent	42.0	43.4	43.6	42.0
Complex	53.7	44.2	56.3	56.6

* Old Nuclear deleted as there was only one case for all years.

The head of household of a single-parent family is somewhat older, as would be expected, since a marriage must form before it can dissolve. Although some **single-**parent households are the result of more casual liaisons, these are the exception rather than the rule. "Complex" families have the oldest average head of household. This fits an intuitive idea of family development, so long as one's model has younger people living with older people. The preference for the allocation of housing in Point Lay (and other NSB villages) agrees with this intuitive model.

Community Housing and Settlement Pattern

Point Lay has been moved several times. The site of longest habitation is on a barrier island spit opposite the mouth of the Kokolik River. The NSB relocated Point Lay in 1977 to an island in the mouth of the river. In 1981, the village was again relocated, this time to a site just north of the DEW Line station.

The housing stock in Point Lay is a mixture of mostly older NSB houses moved from the river site and newer NSB houses, with a few homemade structures and one pre-NSB house. It is typical of most NSB villages. There were about forty-seven inhabitable residential units as of December 1987. Twenty of these were the "older" one-room NSB house or a somewhat larger subdivided structure based on that model. Fifteen are newer NSB houses. Three are very small structures built by individuals. One is a trailer. Three are houses built by individuals. Five are apartments in what used to be the old school building.

There is a large and very new school, a large clinic, a large fire station, a community store (inside of which is the post office), a community center, the utilities buildings, a public works building, a large but incomplete USDW building, and a village corporation-run camp. The DEW Line, perhaps half a mile from the village, **sells** cigarettes and other small items from its small store. Point Lay has an impressive infrastructure for a community its size, but there is **still** very little public use space. Apart from the school there is the camp, which has only a **small** social room and which in any event tries to maintain a quiet atmosphere for the sake of its patrons, and the community center.

General Population Description of Contemporary Point Hope

Detailed breakdowns by **ethnicity**, age, and sex are provided for Point Hope in Tables **18** and **19** (located on following pages). A more accessible version of this information is summarized in Table **17** which will be the basis for the following discussion. Population pyramids are displayed in Figures 21-24.

TABLE 17

Population Percentage "Comparisons -- Point Hope

	1980	1985
Total Pop.	464	533
# of Inupiat	434	494
% of Total Pop.	93.5	92.7
% Male	53.0	53.4
% Female	47.0	46.6
% 0-19	50.5	51.0
% 20-54	39.9	40.7
% 55+	9.7	8.3
# of Non-Inupiat	30	39
% of Total Pop.	6.5	7.3
% Male	63.3	51.3
% Female	36.7	48.7
% 0-19	26.7	25.6
% 20-54	73.3	61.5
% 55+	0.0	10.3

As for Point Lay, reliable information is generally lacking for years prior to the 1980s. Because the two surveys with greatest detail are close in time to information from Point Lay, a reasonably comparative description is possible. Point Hope is a predominantly **Inupiat** village, as 93.5% of the population is **Inupiat**. The absolute number of **non-Inupiat** in Point Hope was 30 in 1980 and 39 in 1985. This is at most twice as many as in Point Lay, yet Point Hope's total population is four to five times the size of Point Lay. Thus, the effects of **non-Inupiat** on Point Hope's aggregate population statistics are minimal. It is also apparent that the roles of **non-Inupiat** in Point Hope are more understated than in Point Lay. It should also be noted that the larger size of Point Hope has the expected statistical effect of "evening out" the age and sex distributions of the general population, when compared to that of Point Lay. As in Point Lay, there are more **Inupiat** males than females, but the difference is not as great. Similarly to Point Lay, many more **non-Inupiat** males than females lived in Point Hope in 1980, but they are nearly even in the latest census information. The **Inupiat** population of Point Hope seems to be somewhat younger than that of Point Lay (young dependents outnumbering those of working age), and there is a larger cohort of elderly **Inupiat** in Point Hope. The **non-Inupiat**

population also mirrors these trends, with more children than in Point Lay, a somewhat smaller percentage of the population in the working age group, and more elderly people. For non-Inupiat, the age group 20-54 still contains 60% to 70% of the population. It appears that the same population dynamics at work in Point Lay also exist in Point Hope, but are buffered by the larger size of the **Inupiat** population and the relatively weak effect of the small **non-Inupiat** population.

The percentage of Elders in Point Hope is not significantly different than in Point Lay, but the higher base population results in a much larger group. This is the principal reason for the proliferation of programs for the Elders in Point Hope and the lack of social programs in Point Lay. It is interesting to note that in Point Hope the category “Elder” was extended to include a **non-Inupiat** researcher who lived in the community for about one year. This individual was extended all services and privileges accorded **Inupiat** Elders.

This difference between Point Hope and Point Lay may be attributable to the personalities and **social** status of the individual **non-Inupiat** involved, or to the fact that more programs for Seniors exist in Point Hope. Formal programs force clear inclusion/exclusion decisions. Bureaucratic inertia and budgetary incentives favor inclusion of all potentially eligible persons in a context such as Point Hope. Funding is provided by the NSB and does not come out of any local funds. Equality of treatment and extension of **Inupiat** values into institutionalized social programs also demonstrates an attempt at cultural synthesis and cooperation based on shared values. The admission to formal programs and interaction with recognized Elders as peers on a daily basis generalized the status of “Elder.” It should be recalled, however, that there are no **non-Inupiat** residential Elders in Point Hope and that this appears to have been a special case.

The age percentage categories for the **Inupiat** population of Point Hope, displayed in Table 20, contrast with those for Point Lay. Both are remarkably heavy in the younger cohort, but Point Hope shows a fairly smooth population pyramid from that base. Point Lay’s distribution, on the other hand, is quite ragged. The difference in population sizes would account for a large part of this. It should be noted that the figures indicate that the population of Point Hope is “becoming younger” at a faster rate than is the population of Point Lay. This suggests that young families are forming and having children faster in Point Hope than in Point Lay. It also suggests that the general support networks for raising the young may be more effective in Point Hope than in Point Lay. Also, the percentage of Elders in Point Hope is not significantly higher than in Point Lay, but because the base population is larger, the Elders as a group are much larger. This affects the role of the **Elders** in the two villages.

TABLE 18

Age, Sex, and **Ethnicity**
Point Hope - 1980

Age Category	Inupiat		Non-Inupiat		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
00-04	30	27	2	1	32	28
05-09	19	25	0	1	19	26
10-14	23	26	2	1	25	27
15-19	37	32	0	1	37	33
20-24	25	21	0	0	25	21
25-29	24	12	4	2	28	14
30-34	16	9	4	4	20	13
35-44	19	15	7	1	26	16
45-54	17	15	0	0	17	15
55-64	11	8	0	0	11	8
65+	9	14	0	0	9	14
Totals	230	204	19	11	249	215
	434		30		464	

Source: North Slope Borough Planning Department

Point Hope Population Pyramid 1980

Inupiat Population

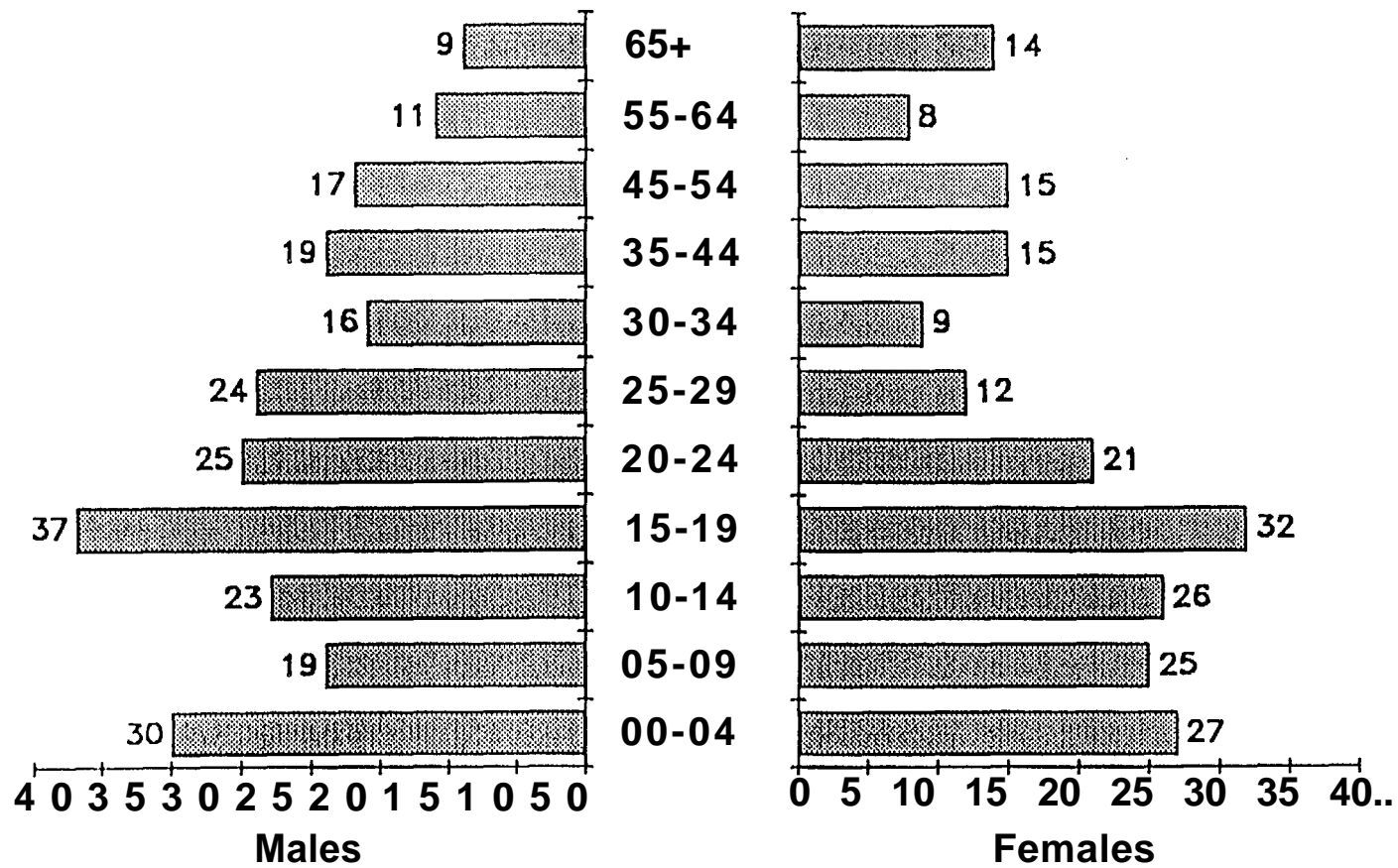


Figure 2
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Point Hope Population Pyramid 1980

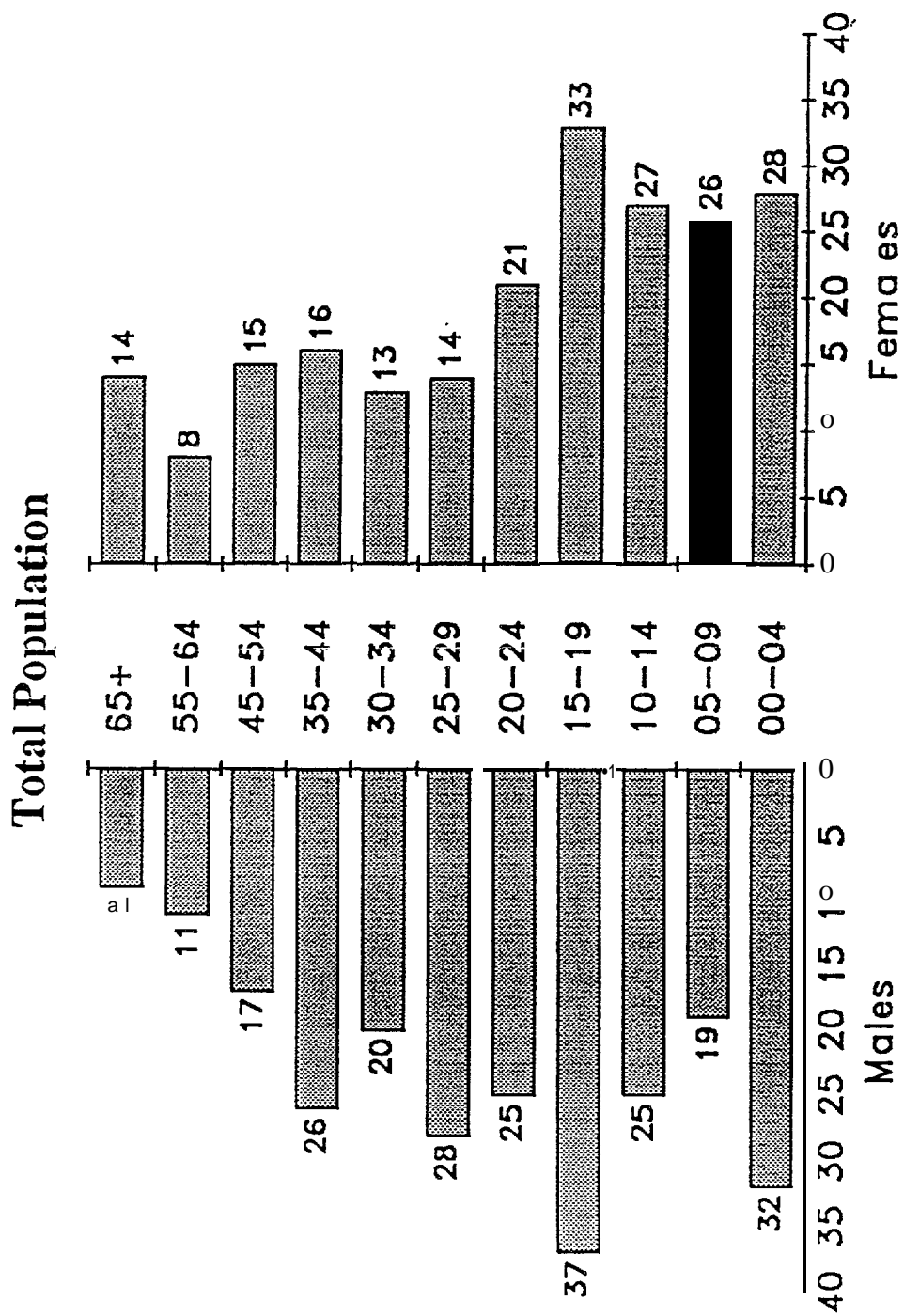


Figure 22
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TABLE 19

Age, Sex, and **Ethnicity**
Point Hope -1985

Age Category	Inupiat		Non-Inupiat		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
00-04	58	35	2	4	60	39
05-09	38	35	1	3	39	38
10-14	24	25	0	0	24	25
15-19	16	21	0	0	16	21
20-24	26	19	0	0	26	19
25-29	23	25	1	2	24	27
30-34	21	15	2	3	23	18
35-39	13	8	5	0	18	8
40-44	7	9	6	1	13	10
45-49	5	6	0	2	5	8
50-54	14	10	1	2	15	12
55-59	7	7	1	1	8	8
60-64	1	6	1	0	2	6
65+	11	9	0	1	'11	10
Totals	264	230	20	19	284	249
	494		39		533	

Source: North Slope Borough Planning Department

Point Hope Population Pyramid 1985

Inupiat Population

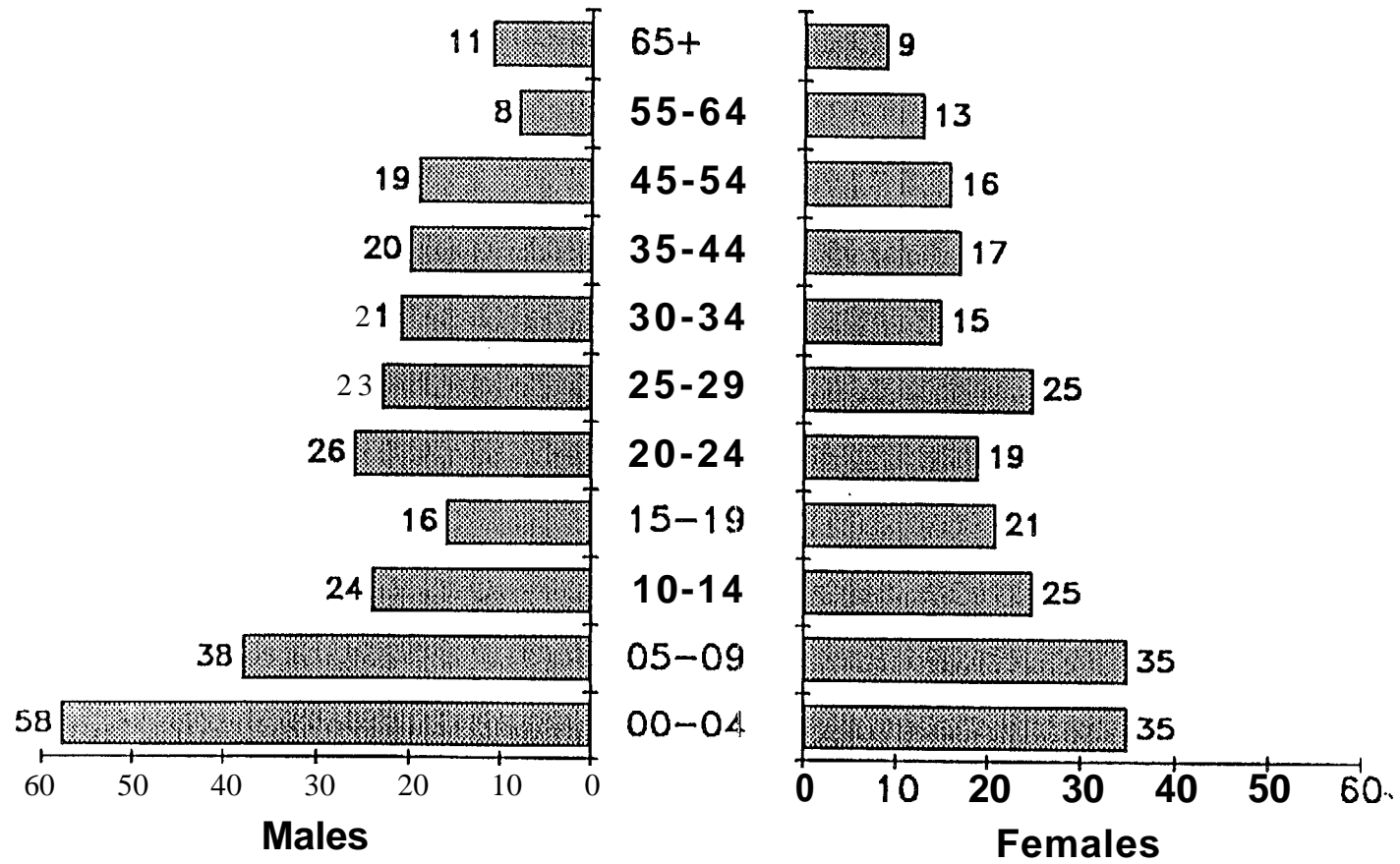


Figure 23
122

Point Hope Population Pyramid

985

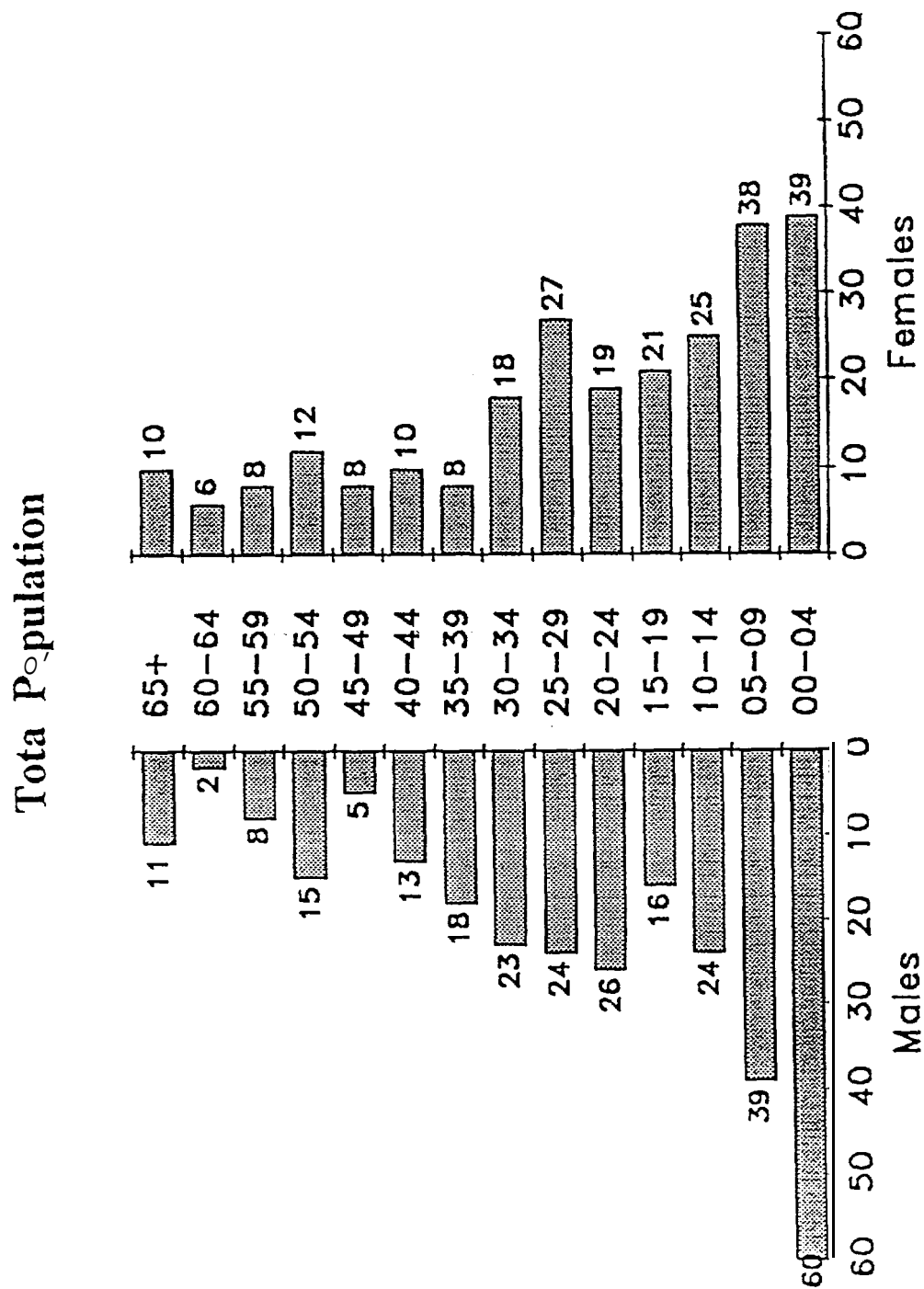


Figure 24
123

TABLE 20

Age Categories as Percentages of the **Inupiat** Population of Point Hope **for 1980 and** 1985

	1980	1985
Inupiat Population	434	494
Age Category		
00-04	13.1	18.8
05-09	10.1	14.8
10-14	11.3	9.9
15-19	15.9	7.5
20-24	10.6	9.1
25-29	8.3	9.7
30-34	5.8	7.3
35-44	7.8	7.5
45-54	7.4	7.1
55-64	4.4	4.2
65+	5.3	4.1

Source: North Slope Planning Department

Point Hope **Households**

Information on Point Hope households is not nearly as detailed as for Point Lay. This is due to the difficulty of informal observational censuses in a large community, with limited fieldwork time. In addition, the literature is relatively weak. Distributions for the population at large do exist for 1982-84, and as stated before, represent mainly the **Inupiat** majority population. These data are presented in Tables 21-23 and Figures 25-27. Table 24 provides summary characteristics.

What we wish to emphasize are the contrasts these tables display with those of Point Lay. Perhaps most apparent is that the average household size in Point Hope is higher than in Point Lay. The range of household sizes is also much wider in Point Hope than in Point Lay. In fact, except for the unusual (and very temporary) household of 11 in Point Lay in 1984, no household over the size of six was documented for Point Lay. Certainly none was observed. Very few three generational or "complex" households exist in Point Lay. Nodes of some households tend to cooperate more closely than do others, but these still maintain their relative independence.

Much more complex household types exist in Point Hope than in Point Lay. **Interhousehold** cooperation often involves **multistrukture** households, where each structural unit is not really independent of the others. Many of these involve three or more generational relations and the gradual emergence, rather than abrupt formation, of new young households.

In Point Hope, a relationship between two young people that results in a pregnancy does not necessarily result in the creation of a new primary social relation or unit. In some cases, it adds to the complexity of the relation of the new mother to her family of origin. If the young mother is still living at home, it is not unusual for the new child to be raised as the offspring of the young mother's parents. A grandparent/grandchild relationship is functionally a parent/child relationship, which may or may not become a formal or informal adoption. Pregnancy, or the subsequent birth of a child, does not necessarily lead to a marriage, and it does not necessarily lead to the creation of a new, independent family unit. Marriage without pregnancy does not systematically lead to the immediate creation of a new family unit either.

According to informants, attitudes toward teen pregnancy in Point Hope have changed markedly in the last few years. Young women who become pregnant are not hidden, nor does it necessarily mark the end of their high school education as it typically did in the past. Girls now have the option to leave school for the birth and then return. Teenagers in Point Hope are concerned about the possibility of pregnancy, but do not seem concerned about changes in career options, or missing out on the experience of being a young single adult. In general terms, Point Hope families seem to genuinely love small children. The addition of a new child into the family, independent of the marital status of the mother, is not a matter for social stigma. Moreover, few significant opportunity costs are associated with a young woman having a child.

TABLE 21

Household Composition, Point **Hope**, Alaska-July 1982

Household Size	Total #
1	10
2	6
3	27
4	19
5	19
6	13
7	10
8	2
9	7
10	2
Total	115

Average household size is 4.5

Median household size is 4

Mode household size is 3

TABLE 22

Household Composition, Point Hope, Alaska - July 1983

Household Size	Total #
1	14
2	9
3	19
4	26
5	24
6	11
7	11
8	5
9	3
10	1
11	1
12	0
13	2
Total	126

Average household size is 4.5

Median household size is 4

Mode household size is 4

TABLE 23

Household Composition, Point Hope, Alaska-July 1984

Household Size	Total #
1	14
2	9
3	19
4	26
5	23
6	11
7	11
8	5
9	3
10	1
11	1
12	0
13	1
Total	124

Average household size is 4.5

Median household size is 4

Mode household size is 4

Point Hope Household Size July 1982

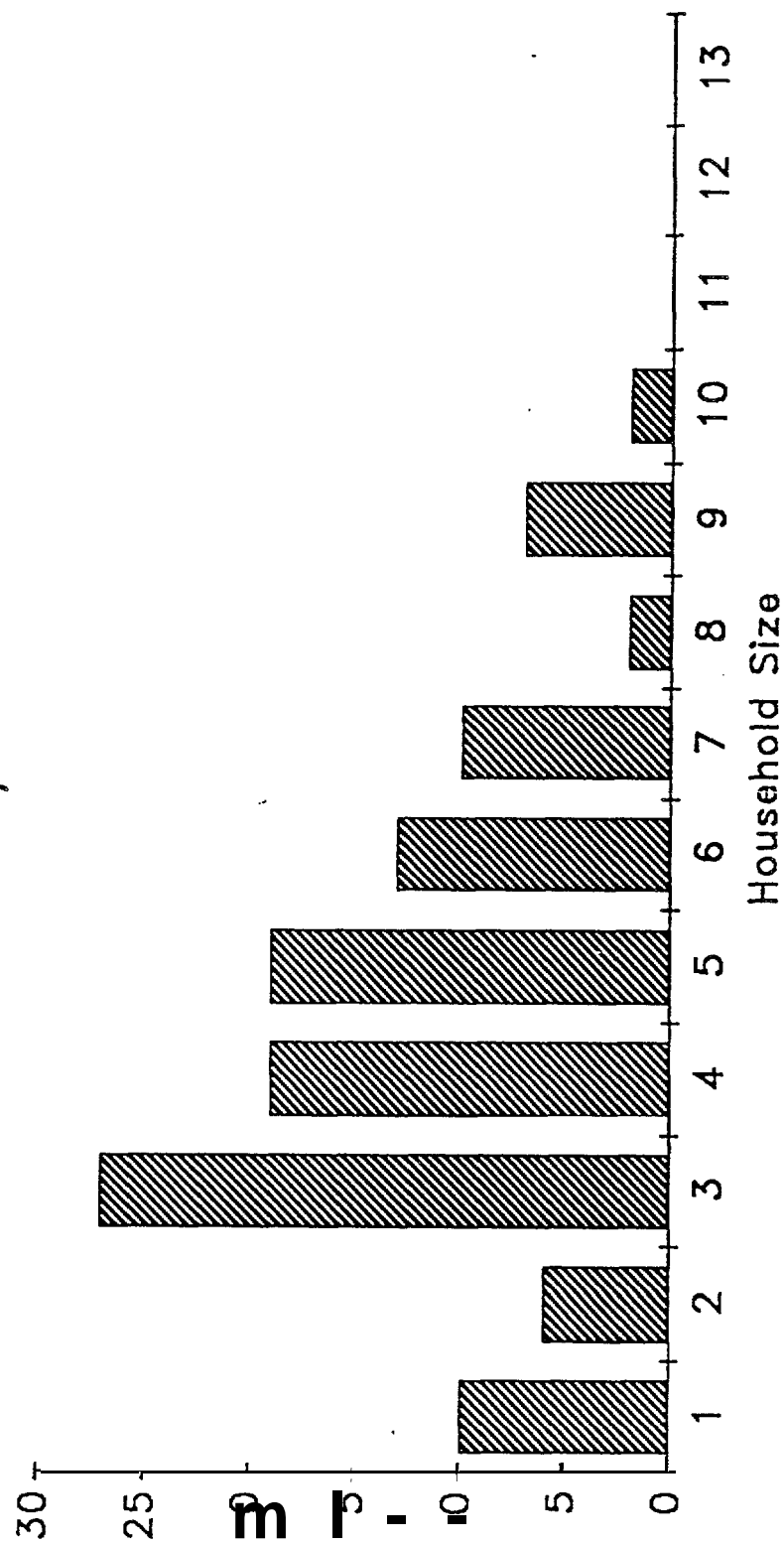


Figure 25
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Point Hope Household Size July 1983

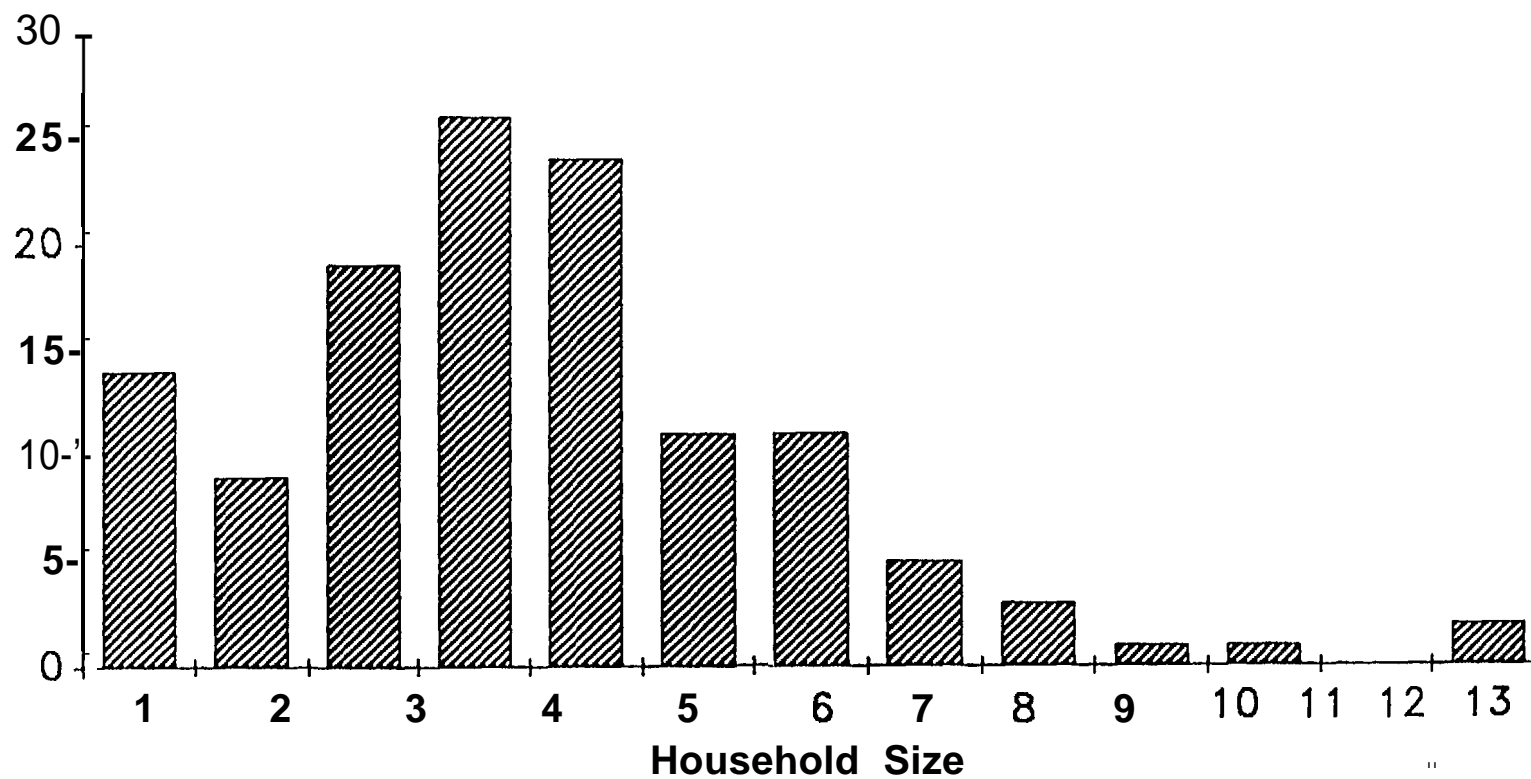


Figure 26
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Point Hope Household Size July 1984

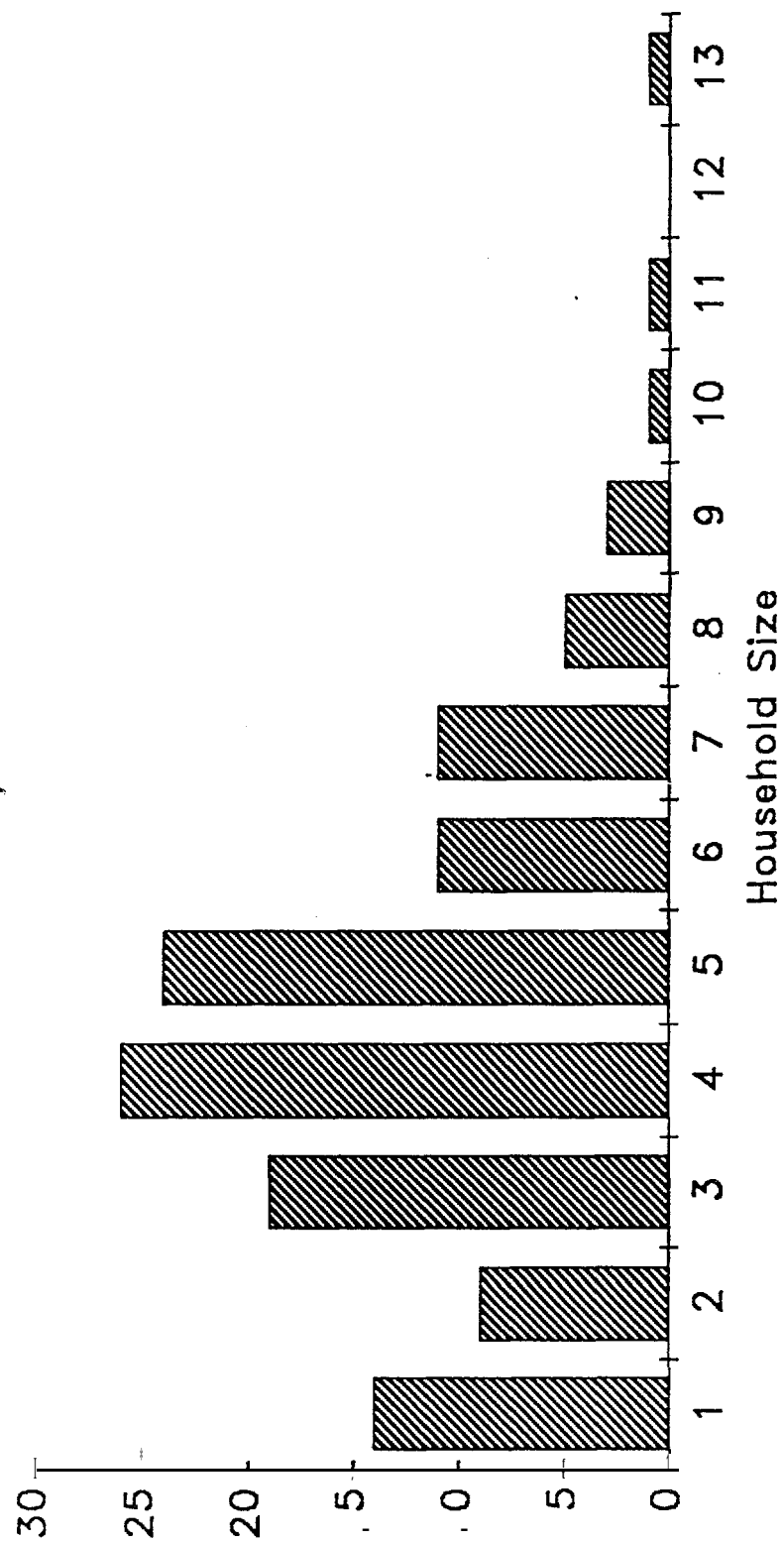


Figure 27
130

TABLE 24

Total Population Household Size Statistics, Point Hope, Alaska

	07/82	07/83	07/84
Average HH Size	4.5	4.5	4.5
Median HH Size	4	4	4
Mode HH Size	3	4	4

Edith Turner has characterized the cognitive genealogies of Point Hope as strings that go around the village tying the present village together (Turner 1987: personal communication); these are the web of genealogical ties people normally think of and act on. The emphasis in everyday life is on being related, not necessarily on how related. This differs from the inverted pyramidal structure often used to construct individual genealogies or the pyramidal structures used to trace the descendants of a particular figure. This may be the case, in part, because pyramidal structures, inverted or upright, focus on ego or a particular ancestor and see kin units as distinct. In Point Hope, while family units are perceived as distinct to a degree, there are recognized ties between families and recognized relationships with common ancestors. With the multiple and complex relations common in Point Hope, the creation of complex interrelationships of individuals and social units become muddled, particularly if numerous adoptions are added to the system. Ties to the past are perceived of as more diffuse than those captured in lineage reckoning. The people feel more a part of a large unit, and relate more to Point Hope in general than to a single set of ancestors not a single line. Some factions within the village run deep and along family lines. These are frequently expressed in political and economic contexts. **Qalgi** groups create other ties, but these are only activated during occasions associated with whaling. Such ties do not generalize to other contexts as they were reported to have done in the past.

In one well-known Point Hope household, the head of the household often determined when his grandchildren would go to bed. He was the one who took responsibility for getting them up, fed, and off to school on time. He addressed the boys (grandsons) as "son" when not referring to them by name. This is not an isolated case, and is one of the factors that would tend to "string out" rather than layer the genealogical structure of the village as a whole. Adoptions contribute to this "collapsing" of generations as well. In Point Hope, people are often referred to directly by relationship when introduced to a stranger. It is common to be introduced to someone such as 'this is my step-brother X' or "this is my adopted brother Y."

In a not atypical case in Point Hope, the son of the head of a large household lived in the the family household with his girlfriend and their children until the crowding got to be too much for the entire family. As a result, the son built a house that gives a measure of privacy and additional space. It is, however, not an independent household. It is just a few yards away and functionally dependent on the main household. One of the major ways this functional dependency can be seen is that the satellite household shares the kitchen of the main house. In this case the grandparents of the son's children are functionally co-parents of these children. On

several occasions the mother of these children has left the village without telling her boyfriend's parents that they are going to be taking care of the children. In the girlfriend's absence, the children's father takes little day-to-day responsibility for them.

In this same family, another son of the head of household is beginning his own family in one of the bedrooms of the main house. He and his girlfriend live in the single room, and share cooking and other chores. They recently had their first child, and have no concrete plans to move. (During subsequent field research, this new family had moved into a house recently vacated by the older brother of the head of the main household.)

This family is creating several new families, through a gradual process of the development of **spousal** relations (whether formalized or not) and childbearing within the main household. These families move into new housing units as they are constructed or as they come available when aged relatives give up their units. The main family, and others like it, serves as a platform for the formation of new families, and fosters their growth through "the sharing of living quarters, labor, and resources. It seems that the interdependent "families" (groups who have moved into separate quarters but still exhibit day-to-day functional dependency) will become independent families only if something happens to the head of household (the main house) and his wife, or if a major rift occurs in the family. New families do not move out as independent units upon either the formation of **spousal** pairs or the bearing of children as is often the case in other parts of the United States. The rate at which families become independent in Point Hope is also a function of the availability of housing in the village, but not a linear one; the desire for independent housing is sometimes offset by the desire to share expenses and work load.

The residential households in Point Lay that cooperate the most do not do so to the extent they cooperate in Point Hope, with one or two exceptions. Interestingly, there was a variation on the theme of gradual independence of families in Point Lay several years ago. When the village was in a growth stage, one household served as a "staging base" for several families new to the community. This varies from the "gradual growth and increasing independence" model of Point Hope **family** formation where marriages or relationships that produce children evolve from a union of people from within (or already present in) the village to eventually independent families. In Point Lay, the "staging base" household functioned as it did as the result of relatives coming into the village from outside of the community and using the household as a first residence in the village. At one point three married couples and one unmarried (but related) **adult** lived with the married couple who were heads of the original or "host" household. Two of the three "guest" families now have independent households in the village, one couple has moved out of the village but visits often, and the single adult still spends time in the village periodically. One would expect to find a "staging base" model in Point Lay and not Point Hope for two reasons. First, the population of Point Lay is composed of a lot of newcomers to the community because the village was relatively recently resettled. Second, there is a shortage of eligible marriage partners in Point Lay because the community is small. It is more common to have someone marry into the village than is the case in Point Hope. The gradual growth and slowly increasing independent family formation seen in Point Hope is rare in Point Lay. This is a significant household organizational difference between the two villages.

KINSHIP IN POINT LAY

Introduction

Point Lay is a small community of closely related people. Although this was known before research began, its true significance was not obvious. When one examines a genealogical chart of Point Lay residents, however, it soon becomes apparent that nearly the entire residential village can be placed on the same strip of paper (and one suspects that those left off have a place reserved for them, once an informant supplies additional data). To facilitate our discussion, a kinship chart of Point Lay is included as Figure 28. We have not used names, indicated terminated marriages or deaths, or otherwise provided it in a final form for several reasons. First, the confidentiality of informants must be protected. This information is not intended for dissemination or publication until it is cleared by informants in Point Lay. Second, while we are confident about the general information, specific information could conceivably be in error. The chart has not as yet been verified by informants in Point Lay in this form. Without compromising either of these points, however, the chart is a useful aid to our discussion of kinship in Point Lay.

Figure 28 represents household structure in Point Lay as of June 1988. Of the **forty-eight** households in the village, thirty-one appear on the chart. This is twenty-five of thirty-three **Inupiat** households, four of four 'mixed' households, and two of eleven Caucasian households. Five of the eight **Inupiat** households not on the chart are known to be related to other families on the chart. Information on how to draw the precise relationships was lacking for this to be done at this time. The other three **Inupiat** households are known to have come to Point Hope from the south (Point Hope, **Kivalina, Kotzebue**) and may well be directly related as well. The four Caucasians married to **Inupiat** spouses **all** appear on the chart -- their spouses all have a number of relatives in Point Lay. The extent to which the **Inupiat** spouses are integrated into the kinship network is indicated by the appearance of two Caucasian families on the Point Lay genealogical chart. As expected, however, most Caucasian families do not appear on the chart.

The chart is divided into ten sheets, each labeled with a letter (A - J). The members of each household (with a few exceptions) are enclosed within dashed lines. Households are numbered on each sheet from left to right, so that when it is necessary to refer to a specific household, we will use a letter followed by a number. Please note that these household references do appear on the chart.

Preliminary Remarks

Examining the Point Lay genealogical chart, one cannot help but notice that there is not much historical depth, that information is very uneven, and that neither the male nor the female line seems to be preferentially remembered. **All** three conditions are typical of the North Slope. The seven generations of this chart (actually eight, as the woman of household **D1** now has a little girl) are somewhat more than could be expected. The top three or four generations, however, are not well known. The unevenness of the information will be partially corrected when informants are asked to verify the information and their memories are jogged, but is also a condition that cannot be expected to be made perfect. The ravages of time, population movements, and sudden deaths make this reconstruction all that more difficult. The flexibility by which kinship is traced was and is characteristic of the **Inupiat**, and is usually treated as one of the central features of **Inupiat** social organization.

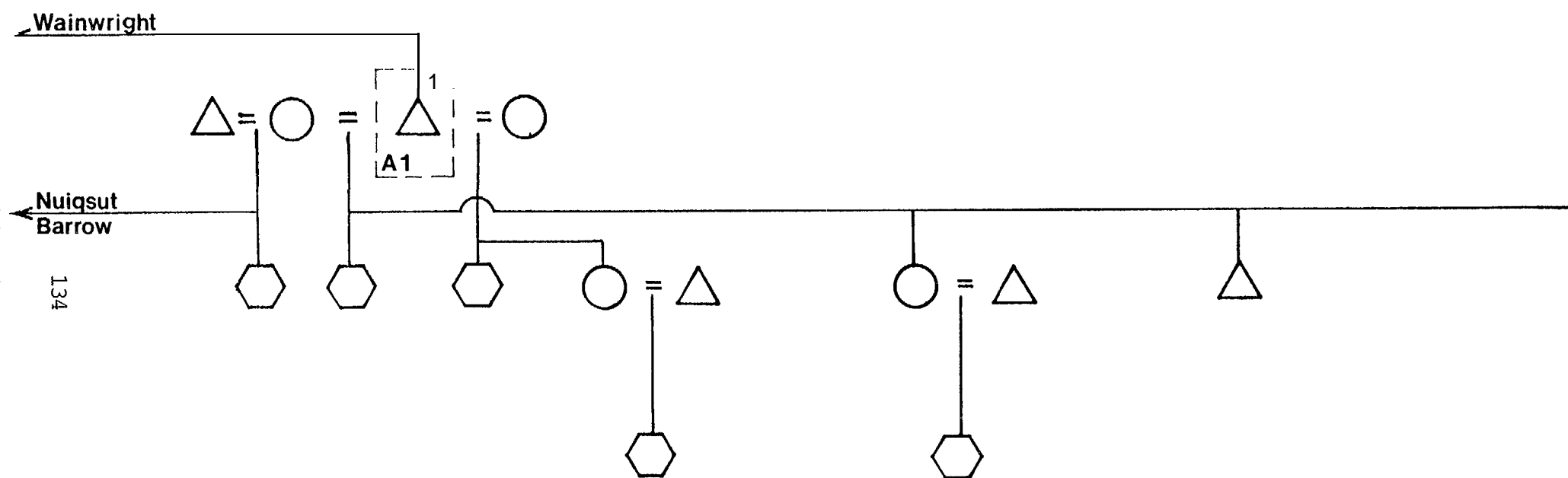
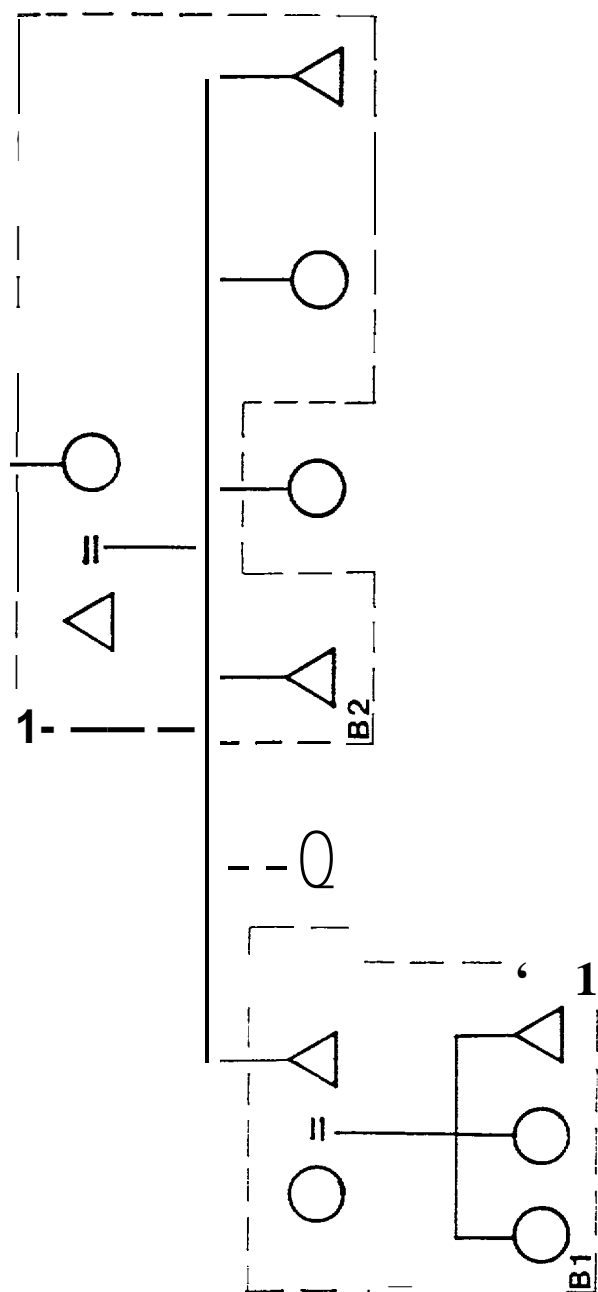


Figure 28-- Genealogy of Point Lay, Alaska -- Sheet A



ab ←

Figure 28 -- Genealogy of Point Lay, Alaska -- Sheet B

→ bc

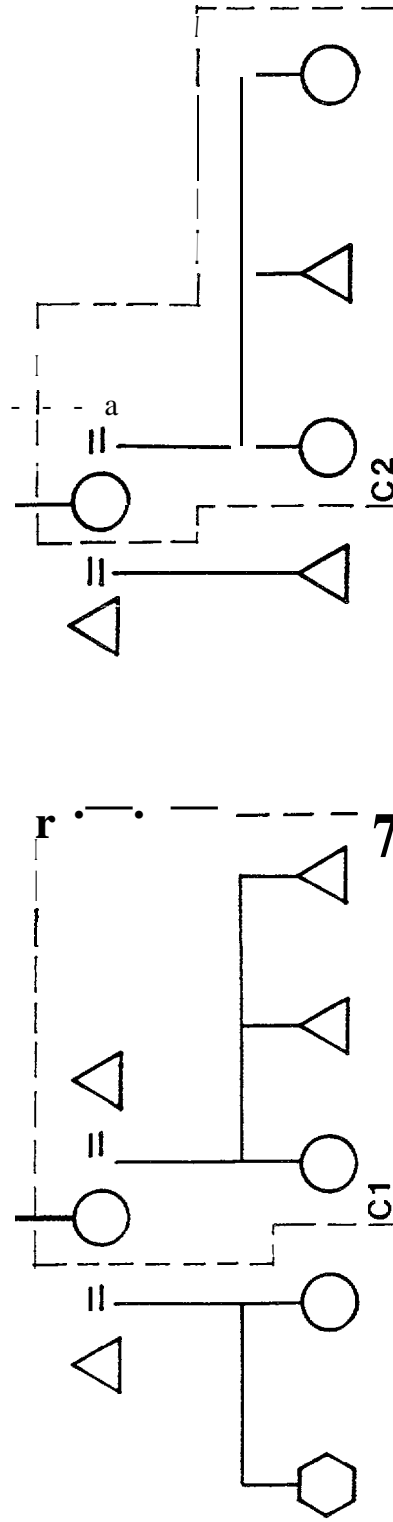


Figure 28 Genealogy of Point Lay, Alaska - Sheet C

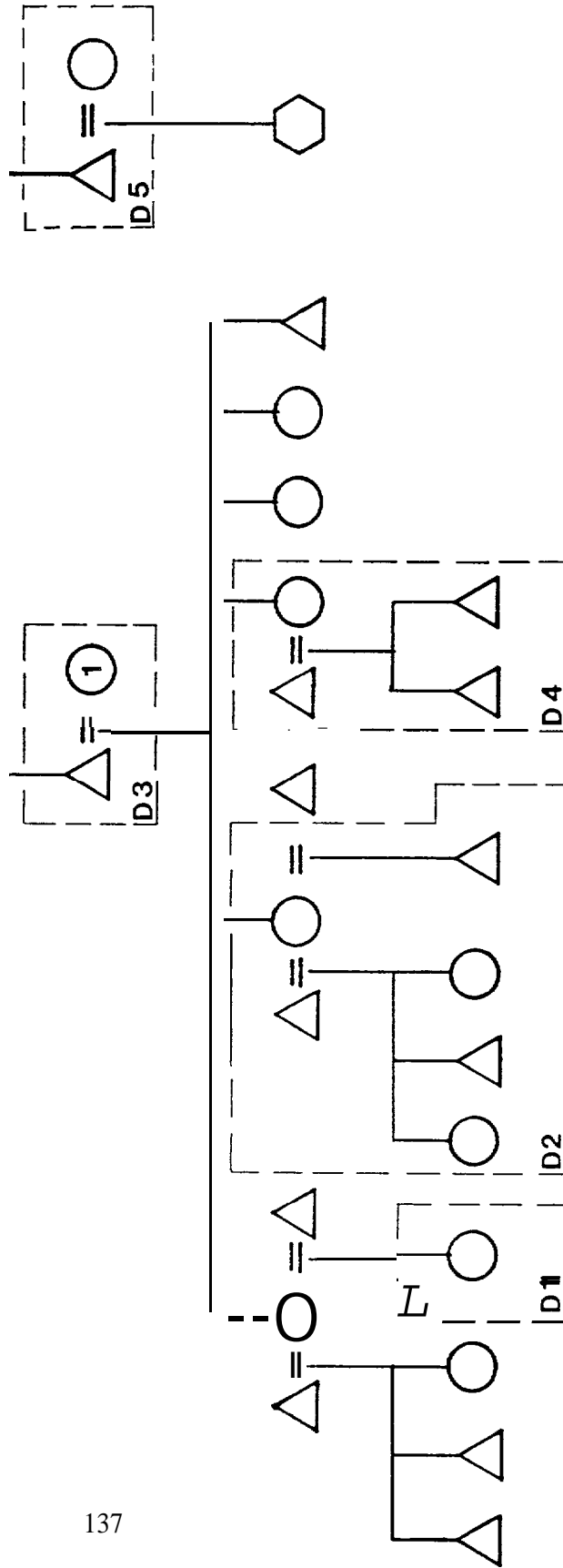
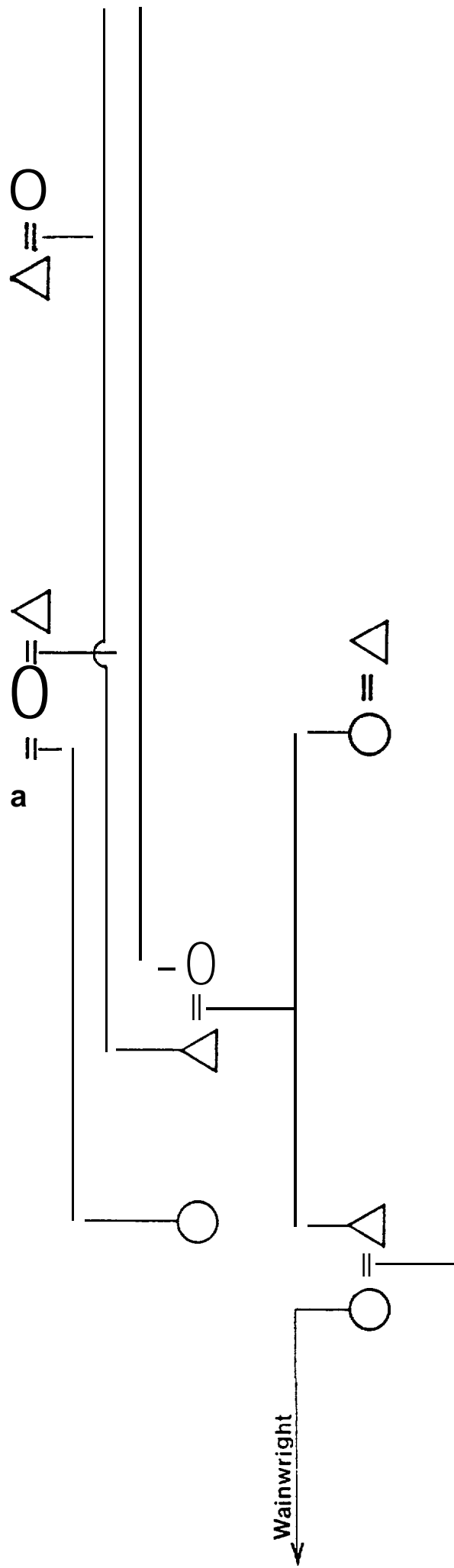
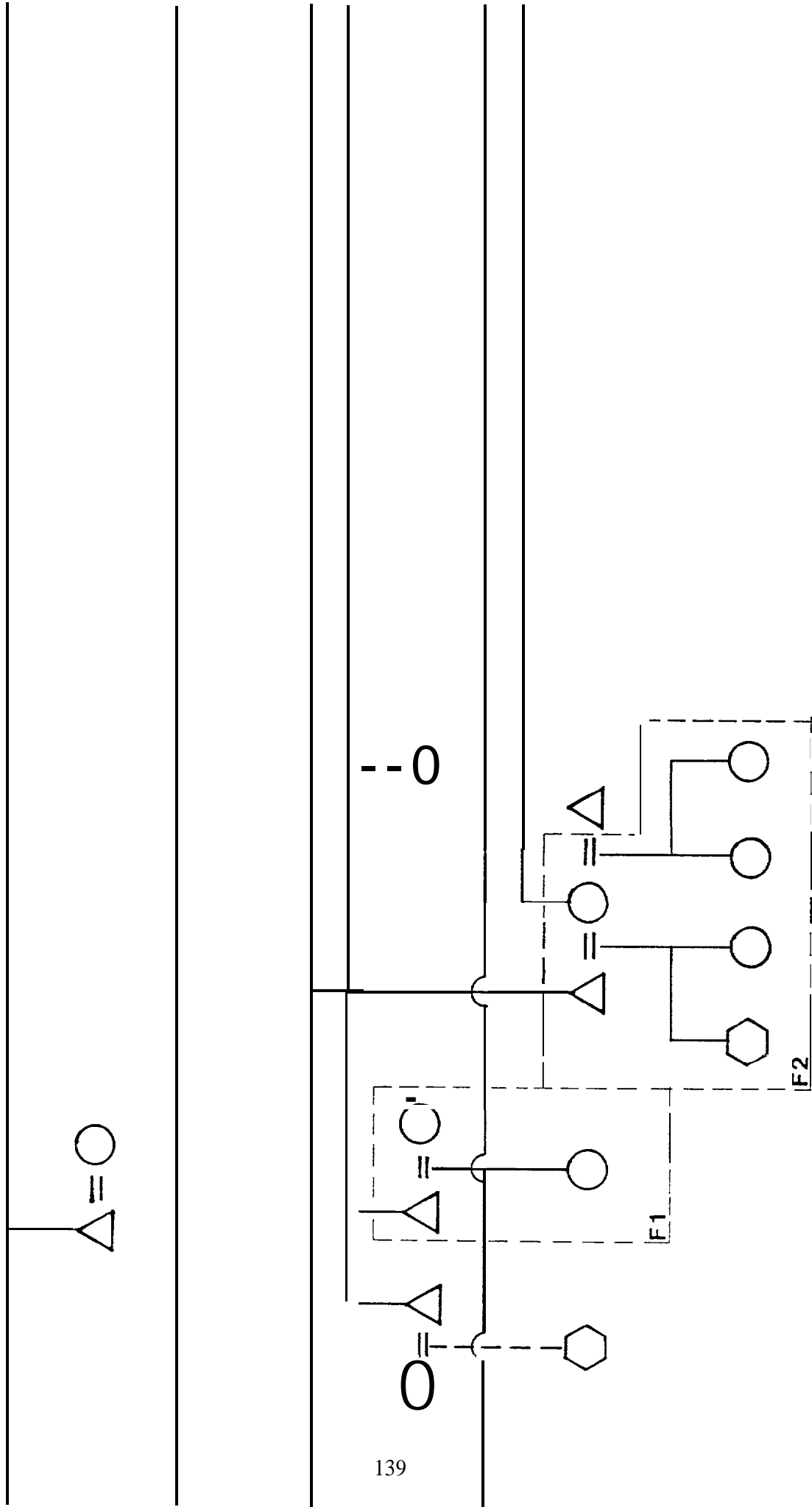


Figure 28 -- Genealogy of Point Lay, Alaska -- Sheet D



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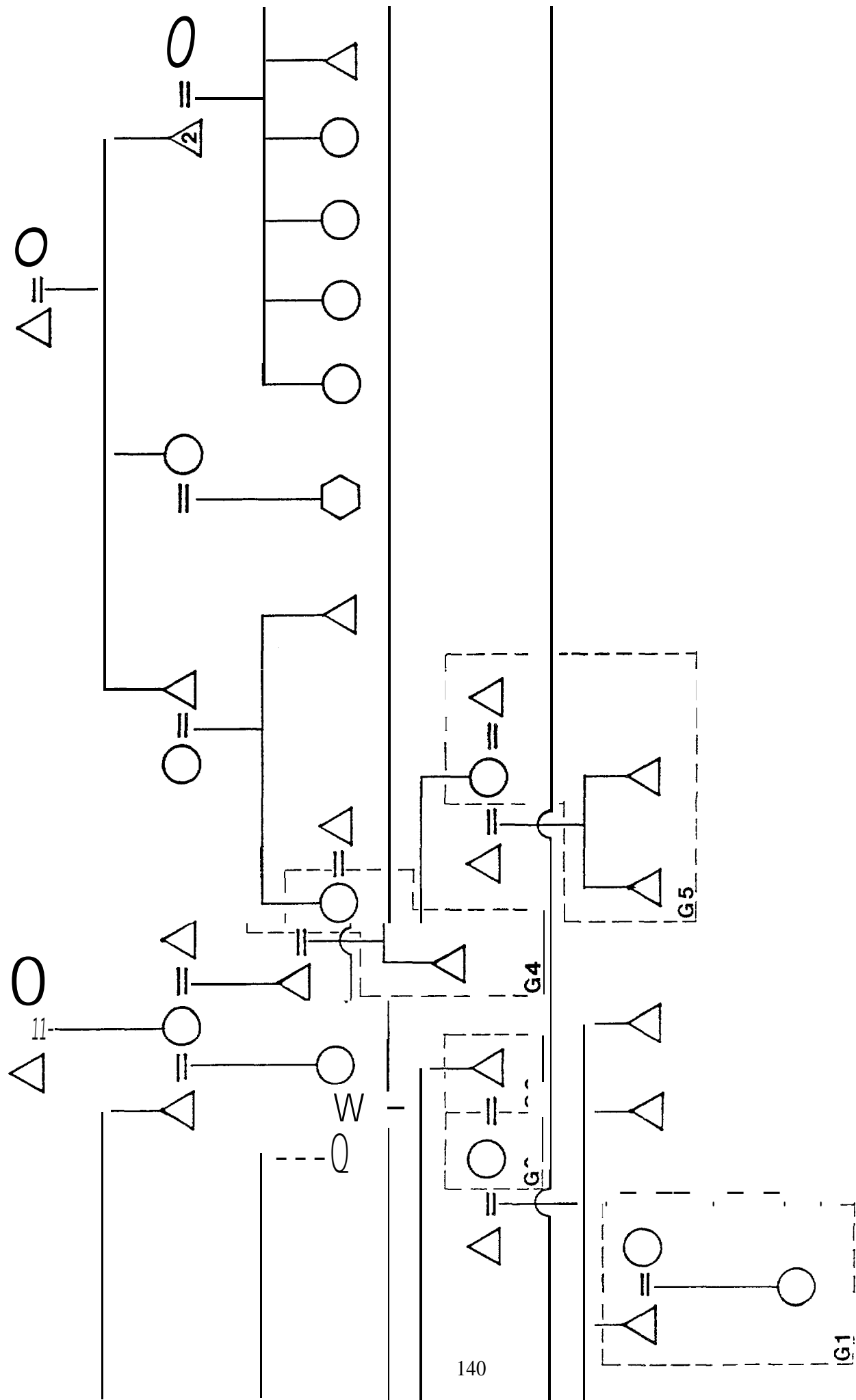


Figure 28 -- Genealogy of Point Lay, Alaska - Sheet G

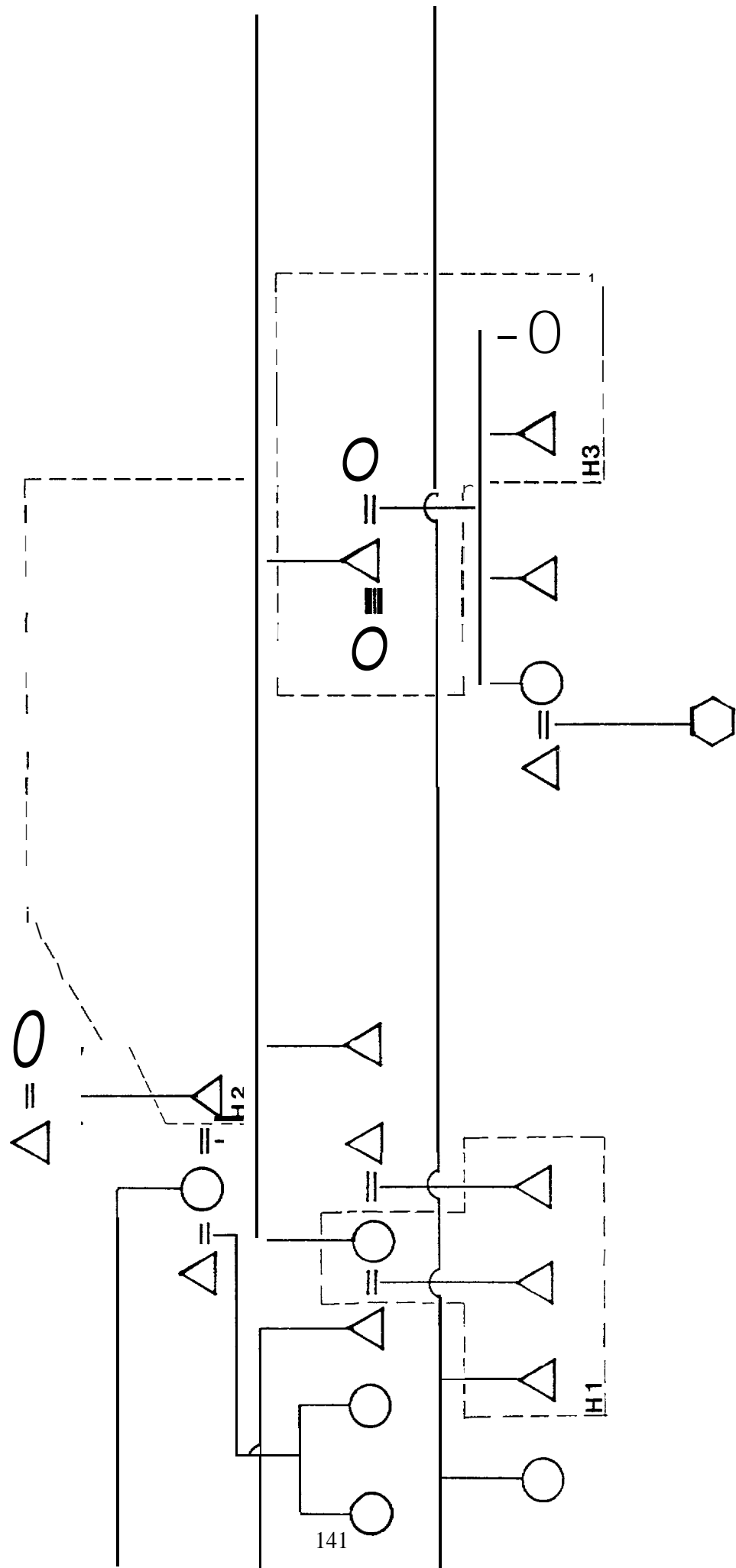


Figure 28 -- Genealogy of Point Lay, Alaska -- Sheet H

gh ←

→ hi

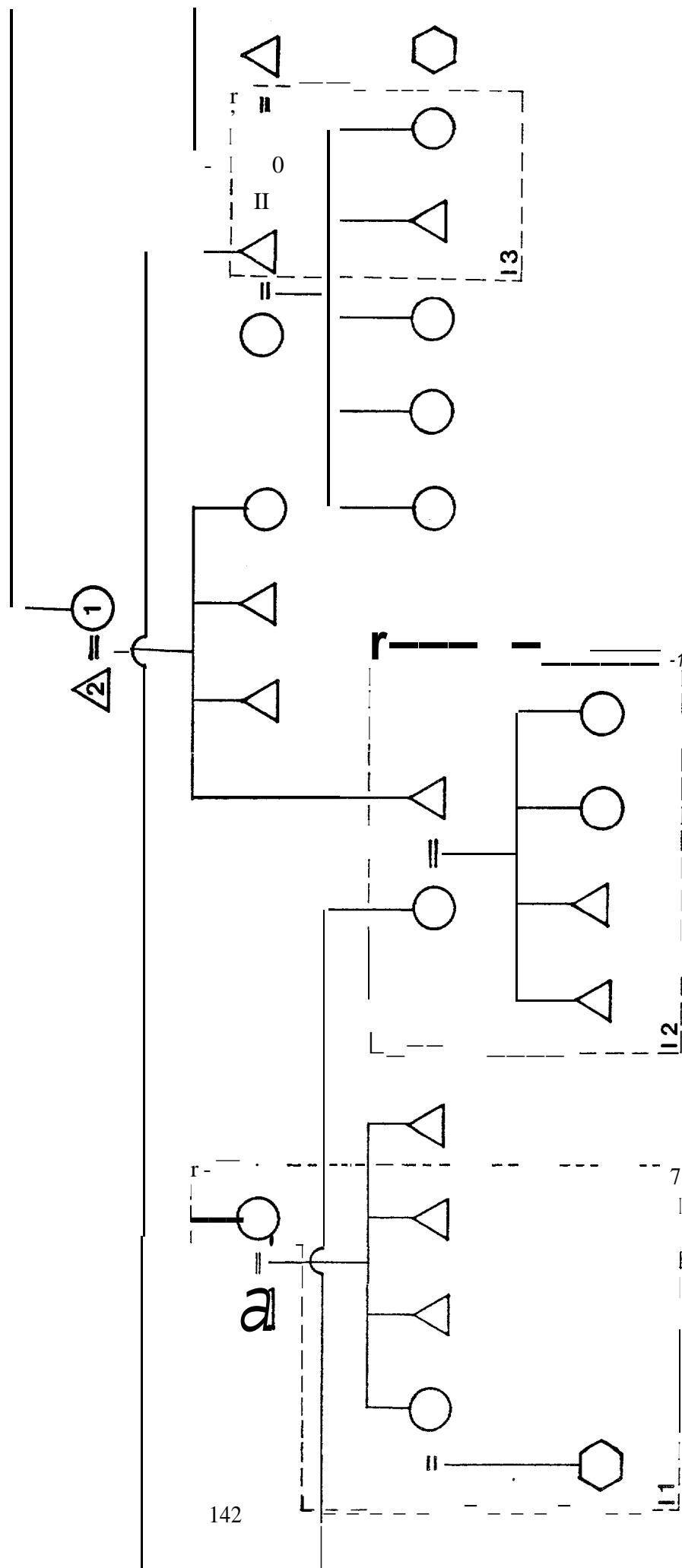


Figure 28 -- Genealogy of Point Lay, Alaska -- Sheet I

hi ←

→ II

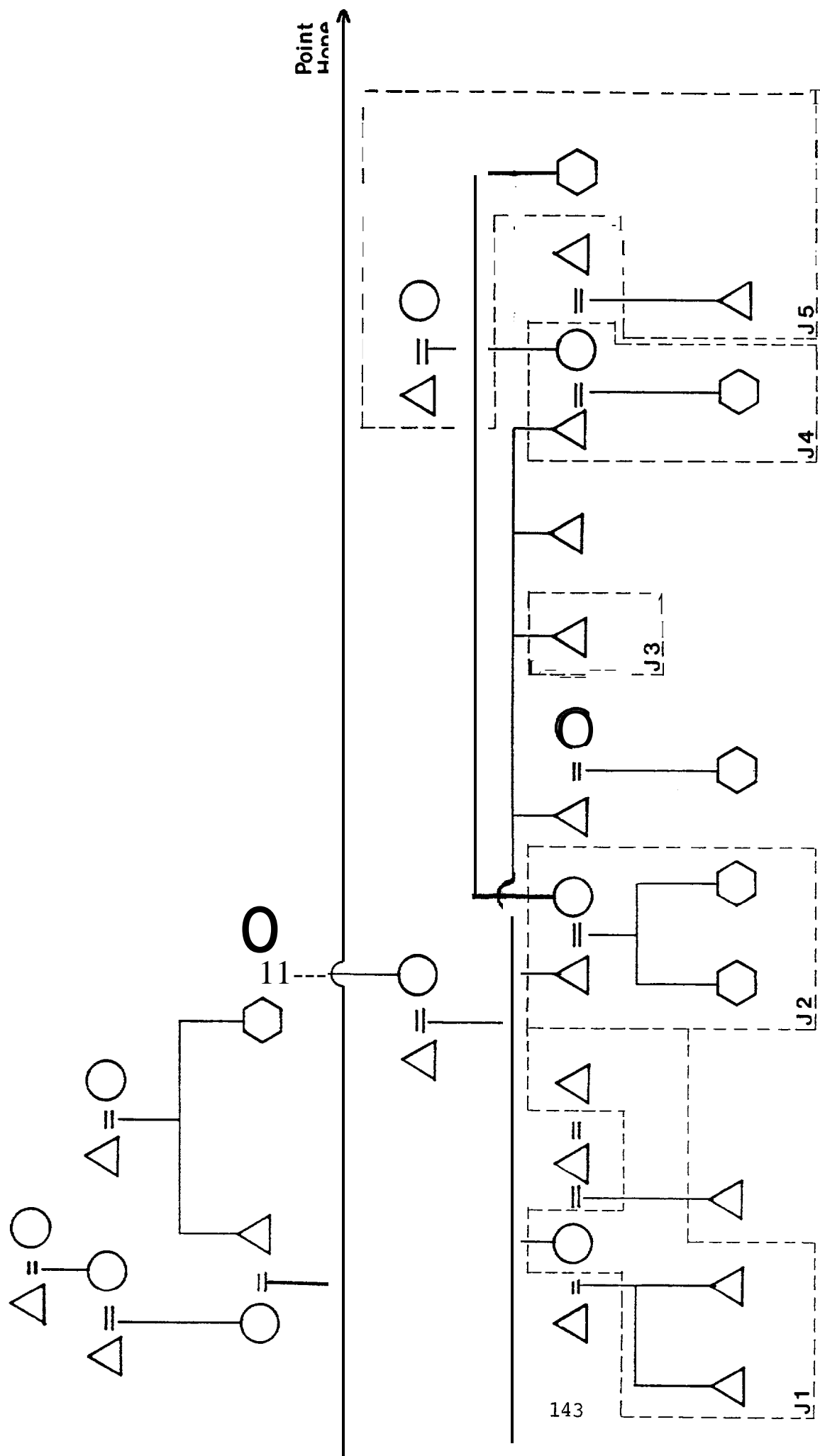


Figure 28 -- Genealogy of Point Lay, Alaska -- Sheet J

This is as true in Point Lay as in any other **Inupiat** village. There is great freedom in the tracing of genealogical relationships in Point Lay. There is no apparent preference for the male or female line, although in many cases there is more information about one than about the other. When trying to determine how two people are related to each other, any and all possible linkages will be made. In many instances more than one kinship route will exist between the two persons. In such a case one will generally not be preferred above the other -- the situational context will determine which relationship is stressed more than the other. If only one relationship can be found, it will usually be the operative one. On occasion, however, when such a relationship would be normatively "wrong," **an** alternative and more "correct" fictive or social (rather than biological) kinship relationship will be created and maintained.

This situation, already complicated enough, can be even more elaborated. It is not uncommon for people to have been married more than once, especially given the common practice of a young woman marrying a man fifteen to twenty years her senior. Children resulting from prior marriages were considered siblings of the children produced by the current marriage, and if there was still a subsequent marriage, children of that union would be added as well. The kinship net was and is spread as wide as it can. The principle is maximum inclusion and flexibility, as opposed to exclusion and rigidity.

As a final **terminological** note, for our purposes "marriage" will be taken to mean the formation of a bond for the purposes of having children and raising a family that is recognized by the other residents of the community. Insisting on a formal definition **of** marriage makes little sense on the North **Slope**, as it would only complicate the descriptions of relationships, conceivably embarrass quite a few people, and hinder the course of research. Our usage is consistent with the flexible family formation of the traditional **Inupiat**, as **well** as with contemporary **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** North Slope usage.

Key Households

Household A 1 has as its head of household the oldest person in Point Lay. The other members of the household -- a granddaughter, two grandsons, and the girlfriend of the oldest grandson, cannot be drawn due to incomplete information about their parents. This household has direct relationships with three others in Point Lay -- B2, C 1, and **C2**. The grandson with the girlfriend is a son from household C2. It is also through household **C2** that household A 1 is secondarily linked to five other Point Lay households -- D 1, D2, D3, D4, and D5. Household A1 also has direct kinship relationships with households in **Nuiqsut** and Barrow through children of the head of household, and to Wainwright through siblings of the head of household.

Household H2 also has as its head of household a male Elder, and also does not have its membership drawn. This is because the only other member is a granddaughter from household 13. Household H2 is directly related to six other households in Point Lay -- E3, **H1**, H3, 11, 12, and 13. Through household 13, household H2 has indirect links with four households -- J 1, J2, J3, and J4. Through household E3, household H2 has an indirect link with household E1 (as well as households for individuals in prior generations, but local perceptions of kinship links do not seem to generalize that far, at least when starting with senior people and tracing through one marriage). Household H2 also has direct links with households in Point Hope and perhaps Barrow.

Household G4 has a third Elder as its head of household, the oldest woman in the village. One of her sons lives with her, and the household is directly linked to three others in Point Lay -- F1, G3, and G5. Household G4 has indirect links with six other Point Lay households -- E1, E2, E3, F2, G1, and G2. This household also has links with households in Wainwright through the husband's ancestors and to Point Hope through the wife's.

Household D3 is composed of the remaining two Point Lay Elders. This is perhaps the central household for understanding the network of village relations, and the most complicated. Household D3 is directly related to seven other households in the village -- C2, D1, D2, D4, D5, E 1, and E3. Through household C2, household D3 is indirectly related to three other Point Lay Households -- **B1**, B2, and C1. Through household E3, household D3 is indirectly linked to two other Point Lay households -- H 1 and 12. The household is also directly related to households in Barrow and Wainwright through relations of the husband. The household is related to Point Hope through relations of the wife (see below).

However, the woman of household D3 was previously married, and her first husband had been previously married. To adequately represent the children of these unions without creating a hopeless tangle, both appear twice on the genealogical chart -- the woman is marked with a "1" and the man with a "2". This man ("2" -- the woman's first husband) was related directly to the head of household of both G4 and H2, key households discussed above. When woman "1" married him, she acquired these relationships. Further, a son from this marriage is head of Household 12, and other **childrens'** households are in Barrow. The woman's parents are on sheet J, and through her first cousin (father's sibling's daughter) she is related to an additional five Point Lay families --13, **J1**, J2, J3, and J4. These last five families are **all** relatively recent arrivals in Point Lay from the **Kotzebue** area and will be discussed as one case example below.

Demographic Processes

Certain properties of the demographic process that have significant effects on the structure of a population are evident from the chart. To take the most visible example, we will discuss the three marriages involving persons "1" and "2" (one marriage to each other, one apiece to another). The three marriages are each placed in a different generation of the chart, where it simplified the display of other information the most. The man's first marriage date is not known, but was probably between 1915 and 1925. The union resulted in at least six children, one of whom was the wife of the Elder who is the head of household H2. After his first wife's death, he married individual "1" in 1937. She was a very young woman, whereas he was about forty, twenty years her senior. Their marriage produced at least four children, one of whom has established his home in Point Lay, household 12. Upon the death of her husband around 1936, she soon remarried a man close to her own age, and together they had six children, two of whom now live in Point Lay.

"Generational slippage" can easily occur when there is a systematic pattern of age differences in first marriages, followed by remarriages. From the dates that are known for the people on the chart, and the placement of others in relation to them, a pattern of men waiting until they were in their thirties to get married is evident. For the most part women married young. There are several examples of this in Point Lay today among those **Inupiat** men in their forties. Nearly all are married to women at least ten years younger than themselves, and in some cases more. Examples are households 12, H3 (second marriage), F 1 and F2 (both **Inupiat** males married to non-

Inupiat females), and 13 (second marriage). There are examples of older couples who are nearly the same in age -- households B2, C2, D3, **J5** (second or third marriage), and J 1 (third or fourth marriage). The remainder of the couples on the chart are **mostly** young (mid-thirties or below) and are roughly the same age -- households **B1**, C1, E3, J2, and J4. Either men in Point Lay are now marrying earlier than they have in the recent past, or men marry at an early age, break up, and then marry another young woman. While either is a feasible interpretation, it is our guess that present-day **Inupiat** men are marrying at an earlier age than those of the past generation. This seems to be related to a generational difference in life experiences and economic possibilities.

It is also apparent from a glance at the chart that an individual who completes life having children with only one partner is somewhat unusual, or at least that having children with more than one partner is quite common. Our information has obvious gaps and is quite incomplete, but 50% of the Point Lay **adult** population over the age of thirty has been separated, divorced, or parted by death from a spouse. Most have remarried at some point after that.

Ethnicity is not marked on the chart, but marriage to **non-Inupiat** seems to be more prevalent in certain families than in others. The head of household G4, a female Elder, is currently married to a non-Native, as is her daughter in household G5. Elder G4 claims that her first husband, although culturally **Inupiat**, was himself half-white. Elder G4 is in fact the nominal head of this household, as for various reasons her husband lives in Anchorage rather than in Point Lay. Thus, she spends a great deal of time in Anchorage, and informants have said that she has effectively changed her residence. Households **F1** and **F2** are formed by **interethnic** marriages (**Inupiat** males), and the **Inupiat male G3** was at one time married to Caucasian G2. The concentration of these relationships within two related families could be an historical accident, but again seems likely to be explainable in terms of the shared life experiences unique to that set of people.

Summary of the Chart

There are basically three groups of households defined by the Point Lay genealogical chart, or four if one counts those not on the chart as a group. The group not on the chart and two others are relatively small. The remainder of the households are intimately connected to each other and can be considered the core of present-day Point Lay.

The first small group on the chart consists of key Household A1 and the households of his three married daughters (B2, **C1**, and **C2**). They are not strongly tied to the rest of the Point Lay genealogical matrix, although information on one of the daughter's husbands is lacking. One of the other husbands comes from Kotzebue, and the other is a member of the largest family kinship group in the village.

The second small group consists of household 13, J 1, J2, J3, J4, and J5. All except **J5** are recent additions to the village. Household **J5** is originally from Point Hope, while the others derive from the **Kotzebue** area. Ever since the 1984 census, various of these family units/individuals have alternated between Point Lay and **Kotzebue**. The main factor has seemed to be the available supply of housing. The men from these households have generally **had** no trouble finding work in Point Lay. Because of their relationship to person "1" (mother's sister), and now the marriages of two of the brothers to daughters from household **J5** (J2 and J4), this household group now appears to be a stable part of Point Lay. Two of the households (J2 and J4) are occupying

very low-cost units owned by the IRA Council. A third (**J1**) is occupying a self-built, or at least extensively modified, house. Households **J5** and 13, part of this groups attachments to the main portion of Point Lay, live in old-style NSB housing.

KINSHIP IN ACTION: POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY IN POINT LAY

In Point Lay there is one formal governing body, the IRA Council. The village is not incorporated and has no desire to **be**. What this means in practical terms is that the non-Natives in the village have no representation at the village level. This does not concern those **non-Inupiat** residents married to **Inupiat** (four cases) as their spouses could present their views if it came to that. The transient **non-Inupiat** have no concern with local affairs at all except as they affect the jobs they do in the village, and the IRA Council does not much deal with those (see the corporation discussion below). The only **people** who may conceivably feel unjustly excluded from local governance are the **non-Inupiat** school personnel, the **PSOs**, and the five relatively permanent **non-Inupiat** residents of Point Lay. Of these five, three are related by a relative's marriage to an **Inupiat**, so only two are truly left out. No **non-Inupiat** has ever raised this as an issue in any event. The corporation was evidently formed as a vehicle for the resettlement of the village. Its activity has always been limited and there is some question as to how many people in Point Lay fully understand the purpose and mechanics of the corporate structure.

Kinship in Action: "We Are One Family"

The **Cully** Corporation defers to the IRA Council on as many issues as it can. Most if not **all Inupiat** in Point Lay think that the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act is fatally flawed and do not want to accept any of its provisions relating to land. One may well argue that the deference of the **Cully** Corporation to the Point Lay IRA Council is an extension of the ideology that the community is one big interrelated family. In theory at least, the **Cully** Corporation should act to maximize the interests of its shareholders. Only about 50% of Point Lay **Inupiat** adult residents are **Cully** Corporation shareholders, however (in fact, a significant percentage are not even ASRC shareholders). The Point Lay IRA Council, on the other hand, represents all Natives in the village. If **the Cully** Corporation were to stress its economic role in protecting the interests of its shareholders at the expense of the interests of non-shareholder residents, considerable community friction would result. At the least, there would be quite visible community stratification. Because **Cully** Corporation shareholders view the village **of** Point Lay (and the IRA Council) rather than the **Cully** Corporation as their social reference or identity group, corporate economic interests are not a central concern.

Another example where social ideology and economic reality collided quite dramatically is the story of the village store at the **Kokolik** River delta site. The store was run by the corporation, but there were difficulties in having someone there to run it. The solution was to run it on the "honor" system. People would come and get what they needed, write a list of what they took and the prices, and leave the list on the counter. Informants both in Point Lay and in other villages who had visited at this time all maintain that this was indeed the system. No informant wished to say that people sometimes "cheated" by not writing down what they took. A common story, however, was that lists often disappeared. Often the only paper available to write on was the paper bags used by the store. These would then be used to bag purchases and be lost. This was an especially serious problem as the store also handled the fuel business at this time. Fuel was expensive and seldom were

accounts up to date and paid. Finally it was realized that this was an intolerable situation that would lead eventually to the closing of the store and the bankruptcy of the corporation if not corrected. It required the initiative of a **non-Inupiat** resident, elected as manager of the store, however, to change the credit policy and reverse the course of the store. It is just recently that the store has retired most of the debt accumulated from these early years. Thus, there are realms where it is recognized that "We are all one family" does not apply.

This boils down to the local perception that more can be obtained for Point Lay people, and that it can be better protected, under the provisions for IRA governments than under the provisions of the ANCSA. There are two main issues. Land and the guaranteed access to land and the resources dependent upon an undegraded environment is the first and the more pragmatic. More ideological in nature is the question of sovereignty. As an IRA, Point Lay claims ownership of an area of 50 miles radius from the village. They realize that this is much more than allowed for by **ANCSA** and that as an IRA they can exercise more powers than are authorized by **ANCSA**. They also realize that it was and is the intent of ANCSA to extinguish such Native ownership claims to wide areas of land, and that most lawyers are of the opinion that this is precisely what ANCSA does. Leaving aside for now the question of whether ANCSA also lays aside Native rights of jurisdiction over such "traditional" land claims, since few if any Point Lay residents make the distinction between ownership and jurisdiction (regulation, control), this brief summary should enable the reader to understand the basics of the local position.

The main objection to the land provisions of ANCSA is that they make land an alienable and divisible capital asset. It is perhaps the Point Lay unwillingness to cede this point that best exemplifies how **local** villagers perceive the differences between a subsistence and a wage economy. The wage economy is fundamentally based upon knowing what everything **in** the system is worth in relation to every other component in the system. Since all components can be measured in the same units (ultimately dollars and cents), an equivalent can be found for any single item. This is of course an equivalency of value and not necessarily of function. Except for a very few items for which there truly is no substitute, the difference between equivalency of value and equivalency of function is not ultimately important for a wage-money economy. Put another way, the distinction is only important in those rare instances when something in a wage economy has no functional equivalent. Human life is often such a troublesome commodity in contemporary America, but land is perhaps the quintessential divisible resource. "Real" estate is one of the fastest ways to a life of leisure. It is precisely this definition of land as a resource with many functional uses, all with equivalents on which values can be placed, that **Inupiat** in general and Point Lay people in particular object to. To **Inupiat**, the land (and sea) is the irreplaceable base of a way of life. It is not divisible into parts that are each "worth" so much. The ANCSA represents at least a tacit replacement of this fundamental **Inupiat** concept of land with the economic concept of land of the modern capitalist economy.

The people of Point Lay have, of course, at least accepted the form of the village corporation. Not to do so would have been a practical impossibility. Point Lay is supported financially by the NSB and the ASRC, and it was in the **NSB's** and **ASRC'S** interests to have each village corporation select the land to which it was entitled under the provisions of **ANCSA**. The **Cully** Corporation did make these necessary land selections. However, corporation officials make no claims that these selections supersede those of the IRA and in fact hold the position that the IRA is the proper owner of these lands (as well, of course, of more extensive holdings). The corporation only selected the lands to protect their rights under ANCSA and to

satisfy the NSB and ASRC. In all matters that concern the transfer or disposition of land the **Cully** Corporation defers to the IRA Council.

This accommodation has its pragmatic aspects as well. Because Point Lay is a refounded community, its “founding” population came from a number of places. Because of the pragmatic way that ANCSA was carried out, many of these individuals enrolled in the communities from which they came rather than in Point Lay. This is especially true for those individuals who migrated to Point Lay some time after it was refounded. Approximately half of the residents of Point Lay are not **Cully** Corporation shareholders. This could potentially raise a conflict of interest between the IRA Council, representing **all** Natives in the village, and the village corporation, representing only its shareholders. Because of the ideology that the IRA Council is paramount, however, such conflict is avoided. When land must be transferred with a clear title, to the NSB for example, it is the position of Point Lay that only the IRA Council need act. The NSB lawyers in turn hold that they need action by the village corporation. The impasse is resolved by having both entities approve the transfer. So far all such transfers have been for no compensation, again on the principle that to accept compensation would be to set the precedent of accepting the terms of the ANCSA. No compensation at least maintains the view of the land as belonging to the **Inupiat** people as a whole, and not for the gain of one group of them more than another.

The boards of the IRA Council and the village corporation have displayed a remarkable degree of overlap since the creation of the corporation. Usually if there is a quorum for a meeting for one, there is a quorum for a meeting of the other as well. Meetings are not held jointly, but as soon as one is closed the other is opened. The IRA Council meeting is always held first, as their “decision is always followed by the corporation in matters that they both have a voice on. This is an interesting result as the constituencies of the two are not the same. All Alaskan Natives can vote in Point Lay IRA elections as long as they are residents of Point Lay. On the other hand, only **Cully** Corporation shareholders can vote for corporation board members. Less than 50% of current adult **Inupiat** residents of Point Lay are **Cully** Corporation shareholders, yet no non-shareholders have yet been elected to the IRA Council. The ideology of “We are one family” is indeed behaviorally operative in the public political domain of Point Lay.

Kinship in Action: Economic Opportunities

The main function ascribed to **Cully** Corporation by the local population is to provide income through employment to **Inupiat** residents of Point Lay. They have little interest in the generation of a profit for shareholders, many of whom are after **all** not residents. The income seen to be available to individuals through wages is so much greater than any potential profit distributed as dividends that the officers of **Cully** Corporation have stopped trying to make profitability a major goal. The real aim of **Cully** Corporation is to stay in business and to keep people working in the village. This is frustrating to many of the transient **non-Inupiat** associated with these projects as it runs directly counter to their training and inclination. It is, however, consistent with the Point Lay ideology of the village as one family.

Jobs are considered a resource to be allocated on the basis of need. Need is assessed on the number of other wage earners in the household, other income sources, number of individuals in the household, length of time in Point Lay, and role in the community. Clearly, non-shareholder residents are being treated much better than shareholders as the system now operates. Non-resident shareholders are receiving no

monetary return from their shares. One could readily understand how they could come to be sold, if it were legal to do so. These shareholders are receiving the service of having title to the land protected, however, as our resident shareholders, in exchange for the non-payment of dividends. Resident shareholders usually receive a preference for jobs created by the corporation as well. Once again, public ideology is affirmed.

Kinship in Action: General Sharing and Redistribution Networks

All Point Lay households, except for those of the Elders, have at least one wage earner and are functionally independent of each other. All normal household needs can be met by the wage earner(s) and hunter(s) of that household. Different households have different requirements, of course. Point Lay informants report that when they work for wages they eat more "store" food, and that in the past when work was less available they ate more subsistence food. When men go hunting together, the groups are most commonly kin-based. The most common task group is a hunting twosome of brothers such as **F1** plus **G3**, or two males from household **H1**, or a group of males from households **J1-J4**. For those men in Point Lay with no close blood relatives (such as the head of household **D2**), the usual pattern is to develop a hunting partner relationship with another male (or perhaps two) in the village over time. Some men will go out on the land with their wife, especially if they have not yet had children (**F1** in the past), or if all their children are grown (**D3**). Not **all** men harvest subsistence resources. The most active are probably in households **D3**, **E2**, **F1**, **G3**, and perhaps **F2** and **D2**.

When a hunter successfully takes a game animal, he usually redistributes at least part of it. The Elders are those who receive most of the redistribution, and especially households **D3**, **G4**, and **H2**. Household **A1** will also receive shares, but being directly related to fewer other households with active hunters generally receives somewhat less. When a special kill is made -- for example, when the hunters of household **H1** took two polar bear -- they made sure that all **Inupiat** households received a share. The Elders were taken their shares first.

For general hunting, then, ideological redistribution is still important, especially for those animals not commonly taken. For more common game such as caribou, households tend to be more independent of each other.

Kinship in Action: The Organization of the Beluga Hunt

The Point Lay **beluga** hunt is held around early July every year when the **beluga** first start to swim past **Point Lay**. It is necessarily a communal hunt, as the **beluga** must be herded into shallow water (or beached) and then shot. They sink but can be easily retrieved if herded into the right area. Informants say as many of the community's boats are used as possible, since this makes herding the **beluga** easier. Boat ownership is widespread in Point Lay (with at least fifteen boat and motor owners, including two **non-Inupiat**). The hunt is conceived of as a community hunt. Those who participate are given first choice of shares, but the harvest is distributed to the entire village. In return, people are expected to contribute the equipment, time, and effort that they can. The extent to which this is considered a community event is that **non-Inupiat** are encouraged to participate as support personnel, although of course they cannot legally shoot **beluga**.

Most boats are used by their owners with the help of one or two family members. This is as much pragmatism as a conscious decision. With boat ownership so widespread, there are few men who do not have either a boat of their own or one in which they are expected to go. Usually, the only complicating factor is in whether enough boat owners are in the village at the time the **beluga** start running or not.

The Point Lay **beluga** harvest is less about individual prestige and more about communal redistribution than the hunt for the bowhead. Individual boat crews may be kinship based, but given the small number of people needed in each boat and the degree of relationship among most Point Lay people, this is an untestable hypothesis. The skills needed by crew members -- accurate shooters, knowledgeable boat handlers -- are rather more general than the skills needed for bowhead whale hunting. An individual is recognized as being skilled or not, but gains little additional prestige thereby. No **beluga** is "claimed" by the particular person who happened to shoot it -- all **beluga** that are harvested as part of the communal hunt are communally processed and divided up into the available storage areas. Anyone who participated in the hunt can then take **beluga** out of storage to use as they need to. It is also served at community feasts. The only status that a hunter achieves from participation is public awareness of his ability to organize the hunt, or know how to drive **beluga** with a boat, or ability to shoot. Occasionally someone may remark that "X shot so many **beluga**," but even this is the exception and can easily be taken as boasting in the village. There is also very widespread ownership of the aluminum boats and motors needed for **beluga** hunting in Point Lay, because of the wage income opportunities available.

KINSHIP IN POINT HOPE

Given that Point Hope is a complex community in relation to Point Lay, and the fact that the primary effort of this research focused on the community of Point Lay, our knowledge of kinship in Point Hope is not nearly as complete as it is for Point Lay. In order to illustrate general attributes of kin relations in Point Hope, three **kin**-based household networks are described.

Point Hope Household Network A

The households composing this family group make up one of the largest kinship clusters in Point Hope. In both 1982 and 1984, there were sixteen households with a head of household bearing the family surname, with eighty-five total household members in 1982 and eighty-nine total household members in 1984. This was 13.9% of all 1982 households (16.2% of the population) in 1982 and 12.0% of all 1984 households (approximately 16.7% of the total population). Average household size for this family cluster was 5.3 in 1982 and 5.6 in 1984. This was significantly larger than the average for the village as a whole, which was 4.5 for both years. Of the sixteen 1982 households in the group, three are of the most senior generation in the village. Ten are roughly of the generation after (the children of the seniors, for the most part), and three are of the second generation after the most senior (their grandchildren). The age ranges for the heads of households for these three subgroups were 55-78, 28-49, and 20-24. If one excludes the last grouping from the calculations, and two of those households did not appear in the 1984 census, the average household size for the other thirteen households was 6.1 (6.3 for senior households, 6.0 for the ten others). By 1984, of course, the average for the group would be the 5.6 stated above, as the most junior of the households proved to be transitory.

The household composition of this network has undergone some restructuring since 1984, but our information is incomplete as no detailed household information is available for later years. Only aggregated household data have so far been released from the recently completed 1988 NSB census. The major change of note for our discussion of this network in present day Point Hope was that the largest of the “second generation” households of 1984 has disbanded due to their house being destroyed by a fire. Many of the members of this household are now living in the most senior household. Most of the other households remain as they were, with the natural increase of children.

Our main interactions were with three households of this cluster -- the most senior household and two from the next generation, with other interactions being more peripheral. As will be clear from the discussion below, there was a great deal of visiting back and forth between these households in many different contexts. Members of the component households of this network would sometimes stop to visit the fieldworkers as well.

One of the main focal points of this network is the household of the senior member of the family. The house itself is a standard NSB three-bedroom model with central heating and running water. The senior woman’s husband has recently had to move to Anchorage so that he could receive adequate medical care, but she remains in Point Hope and acts as the family matriarch. She is the titular head of household and maintains a bedroom of her own. The second bedroom is occupied by a married couple whose house burned down some time ago. Their youngest children also sleep with them. The third bedroom is used for older children, and the number actually using the room at any one time can vary considerably. The sofa in the living room is also used as a bed at night by a child, as is a mattress placed on the floor.

There is a constant flow of guests into and out of this household. Many come to visit the senior woman, and much of this interaction takes place in her bedroom. Here she has a sewing machine set up, a television available, and a large collection of pictures. When she wishes to talk with someone she will most often request that they do so in her bedroom as it is one of the quietest places in the house. Many of the guests also come to visit the married couple. Such guests will usually greet the senior woman if she is home by going to her room and briefly talking with her, and then proceed to interact with whoever else is home. Depending on the time of day, the purpose of the visit could be to chat, to borrow some item, to play cards, or share a meal. Children from many of the other households of this network come over to this household to eat on a regular basis. There is almost always a large pot of soup or meat on the stove, available for whoever comes in. When asked about this, the couple respond that this is the **Inupiat** way. It is their duty (and the senior woman’s duty) to be generous with what they have and what they are given. Besides, their house has good cooking and cleaning facilities, which many of the older households in the network do not. The married woman especially reports that sometimes she feels that she must work too hard, but also seems to enjoy the central place of the household in the network. Members of other households (especially women) do contribute to the cooking and cleaning of this household. Men of the other households in the network contribute a substantial amount of subsistence food.

Both spouses of the married couple now work, and the senior woman receives Social Security. They report that their finances are still very tight. This may in part be due to the man’s responsibilities as a whaling captain. This is, however, again seen as a shared duty. This man could not afford to be a whaling captain on his own. It was only through the mobilization of the household network that he was able to raise

the money and crew to mount the whaling effort. His contribution at present is mainly financial, organizational, and ideological. In the past, before he worked full-time, he engaged in somewhat more subsistence resource harvesting than he now does, but not a great deal more. He is, however, deeply involved in the IRA and the continued vitality of the **Inupiaq** culture. Thus, he devotes a considerable amount of time to political/ideological activities and Eskimo drumming and dancing. He has also fostered the resurgent interest in **Inupiaq** names by naming one of his sons after his grandfather, a powerful shaman, and using the same name as his CB "handle." He has two younger brothers, each of whom maintains his own household, who concentrate on subsistence resource harvesting to a much greater degree.

Social activities of a typical sort observed **in** this household are early (and **late**) evening games of pinochle and Scrabble, collective television watching, and casual conversation. Most typically, all three are going on at once, with members of different households arriving and leaving on an irregular basis related to an individual's schedule. Members of this household also played bingo often, and work one night a week when bingo is sponsored by the dance group to which the married couple and senior woman belong. On such nights they often need a babysitter for the young children of the household, which most commonly turns out to be a male in his twenties from another household in the network.

During holidays, this household becomes a production center for the entire network and is awake nearly twenty-four hours a day (and as a normal state of affairs, one can usually expect to find at least one person asleep at any given time). For example, before and during the whale feast in Point Hope, there is always at least one person awake in this house. There are parkas to sew for the members of various households, **mikigaaq** and other food for the feast to prepare, and other arrangements to be made. Apparently this household is the "command post" for this activity for two reasons. First, it is normally a focal point for such social interaction. Second, the married man had caught his first whale this year and so was honorary host of the main part of the **whale** feast. This entailed heavy organizational and financial obligations upon him, which he could fulfill only by mobilizing the extensive household kinship network. This was made even more necessary because of the obligations his wife had to fulfill. The senior woman could help somewhat, but because the wife does not speak **Inupiaq**, the primary language of the senior woman, more assistance from the other households of the network was required.

Both younger brothers are formal members of the whaling crew and thus participate not only in the preparation and activities of whaling but in the celebrations as well. The burden of preparation and participation is shared with other subunits of the network. At **Nulukatuk**, the brothers and their families helped divide and distribute the appropriate foods at the appropriate time. One of these men is married to a **non-Inupiat** and she took a regular role in this. The sister of the captain's wife was also visiting and took a similar role, and by the end of **Nulukatuk** she and the other younger brother had formed the beginnings of a friendship.

The two other households of this network about which we have a reasonable amount of information are smaller in size. They are not central nodes of interaction, and are in general much less active places, in a number of senses. There are fewer "types" (age, sex, ethnicity, first language, value orientation, etc.) of people present, and less variety in the individuals of each "type" likely to be present. These are basically nuclear households with young heads of households. Visitors tend to fit into the category of "friend" rather than "kinsman," although the two are not mutually exclusive. Such visitors tend to be young and in the same age group as the residents of the household. The network's whaling captain, in his forties, and his

younger wife are frequent visitors. He and several of his friends, however, are the upper age limit of regular visitors. People tend to visit as individuals or as couples, although they also often have expectations as to who they will find to interact with once they get there. The use of illicit substances was much more open and frequent in these households than in the "command center." This was partially out of respect for the senior woman and also due to the greater activity in the larger household. These two households rarely have children running about. The occasional visiting children are always infants. Resident children never seem to have guests in, which is very unlike the "command center" household.

There are fewer activities going on at any one time in these two households than in that of the senior woman, with less variety in the absolute number of different activities likely to be observed over a period of time. Activities observed most often **are** card games, television watching, the smoking of tobacco and marijuana, and talking. Many times all four are going on at the same time. It is not as in the "command center" household, however, where different people are doing different things. In these households everyone present is involved in the same social interaction. The television is usually on as background only and rarely does anyone focus on it. Smoking and talking accompany the card game, which was usually the reason for the gathering.

Activities, and the visiting people associated with them, are also subject to more confined time limits during which they are likely to be observed over a period of time. Perhaps another aspect of the same characteristic, there is more of a sense that activities begin and end, rather than flow one into another in a seamless sort of progression. Food is not prepared and served as a matter of course, and when it is tends to be more of a sandwich or snack variety than a fully cooked meal. This could partly explain why children are more prevalent at the senior woman's household than here. Children are known to congregate where they can find food and room to amuse themselves. The senior woman's house is physically larger than these two households, and this may be a factor as well.

Point Hope Household Network B

The households composing this family group also make up a significant portion of the Point Hope population, but not nearly as large as Network A. (A portion of this network, and of Network C, is illustrated in Figure 29.) In 1982 there were four households, with 23 total household members. This is 3.8% of all households. There are several additional households related by marriage. In 1984 there were three households with 24 total members (2.3% of all households). The average household size in 1982 was 5.75, but increased to 8 in 1984. The youngest head of household was 30 in 1982, with the others being 50 or greater.

The household that we will consider here is the primary household of this network in terms of activity. This household is illustrated in Figure 29. There are other households in this network with individuals who are more senior, and recognized as important elders and leaders in the family and the village, but these individuals are no longer centrally involved with the day-to-day activities of the village as the contemporary leaders. They have attained the age where they are accorded a good deal of respect and deference, but they are no longer active decision makers.

POINT HOPE

Household Networks "B" and "C"

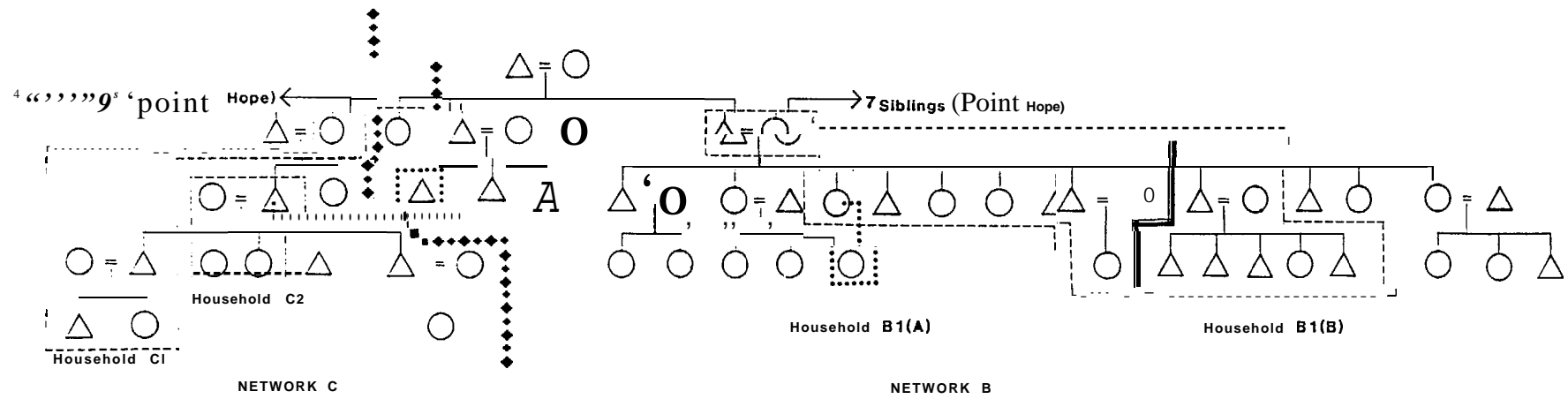


Figure 29
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The head of household is in his late 60s, his wife in her **mid-50s**. Although the head of household is of an age where he could easily decrease his activity in **the** village, he is still an active whaling captain who spends time on the ice, he is still active in a leadership role on the board of the **Tigara** Corporation, and he is one of the lay leaders in the Episcopal Church. In the past he has been the manager of the Native Store, president of one of the regional Native corporations, and a leader of the Alaskan Eskimo Whaling Commission. His wife is an active sewer, and in addition to running the large household and serving (as other captain's wives do) as a partner in the whaling undertaking, she sews clothing for sale. She also processes a large portion of the subsistence products that her sons bring into the household.

Theirs is still an active household, in terms of family dynamics. It is a household that extends over two structures and had 16 residents in 1988. One son has recently built a separate structure for himself, his girlfriend, and their five children, but this house cannot be considered a separate household. It is located only a few yards away from the main house and does not have its own cooking facilities. Meals are prepared and taken at the main house. The relationship between household and physical structure is noted on the diagram by distinguishing the two units as "Household B 1(A)" and "Household **B1** (B)." This son [the senior male in Household **B1** (B)] was not employed in 1988, although he desired employment. He responded to the situation by becoming a subsistence specialist and made substantial contribution to the overall household through the provision of game. He also provides skins that his mother uses in her sewing. He is the harpooner of his father's whaling crew and takes the major responsibility for working on the preparations for whaling as other crew members work or come from outside of the village. He performs many of the physical/outdoor chores for the household such as cutting and collecting ice for drinking water in the wintertime. His girlfriend, who is from another North Slope village, works part-time at the school. While they are not formally married, their relationship is, for **all** intents and purposes, a marriage in terms of behavior and expectations toward each other and their children. This is not an unusual case in Point Hope. While the children of this partnership bear the last name of their mother, one of the boys shares his father's first name, and is referred to as a "junior."

In the main house there were nine residents in 1988. One son and his girlfriend recently had a child, and the three of them live in one bedroom. In 1988 he worked full-time and contributed financially to the household. The diagram illustrates the household structure as of 1988; by 1989, this son, his girlfriend, and their child moved to a separate structure and began his own household. The housing unit that he moved into, formerly occupied by an **older** brother of the man's father and his wife, became available when the individuals who were living there could no longer maintain their own household because of advancing age. (It is not clear "whose" house this unit is -- it has stayed in the family but whether or not it is "legally" the older or younger generation's house is not clear, nor is this apparently an issue of concern for those involved.)

One unmarried son works full-time and sleeps in the living room; he does not contribute substantially to the household by way of finances and is the only resident son who chose to whale on a crew other than his father's. In 1989 this individual was unemployed and did contribute somewhat to the subsistence goods consumed by the members of the household. In 1988, two teenaged daughters shared a room with a granddaughter who was "adopted in" from a third daughter who lives outside of the village. By **1989** one of the daughters left the community and started her own family elsewhere. The parents have their own room in the house.

This family also has a cabin on the river that is used as a subsistence base, primarily for fishing. A large family, it is analytically instructive for the way new families are being created from existing ones. The detached structure that one son built is a step in the progression toward an independent household, but functionally this son, his wife, and their children are still very much a part of the main household. His girlfriend often visits her home community, and it is not unusual for her to take only the youngest of their children with her. The parents of the main household are in effect co-parents of these children (their grandchildren) in that they are the primary care providers when their mother is out of the community. They also provide a substantial degree of parenting when the son's girlfriend is in town as well; the head of household takes responsibility for getting the children to school on time in the morning, sees that they are fed when their mother is working or otherwise unavailable, and generally looks after the children on a daily basis. This son is also the main provider of subsistence goods for the main household. The family eats a large proportion of locally harvested foods, so this is a substantial contribution indeed. The son who is beginning his young family in one of the bedrooms of the main house is one step behind the son who has built the separate structure; this is the same pattern that the older son followed.

The house is an active one for visiting, and the social activity most commonly found in the house in the evening is television watching and conversation with people who are visiting. There is usually something to eat available and this is shared with visitors. If nothing else there is virtually always a pot of coffee on and snacks to eat with the coffee. It is also a household that is frequently visited by friends of the children and grandchildren.

The head of household and his wife actively visit older members of the network in their own homes and invite them to their home. They look after these older people and share meals and subsistence resources with them. The couple approach the ideal of the whaling captain and wife of being totally generous with what they have, and they are the ones who look after the oldest and youngest members of the network.

Point Hope Household Network C

The households composing this family group make up a smaller than typical portion of the Point Hope population when simply considering households with the same surname. There were two households in both 1982 and 1984, with 11 total household members in 1982, but dipped to eight in 1984 when the three people left the village temporarily. Household size averages were thus 5.5 and 4.0. This family group used to contain many more same-named families, and is still related to many people through marriage. In 1988, one household head (Household C2) was a man of forty-nine, while the other was a woman of seventy-two (Household C1). In 1989 two sons from C2 were out of Point Hope for an extended period of time, so the aggregate membership of Households C1 and C2 was nine, and it is this arrangement that appears on the accompanying diagram. Both households were visited frequently.

Household C2, headed by the man of forty-nine, somewhat resembles the household described for Network A. It is a relatively new house, and the head of household could usually be found there. It is not as crowded as the main house of Network A, but often guests are over. Overall, the living room in the house is more formal and the house has less of a twenty-four hour a day activity level. The wife of the head

of household is often out of the house. She is active as a traditional healers in the village, does a good bit of sewing, and helps others to sew as well, and attends bingo extensively.

Household C1, headed by the woman of seventy-two, will be the focal one for this discussion because of **its** contrasts with the Network A and B households. This household consists of the female elder, her twenty-seven-year-old grandson, his wife, and their two children. While it is the elder woman's house, the activities of the household normally revolve around the grandson's family and, in terms of the activities that take place there, he is often functionally the head of household. This household is tied to Network B, as the elder of this household is the sister of the head of the main household [B 1 (A)] described for Network B. The elder female of this household, the adoptive grandmother of the senior male, primarily raised this man, not his adoptive parents. It is he and his wife who are taking care of the elder woman in her old age, not her adoptive son (the head of Household C2).

Both the grandson and his wife are vigorous individuals who are involved in a variety of activities. The husband has a full- and part-time job in the village, as does his wife. His grandmother is the captain of a whaling crew (her husband is deceased), but he handles the majority of the day-to-day activities of preparing for whaling and running the crew. His father (the senior male of Household **C2**) is referred to in many contexts as the captain, and is deferred to by his son, but the son is clearly involved in much of the decision making. He is involved to a degree in other subsistence activities, but both he and his wife are more directed toward commercial and volunteer activities within the village. Subsistence goods do come into this household on a regular basis through individuals sharing with the elder of the household. It is recognized that the senior male of this house does not hunt as often as many others. Also known is **the** preference for subsistence foods of the well-liked elder female of the household, so several hunters do make an effort to share with her.

The house is among the most formal-appearing in the village because of its cleanliness and orderliness, which is no doubt enhanced due to the couple only having two children. The income brought in for a relatively small family has allowed for the purchase of some high quality home entertainment equipment, and the household is well-equipped with relatively new vehicles, including one of the few privately owned trucks in the village.

Socially, this household interacts with perhaps the widest segment of the village of any of the three networks considered. Elders visit the Elder of the house often, and **Inupiaq** is commonly heard there. The young couple, on the other hand, have a wide range of friends and interact with a wide range of individuals in the community, including those who are relatively marginal socially, such as resident **non-Inupiat** persons passing through the village. They also frequently host visiting administrators from the Borough who are staying in the village. The family has a history of being active in politics and social issues on the Slope and at the state level, and are open toward outsiders. Evenings are likely to find the elder at bingo and the young couple and their children at the school gym, visiting, or entertaining friends. Common evening entertainment includes playing card games, board games, sharing listening to music, watching sporting events on television, or watching recorded, movies. Both of the young couple have obtained a significant amount of post-secondary education.

Adoption and Residence in Point Hope Networks B and C

There are four types of adoption that are known in Household Networks B and C. Two of these are illustrated with dotted lines on the diagram of the two networks. In the first case, the head of household **B1(A)** and his wife adopted their own granddaughter and are raising her as a daughter. In other words, as depicted on the diagram, a direct lineal relative was effectively adopted “up” one generation. In this case the girl retained and used her father’s last name which is, of course, different than the last name of those who raised her. In Network C, as depicted on the diagram, the male head of household **C2** was adopted by his father’s sister and raised as her own child. In this case, the adopted child’s last name was not legally changed, but he is known to all by the last name of his adoptive parents. This adoption did not move the individual up or down **generationally**, but “across” families. Not shown on the diagram is a third case of adoption. The senior male of household **C1** is biologically the son of his mother’s sister, who lives outside of the village and who was not in a stable relationship at the time of the adoption. This individual was by-in-large raised by his adoptive grandmother, who is co-resident with the man, his wife, and their children. In other words, this case of adoption involves adoption both “up” and “across,” although the “up” is not immediately clear behaviorally, as the man’s adoptive parents are in the village and he addresses them as his parents. This individual legally and socially uses the name of this adoptive family. The fourth type of adoption is not illustrated, but involves one of the sons of the head of household **B 1(A)**. This son was “adopted out.” He was adopted out to his father’s brother’s son’s wife’s brother. In other words, this individual was adopted both “across” and “down” one generation. Given the ages of the individuals involved, the “down” one generation aspect of this adoption is not apparent. The man who is raising the person in question is one generation below the individual’s biological father on a genealogical chart but they are, in fact, approximately the same age.

It is not obvious when first entering the community how the relationships between the families illustrated in Networks **B and C** are reflected in spatial residence patterns. If one examines a recent history of housing, however, relations become clear. The structure that houses the **B 1(B)** segment of Household **B1** is immediately adjacent to the structure that houses segment **B1(A)**. It was built by the senior male in the **B 1(B)** segment, and is so built to allow the retention of interdependence with the rest of the family in the main house while also allowing for the alleviation of overcrowding for some privacy as well. This structure was not constructed until overcrowding became a pronounced problem, and the location was based on immediate proximity of kin. In early 1989, the couple and their child illustrated farthest to the right in the Household **B 1(A)** section of the diagram moved into an existing house away from the main household. This was a house formerly occupied by kin of a senior generation. This move also helped alleviate overcrowding and afforded privacy, and was possible through senior kin vacating a housing unit. The spatial arrangement paralleling the kin link between Network B and Network C is evident in the house ownership, not present occupation patterns. A house owned by the senior female of Household **C1** is immediately adjacent to her brother’s house, the senior male of Household **B1**. Both of these structures were built in the first wave of new housing after the move of the village from the old site in the 1970s. While Household **B1** has remained in the same structure, Household **C1** moved to ~~the~~ the latest generation of housing several years ago. The senior female of Household **C1** retains ownership of the older house, although it is now occupied by non-relatives. In recent years it has, by design, been occupied on a short-term basis by a number of persons.

Other Household Networks in Point Hope

There are several other significant family networks in Point Hope. Based on the latest census information available, with the general impressions gleaned from the census verified by field observation in the village, most range in the area of from four to six households each, with an average household size of from five to six. Such networks account for at least 50% of the Point Hope population. This is consistent with typical informant accounts as well, which stress that an individual without kinsman is rather socially isolated. At the same time, it is recognized that the average household size is decreasing (perhaps partially due to a lower birth rate and the increasing prevalence of the two generation household) and that all individuals no longer have the community-wide net of kin relationships that was said to be typical in the past.

Kinship Networks in Point Lay and Point Hope

Kinship networks are very dense in both Point Lay and Point Hope. Within each of the villages, there are several clusters of households which are more closely related to each other than to households outside of that cluster. This is more pronounced in Point Hope than in Point Lay. This would appear to be the case because the larger size of Point Hope makes such social differentiation more obvious and, second, while the potential for such differentiation may exist in Point Lay, it is not made manifest due to the statistical perturbations of possible relationships in such a small community -- perturbations that may well mask whatever differentiation may exist by means of multiple and complex relationships. In Point Lay, that everyone is tied into a comparatively small network in a number of ways is relatively obvious. While it is recognized in both villages that these clusters of related households exist, in Point Hope it is expressed as the formal kinship ideology whereas in Point Lay the expressed ideology is exactly the opposite. That is, in Point Hope political and other community issues will often be expressed in terms of named kinship groups as opposed to issue-oriented interest groups. To an outside observer, such characterizations sometimes seem to reflect reality and other times not, but the "objective analysis" does not affect the fact that kinship groups are often used to define conflicting positions on community issues in Point Hope.

Ideology of Kinship

In Point Lay, as noted, the ideology is that "We are **all** one family." This is even extended to the NSB level, when **local** residents claim not to fully understand the NSB bureaucrats who refuse to see how the Fire Department and the Search and Rescue organization cannot be kept separate on the village level. The issue in this case is money and who has to keep track of it, of course, and this is fully understood at both the NSB and Point Lay levels. It is, however, in the ideological interest of Point Lay to stress the cooperative family ideology over that of the divisive competitor model. On a local behavioral level, people explicitly said that Search and Rescue (and by extension the Fire Department) were also expressions of this "We are all one family" ideology. It is said that no matter who is lost, the entire resources of the village (and potentially of the North Slope Borough) are mustered to search for that person. This was expressed in personal terms for the most part. That is, an **Inupiat** would say that even if the **non-Inupiat** he disliked the most were lost, he would go out and take part in the search. This does indeed seem to be the case, and is clearly mutually beneficial. In a community as small as Point Lay it is necessary for as many qualified people as possible to contribute in such emergency

situations. Just as obviously, the ideology is not upheld in the strict behavioral sense, as not everyone does participate. This is not seen as negating the force of the “We are all family” sentiment so much as it demonstrates that some people are better family members than are others.

The annual **beluga** hunt is another example commonly cited of this attitude. The window of opportunity is quite small, perhaps a week in length, when the **beluga** pods are swimming past Point Lay. Boat ownership is now quite widespread in Point Lay so the question becomes one of mobilizing the available manpower. Ideally, all men in the village (except for those needed for essential services such as Utilities) take part in the hunt and all women assist in the butchering of the animals. The **beluga** hunt is heavy laden with an ethos of community-wide participation and of equally community-wide sharing and distribution. Behaviorally, this of course is subject to the practical constraints of daily life.

Public feasts are another example of this ideology in action in Point Lay. Public feasts are explicitly community oriented. Although most people attend (or fail to do so) as members of family units, and tend to sit together, these events are organized as community affairs. There are no **Qalgi** or other official structural organizations. Nearly all occasions for community feasts (Christmas, Easter, Thanksgiving) are also times for school programs. There is often a community lunch, to which everyone is invited, the last day of school before these major holidays. Often there is a “declamation” or school program put on by the students as well. This is in addition to the community feast in the community building.

Residents of Point Lay do not oversentimentalize the “We are **all** one family” ideology. In some respects it is merely a pragmatic accommodation to what would otherwise be a very fragmented community. In other words, the fiction of the ideology is ignored (but acknowledged) because of its utility in creating a community. As one informant remarked, anyone can live in Point Lay. She had noted that the Elders currently living in Point Hope had actually lived in quite different parts of the North Slope. She was born in **Kiana**, lived some in Point Hope, but for the most part lived in and around the Point Hope area. Her husband grew up with his grandparents, in and around Wainwright and Point Hope. Another Elder is mostly from Point Hope. Yet another has Wainwright as his community of orientation, but spent much of his time out on the land and is said to know it extremely well. He has also spent considerable time in Barrow as an adult. The last Elder grew up with her family traveling the area to the east of Barrow, and so is familiar with the **Colville** River and Beaufort Sea coast. When talking about younger residents, she pointed out the large number of **Inupiat** from **Kotzebue, Kivalina**, and other places south of Point **Hope**. She also noted the (relatively) large resident **non-Inupiat** population in Point Lay. Her explanation was that Point Lay people were easy to get along with and accepting, and that they did indeed want to be “all one family.” To her, acceptance into the community and sharing were the hallmarks of this attitude. Kinship is the operative idiom and if it can be demonstrated certainly strengthens community action. In its absence the ideology is often enough.

One may well argue that the deference of the **Cully** Corporation to the Point Lay IRA Council is an extension of this ideology. In theory at least, the **Cully** Corporation should act to maximize the interests of its shareholders. However, shareholders view the village of Point Lay (and the IRA Council) rather than the **Cully** Corporation as their social reference or identity group, and therefore corporate economic interests are not a central concern.

The “We are all one family” sentiment also extends well beyond Point Lay, although few people take it as a serious behavioral prescription at that level. It is recognized as a political and ideological stance. Posters of political candidates in whaling situations are clearly meant to stress this **pan-Inupiat** sentiment. More recent posters have been more playful with this idea, picturing (or suggesting) the more mundane day-to-day activities that go on at whale camp rather than the (relatively few) moments of extreme drama and exhilaration. The first people that the NSB mayor or other political functionaries go to talk to, at least in Point Lay, are those Elders with whom they can trace a blood or close marriage link to. They will then visit the local political functionaries and other Elders, other kinsmen, and lastly, people at large. These actions on the borough level, however, paradoxically highlight the extent to which people are not all one family. Ultimately, the same distinctions are recognized in Point Lay as well. It is the village opposition to the NSB that assists in papering over these village divisions and presenting a united front.

Point Hope is an arena with more resources than Point Lay, on an absolute **basis**. However, there are many more people among whom to divide those resources than in Point Lay. This likely explains the much more public competition for public office and other rewards in Point Hope than in Point Lay. In Point Lay the perception has been that there are ample economic opportunities for all, and to a remarkable degree that has indeed been the case. In Point Hope, however, there are many fewer jobs per capita and even marginal opportunities are competed for. This competition is often expressed in terms of named kin groups because when a household needs assistance, it is to those it is most closely related that it most commonly turns and can expect help from. The three Point Hope household networks described above are examples of this.

Behavioral Kinship

Point Lay can not be considered a “typical” North Slope Borough community, but a full discussion is not possible because of the lack of comparative information. Thus, the treatment that follows can not be considered definitive, but is based upon our experience on the North Slope and the body of published literature which exists.

Certain aspects of kinship are **counterintuitive** in both Point Hope and Point Lay, but have different (and opposite) aspects in each of the two communities. In Point Hope, community tensions and conflicts are commonly described in terms of disputes between different groups whose membership is based upon kinship. Yet, everyday behavior is explicitly stated, and is observed, to involve the cooperation of **people** from the network of households which comprise each of these kinship defined groups. Sharing and cooperation within kin defined networks is the operative norm in Point Hope. In Point Lay, on the other hand, the community ideology is one of cooperation, “We are all family,” However, it is only on special occasions or in times of great need (holiday feasts, the **beluga** hunt, search and rescue) that the ideology is observed in behavior. While sharing does occur within other contexts, for the most part households in Point Lay are much more independent than they are in Point Hope. This may be difficult for certain students of **Inupiat** culture to believe, and for this reason is discussed at somewhat greater length in this section. We are **not** maintaining that households in Point Lay do not share with each other, nor do we suggest that Point Lay **Inupiat** hold a different **set** of values than Point Hope or other **Inupiat**. As far as we can determine, the fundamental value systems are the same. That is, all North Slope **Inupiat** are part of the same system but different conditions make the behavioral manifestations different. What will be examined here

is the nature of these different conditions. The main comparison will be between Point Lay and Point Hope, but information from **Nuiqsut**, Wainwright, and Barrow will also contribute to the discussion.

Table 24.5 summarizes some of the information which serves as the basis for our discussion. The main observation is that average **Inupiat** household size in Point Lay is smaller than in the other villages, and that the range of household sizes is more restricted. This is consistent with the field impression that households are smaller and more independent in Point Lay than in the other villages, and that household structure or composition is simpler. Point Lay households are overwhelmingly nuclear households in form. While nuclear households also predominate in the other villages, there are also a significant number of other, more complex, forms. Average size and composition characteristics need not constrain such behaviors or interests such as sharing patterns, but it is clear that they do so on the North Slope. Sharing is easier within a household than between households, and easier between households that contain one or more related people than between households not so connected. Thus, other things being equal, one would expect that smaller, nuclear households would exhibit less sharing than larger, more complex, households. For one thing, they would have fewer relationships with other households because of the limited number of people within the household, and most of these relationships will be of a single nature,

It is possible, of course, for apparently independent households to cooperate together and thus form mutual assistance networks which it is possible to identify. Some of these can almost assume a formal structure, while others are clearly ephemeral in nature. It is in the nature of these networks that Point Lay and Point Hope (and by extension, Point Lay and the rest of the NSB communities) seem to differ the most. These cooperative networks are one of the most obvious features of Point Hope kinship and household structure. In Point Lay, on the other hand, each household acts as an independent entity and such sharing as takes place does so on an ad hoc basis. This does not mean that sharing does not take place in Point Lay, nor does it mean that the relative amount of sharing in Point Lay is less than it is in Point Hope (although this is probably the case). Rather, the patterns of sharing in Point Lay are much less regularised in both temporal and relational terms.

While there are households in Point Lay which cooperate more with each other than with others (mostly children and grandchildren assisting parents who are Elders), they do not cooperate on such a regular basis as to really form a distinct network. This is perhaps best exemplified by the households of Elders in Point Lay. In a very real sense all households in Point Lay are "all one family" in a way that households in Point Hope are not. Elders in Point Lay are few in number and are considered a community resource and responsibility. Individuals differ in the extent to which they are related to the Elders, but all community members recognize a duty to help the Elders. As may be expected, "blood" relatives help Elders more often than other people do. However, this aid can never be anticipated at any particular time and is never vital to the functioning of the Elder's household. The only aspect of this relationship different from that of the Elder and an unrelated villager is that it is more regular in terms of frequency. Vital aid, such as emergency medical assistance, food, or other aid would be available from any villager, but the preference would be to first request such aid from a kinsman. Elders receive harvested subsistence resources from all active hunters. The timing and amount depends upon the time of harvest, the perceived need of the Elder and others in the village, and somewhat on the relationship between the Elder and the hunter. Again, the Elder's children and

VILLAGE COMPARISON OF **INUPIAT** HOUSEHOLD SIZE FOR 1988

Inupiat Population	Point Lay 132*	Point Hope 513*	Barrow 1936 *	Nuiqsut 294*	Wainwright 459*
Household Size					
1	6	15	66	12	19
2	6	20	80	5	20
3	2	12	91	12	17
4	7	21	95	16	22
5	12	20	83	9	20
6	2	15	55	8	6
7	2	8	35	3	6
8		8	7	3	6
9		5	6	3	1
10		2	2		1
11			2	1	1
12			1		1
Total Inupiat HHs	37	126	523	72	120
Ave. Inupiat HH Size	3.7	4.4	3.9	4.1	3.9

* (Total **Inupiat** Households) x (Average **Inupiat** Household Size) > **Inupiat** Population; because households with **Inupiat** married to non. **Inupiat** spouses were counted as **Inupiat** households.

Source: 1988 NSB Census of Population and Economy, 1989

other relations are expected to provide more, on a steadier basis, than are others in the village. In Point Lay, however, this assistance does not occur on a regular or frequent enough basis to be relied upon.

There are apparently several factors to explain this presence of sharing and at the same time the lack of structured household networks as in Point Hope. One is that all households in Point Lay have at least one person with a steady income, either as a wage earner or a pensioner. Many households have more than one. This is certainly not the case in Point Hope. The level of subsistence activity in general is lower in Point Lay than in Point Hope, for a number of reasons (more wage labor, sparser resources further from the village, perhaps a lesser familiarity with the immediate area based on the “newness” of the village). The active hunters in Point Lay tend to share with all households. Less active hunters also share with **all** households, especially when a special resource such as polar bear is harvested, but tend to give larger shares to kinsmen. It was difficult to assess the difference in behavior between active and less active hunters because of the difference in the amount of resources to be distributed. In any event, even the contribution of active subsistence hunters to other households in Point Lay was, in terms of the household diet, relatively small.

Those households in Point Lay which ate mostly subsistence food were those households which harvested a significant amount of subsistence food. The Elders who eat primarily subsistence food are still active hunters. Other Elders may still prefer to eat subsistence food but have an actual diet that contains more store food (including reindeer meat from **Kotzebue**). These Elders are economically **self-sufficient** so that they can afford to purchase the store food to supplement the subsistence resources that they are given. Some household networks in Point Hope were observed to contain units that specialized in subsistence activities while relying on other units of the network for equipment and other support. Such support, and household networks based on it, are lacking in Point Lay.

In the more general case, the same observations hold. In Point Lay, only households with active subsistence hunters ate a substantial amount of subsistence good. Most hunters would harvest only enough for their own household and a small distribution to other households. Only two or three hunters can be relied upon to harvest a substantial surplus. The most reliable of these is a single man with no other household members to support. This is significantly different from Point Hope, where what is harvested by an individual in one household may in fact be shared with several households, or may be processed and cooked in a different household but shared by all household network members who want to go eat. In Wainwright, it is reported that whaling captains support the subsistence activities of their crew members and in return are given everything that is harvested. This is kept in the captain’s ice cellar, but each crew member is entitled to take what his immediate household needs (Loring, personal communication). The Point Hope pattern is not as formalized as that, but is of the same nature. Similar arrangements are said to exist in Barrow, but are not as common as in Wainwright (Holmes, personal communication). Variation is greater, as might be expected in a larger and more heterogeneous community subject to more “outside” influences.

The information from **Nuiqsut** is not quite as good as one may expect, as the **Nuiqsut Case Study** did not really focus on this issue. Subsequent research by MMS has not **allotted** time for the investigation of this topic, and Alaska Fish & Game research has focused on other issues. Given these qualifications about the data, **Nuiqsut** would appear to be intermediate between Point Lay on the one hand and Point Hope and

Wainwright on the other. It is also interesting that in terms of employment **Nuiqsut** also appears to occupy an intermediate position and that subsistence resources are perhaps somewhat richer than around Point Lay (caribou probably more reliable, better fishing, poorer marine **mammals** in general except for bowhead whale, but Point Lay people can go to other villages to participate in that harvest). **Nuiqsut** is also larger than Point Lay, but smaller **than Wainwright** and Point Hope. Kinship is used as an idiom to express village conflicts, as in the larger communities and in direct contrast to Point Lay.

One may then ask what this portends for Point Lay and the other communities. This is a difficult question, as it is doubtful that we fully understand the dynamics involved. Clearly Point Lay is different from the other communities in several ways. It is smaller, has an explicit ideology of community unity and an absence of community conflict expressed in terms of local kinship groupings, has an extremely high employment rate, and a large number of residents who feel they do not have enough time for subsistence pursuits. Almost **all** Point Lay households have relatives in other villages which serve as a kinship reference group, although their community identity is Point Lay. There are relatively few Elders, or even fairly old people, in Point Lay. Many of these conditions can be expected to be temporary, or at least subject to change. Informants say that there used to be more old people in Point Lay. When there were fewer jobs and wage activity was less intense informants report more subsistence activity. In fact, when people first came back to Point Lay there were few wage jobs and it is reported that the money earned by those few people was shared by all. Now, money is not shared at **all** (in some households with more than one wage earner each has total control over the use of that money) and greed, said to be related to money, is the local explanation for why sharing is not as widespread as it used to be.

Point Lay can thus serve as an example of what some of the forces acting upon kinship and sharing are, but provides no simple prediction of a cause and effect nature. Increased employment, if it reduces subsistence activities, would seem to decrease sharing and increase household independence. However, Point Lay is a demographically unique community. There are few elderly people and the total population is quite small. Furthermore, household units are small, at least partially due to the sufficient housing supply. One would expect that if employment in Point Lay were to decrease that subsistence activities would increase, as would the distribution (sharing) of the harvest. Should employment in other villages increase, one would expect from the Point Lay data that subsistence activities would become more limited and sharing more confined. However, these relationships can not be expected to be simply linear in nature and there is no information at present about threshold effects or the tradeoffs that people **would** be willing to make.

Kinship Links Between Point Lay and Point Hope

Using NSB census materials from 1985, the most current census available that lists names and household groupings, relations between Point Lay and Point Hope were analyzed. Minor ties were not taken into account, as it would involve too much detail. Only "blood" relations between the two villages were noted, as including marriage relations within Point Lay would give results of nearly 100% interrelation. This "total interrelation" is problematic because it allows for little or no discrimination. Close to the same statement can be made about many of the villages on-the North Slope, particularly given the complexity of multiple marriages over the course of individuals' lifetimes, the number of adoptions that occur, and the use of fictive kinship.

The information presented in the censuses indicate that of 112 **Inupiat** in Point Lay at the time of the census, 46 have direct links with residents of Point Hope and an additional 20 are related to a Point Lay Elder whose parents were from Point Hope. The first group contains individuals from 18 Point Lay households and the second from an additional 3, for a total of 21 of the 32 **Inupiat** households present at that time.

Wainwright is even more densely linked to Point Lay, with 62 established ties representing 19 of the 32 **Inupiat** households; at least 20 of the 112 **Inupiat**, representing 9 of the 32 **Inupiat** households, have direct linkages with the **Kotzebue** area. It is therefore clear that the households of Point Lay are closely related to those of both Point Hope and Wainwright. Another cluster of households, more closely related to **Kotzebue** families, also overlap these two other clusters (mainly due to recent marriages).

The Point Hope residents related to the 18 Point Lay households identified by the tracing of direct kin ties are not randomly distributed throughout the Point Hope kinship organization. Rather, these ties are quite concentrated. Of the 18, a single Point Hope family accounts for 8. The remaining 10 Point Lay households with kin links to Point Hope trace their ties to 7 Point Hope families. Of these 10, 3 are related to 1 Point Hope family (in a way not clearly understood), 2 to another single Point Hope family, and the remaining 5 to five different Point Hope families. Point Hope kinship features multiple and complex relationships among residents. This is the case, even if Point Lay families or households articulate with only a minimum number of points in the Point Hope network, and has the effect of bringing these families into the social organization of Point Hope in a number of ways. (The relationships between the residents of Point Lay and Point Hope could fruitfully be examined utilizing a formal network analysis; however, such an analysis is beyond the scope of this case study.)

In Point Lay distinctions are made between Point Lay residents who have ties to Wainwright and Point Lay residents who have ties to Point Hope. Those who have ties to Wainwright are associated with "old Point Lay." Persons with ties to Point Hope tend to be seen as "Point Hope people" by other Point Lay **Inupiat** residents. In general, they are not integrated into the community in the same way that persons with ties to Wainwright are, and are viewed to some extent as newcomers or outsiders. Simplistically stated, the Point Lay identity seems to be more associated with Wainwright than with Point Hope.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Modalities and territorial groupings are peripheral or non-existent, for the most part. The main thrust of change in social organization has been the formation of new (or formalization of existing) social organizations of a non-political nature. These include such entities as the Mothers' Club, Search and Rescue, religious groups, and so on.

Volunteerism and Formal Institutions in Point Lay

Very few voluntary organizations exist in Point Lay (Search and Rescue, the Fire Department, perhaps the Bingo Committee), probably due to its small population base. On the other hand, several organizations that in larger communities may be of a professional nature have a very strong component of volunteerism in Point Lay (the

Native IRA Council, the **Cully** Corporation Board of Directors, **the** School Advisory Council, and the Health Board). We will include these in the inventory of voluntary organizations listed below, but will discuss them only to characterize the voluntary aspects of what would otherwise be another sort of organization. A fuller discussion of each will then be found in the appropriate section. These “exceptions” may indeed serve as good examples of the basis of social organization in Point Lay, or at least of the ideology of such organization, and how it works out in practice.

In Point Lay, as in all the North Slope villages outside of Barrow, the Search and Rescue organization and the Fire Department are combined. Membership in one automatically entails membership in **the** other. This is a pragmatic result of **small** population size and limited physical (facility) resources. The Fire Hall is the only building large enough to store the Search and Rescue equipment and to serve as a base of operations in the event of a need for a search. This has resulted in some tensions in Barrow, but not in any of the outlying villages.’ The tensions in Barrow result from the formal separation of Search and Rescue from the Fire Department in terms of administration and organization. **As** each is funded at the the NSB level, the administrators in Barrow are quite protective of the resources allocated to them, especially at the village level where it is quite easy to mix them together. The Fire Department, having by far the larger allocation and responsibility for the physical plant used by both, is especially sensitive to potential “improper” use of its resources. Given the budgetary process, such conflict is inevitable. For the most part, however, it is confined to Barrow. People in Point Lay do not separate the Fire Department and Search and Rescue. When forced to account for resources allocated for one and used for the other, they do so to the extent possible, but are not overly concerned with doing this while in the process of responding to an emergency.

Emergency Services: Search and Rescue, and the Fire Department

Membership in the Fire Department and Search and Rescue is open to any adult of the community. In actuality, only adult men show up for meetings and seem to formally “belong”. Membership lists are not rigidly maintained in any event, and apparently are kept mainly as a requirement set by the NSB (perhaps for insurance and accountability reasons, as such lists also include names of officers). The only practical use these membership lists serve in Point Lay is to indicate who at least nominally is a member of the Fire Department and the extent to which he has been trained to operate the equipment. Equipment for Search and Rescue, on the other hand, is for the most part items used in everyday NSB life (and in many cases belongs to the searcher in any event) so it is assumed that any adult knows how to use it. Thus, participation in a Search and Rescue operation does not at all depend on formal membership in the organization.

It is difficult to discuss membership in the Fire Department or Search and Rescue, because in Point Lay anyone can attend meetings and during emergencies assistance is accepted from any volunteer. This is especially true for Search and Rescue. The Point Lay Fire Department is somewhat more formal in regard to membership, at least on paper, and issues a patch and badge to mark “official” membership, something Search and Rescue does not. This reflects at least in part the concern for accountability for department-owned and issued equipment.

However, it is also clear that not **all** those willing to become involved in a SAR operation want to be part of the Fire Department. Nearly all **Inupiat** adults accept an obligation to participate in at least a support capacity in SAR activities. The

Fire Department, however, receives much less support. There is no great community pressure for people to participate in the Fire Department, although it is clear that people know who does, and comments will sometimes be made about those who do not, usually in a context where someone wants to make a negative comment about someone else but does not want to address the real reason. Thus, in itself nonparticipation in the Fire Department is not a community offense.

Regular meetings are scheduled for every other Tuesday evening. These are billed as Fire Department meetings and are used to check out the equipment as well as for training. Actually, meetings can be much less frequent than this (only two fire meetings were held while a researcher was in Point Lay) and little training took place during the period of the fieldwork. Most meetings are confined to checking out the vehicles, driving them around the village, and cleaning the fire hall.

Search and Rescue meetings are held only when there is the need to organize and conduct a search. Everyone in the village is encouraged to help. Men are expected to serve as searchers, and women for the cooking, cleaning, and supply operations. This sexual division of labor was quite evident in the one search witnessed firsthand.

At the few Fire Department meetings held during the fieldwork period, there were never more than eight men in attendance (and usually not all at the same time). Those people active enough to try to attend Fire Department meetings tended to be of two sorts -- young males (16 -25 or so) and middle-aged men (40 - 55) who had reputations for community service. However, not all individuals who fit these two categories attended.

The most common activity of the Fire Department or SAR is not really a part of either organization, but seems to be behaviorally categorized as such by people in Point Lay. This is response to medical emergencies, in most cases involving the use of the ambulance and sometimes requiring that arrangements be made to medically evacuate ("Medivac") people. There are several possible reasons this type of activity is lumped in with the others. First, the ambulance is sometimes kept in the Fire Hall as space for it in the Health Clinic is not always available. Second, most of the people trained to drive the ambulance are Fire Department members. Third, people with first aid training tend to be Fire Department members or to be associated with SAR activities. The health aides are of course always present during these medical calls, but if the ambulance is required someone from the Fire Department is invariably involved. Often these people have been health aides in the past.

The Fire Department is perceived in Point Lay as a rather typical village organization. That is to say, it is generally inactive unless someone actively canvasses members to attend or because an emergency has arisen. Village informants report that the Fire Department seems to have a sort of life rhythm that corresponds with its activity level. Typically, attendance is high during the early tenure of a new leader but gradually falls off and the leader must assume more and more responsibility. Eventually the leader burns out. The more frequent calls are, the faster this occurs. The process is seen as inevitable in Point Lay because of the small number of people and the perception that collective group participation is not going to happen. To a certain degree, there is also a very limited pool of people with the qualifications to handle the responsibilities. This pattern was observed nearly full cycle during the field periods. When we first got to Point Lay the Fire Department was in an active phase with a newly installed (and young) Fire Chief. About one month later, a village resident got lost and a search was mounted. This lasted about five weeks and eventually involved the NSB as well as SAR organizations

from **Wainwright**, Barrow, and **Atqasuk**. By the time it was over nearly everyone in the village was burned out. In addition, Thanksgiving and Christmas disrupted any sort of “normal” schedule, so that few, if any, meetings were held **until** sometime in 1988. In addition, the Fire Chief moved to **Wainwright**. One man (**non-Inupiat**) did emerge and ensured that the **Fire** Hall was maintained in good condition, but by May and June 1988 he was about ready to quit (and in fact this had been predicted as the probable course of events by an informant in December 1987). The Fire Department did meet once in June 1988, but had not met recently before that.

Search and Rescue in Operation. 1987

Search and rescue is a “traditional” function of all **adult** males in a village. Ideally, all men would be willing to go out but behaviorally there was significant variation. After World War II and the establishment of the National Guard presence in Alaska, SAR functions seem to have been incorporated into **the** training and readiness aspects of the National Guard. There was, at any rate, an informal arrangement whereby the National Guard supported SAR operations. With the establishment of the NSB, a formal local agency was set up.

SAR now operates first as a village search, using the local village volunteer SAR. The NSB becomes involved when a village decides the task is beyond local resources. The NSB SAR provides air support, search coordination, and serves as a clearinghouse to have other villages volunteer SAR help. Many search expenses are paid by the NSB, once it is called in. Efforts are made to have the village SAR serve as the lead group, generally for two reasons: (1) local people know the area to be searched better than most outside volunteers, and (2) this insures that **local** people do not feel “taken over” by the NSB.

Approximately one month after fieldwork started in Point Lay, the most intensive local search ever conducted was begun and continued formally until Thanksgiving, and informally beyond that date. The circumstances were unfortunate and disrupted the normal course of village life as well as the research. Through his participation in the search, however, the researcher acquired a deeper understanding of Point Lay as a community than may have been possible otherwise. The dynamics of leadership, decision-making, relations of the village with various parts of the NSB hierarchy, and intracommunity relationships in general were clarified a great deal as **well**. Community (and individual) values, especially those demonstrating continuity with “traditional values of the past,” were given behavioral substance. The SAR operation will be described and then analyzed in these terms.

October 20, 1987 was the first day of the actual search. The individual who was the subject of the search was **missed** since the afternoon of October 18, but it was not until the 20th that worries became great enough to spark a search. This first effort was informal, in the sense that the village was not mobilized. It was only after the two search teams checking the most likely places for an overdue hunter/fisher came back with negative reports that a meeting was called at the fire hall to discuss the situation and to make plans for an organized search by the village SAR.

The missing individual had recently been at **fishcamp**, and there was a great deal of movement of people at this time. Most people who had been at **fishcamp** returned in the period of October 19-21. Only a few young, unmarried men at the most distant **fishcamp** were still out. The decision to return to the village was made in the absence of knowledge that a hunter was missing. The apparent coordination of what are reportedly individual decisions will be discussed elsewhere. What is most

pertinent here is that in the general movement of people it is not surprising that a single individual could be missing for a day before people would become concerned. It never became clear if the missing individual left the village on Sunday, October 18 or Monday, October 19. In any event, the missing person left the village by **snowmachine**. He did not take a sled, although his normal procedure was to take one for any trip of any length. It is thought that he took minimally protective clothing, as the day he set out on was very pleasant. It is assumed that he took his rifle and at least a few extra shells.

For part of the search there were volunteers from other villages (Wainwright, Barrow, **Atqasuk**), highlighting the kinship networks that link these villages. Although the cooperation was of course phrased in terms of the formal organization of Search and Rescue (central coordinating NSB unit with additional support from village units and the National Guard), clearly kinship and friendship ties influenced what help was offered from where, and which offers were accepted and which were not. The Point Hope SAR did not offer assistance until relatively late in the search, and did not send any men or supplies to Point Lay. The National Guardsmen who came to help were formally on a training exercise, but most had relations in the village. The earliest volunteers from **Wainwright** and Barrow were all close kinsman to Point Lay people and those who later came from **Atqasuk** were as well.

Point Lay Native IRA Council

The Point Lay IRA is a formal governing entity staffed by volunteers, consisting of seven members, all of whom must be **Inupiat**. There is no requirement that members be shareholders in the village corporation. The voluntary nature of the council stems from the fact that its members are not compensated for their time. If travel is required for their duties, they receive a per diem, but this is often in connection with NSB or larger business, which then picks up this expense. Generally, serving on the council is not seen as a major inconvenience (although obtaining a quorum can sometimes be next to impossible) except for the position of mayor. As in most organizations in Point Lay, the nominal head is expected to provide a great deal of the motive energy for the organization. On the other hand, the nominal leader cannot make decisions or take action on his own. Thus, the general mechanism for anything to get done is for the mayor to consult with fellow council members, either informally or by ensuring that they attend a meeting so that a consensus can be reached. Only in a rare case will a vote be taken when consensus has not been reached. There is a relatively small group of **people** who are seen as the appropriate members of the council, and local elections are not a source of tension in the community. Mayors tend to serve for only one year at a time, although they tend to remain on the council and serve as mayor every second or third year. This pattern is again attributed by village informants as the result of "burnout" caused by the many responsibilities placed upon the mayor.

Governance and Community Attitudes

On the North Slope, Native corporations are intertwined with local governments in complex ways. Originally the NSB was formed to serve as a means to transfer economic resources from the oil companies (corporate structure) to Native **Inupiat** (the constituency) of the NSB. To accomplish this economic function required a political organization, and the precedent had already been set by ANCSA itself, a political act allocating economic resources (at least as seen from a **non-Inupiat** perspective). In this context, it is small wonder that the Native corporations have come to acquire

quasi-governmental status, as mentioned elsewhere. They are also in the business of allocating economic resources. The residential fuel oil subsidy is funneled from the NSB through the village corporations to the residents. The amount of the subsidy to pass on is left to each village corporation to decide, and different village corporations pass on (or retain) different amounts. In most villages, even though the village corporation is legally defined as a profit-making corporation responsible to its shareholders (both resident and nonresident), in actuality the village corporation acts for the benefit of village residents, shareholder and nonshareholder alike.

No community on the North Slope can ever be separated, either in actuality or for the purposes of analysis, from the influence of Barrow and the NSB government, as Barrow **is** the source of nearly all public services. Local government deals mainly with **non-**monetary community issues. One may argue whether this centralization is due more to the **NSB's** role as a money source paving for all of these services or more as the only real source of trained leadership (whether Native or imported) to administer them. Certainly this is a key question concerning the context of governance in Point Lay.

"Leadership" is sometimes difficult to define in Point Lay. There are perhaps two key positions that all residents would agree require people with leadership abilities. The position of mayor, or IRA president; tends to be filled for a year by one of three people, who alternately serve. Only one of these people, who has also been **Cully** Corporation president for most of its existence, lived in Barrow for a significant period of time. The other significant position is the president of **Cully** Corporation. The other IRA Council members and **Cully** Corporation board members, while important in the process of decision-making, for the most part follow the lead of the president. Their main role seems to be to serve as a brake, ratifying the consensus position as it is presented by the president or expressing reservations with it, but not usually presenting alternative developed positions. The village coordinator could be considered a leadership position of sorts. In Point Lay it is occupied by non-Barrow trained personnel, for the most part. Most of the store managers have spent time in Barrow or Anchorage, but again are not really **Barrow-**trained. The head of the fire department and of the School Advisory Council is the **non-Inupiat** head of Public Works in Point Lay. Essentially all his time on the North Slope has been in Point Lay, however, even though much of his training has been NSB oriented. Thus, surprisingly few of those in leadership positions in Point Lay were raised in Barrow or have NSB experience.

Many, however, gained leadership expertise in NSB positions of one sort or another. The mayor acts as a liaison with the NSB and serves on many of the NSB ad hoc committees (on subsistence issues, planning, and so on) or designates a fellow Point resident to do so. The fire department and search and rescue are both funded by the NSB. The SAC and the health board operate in NSB governed areas.

In other villages, the connection between Barrow experience and local leadership is more obvious. In **Nuiqsut**, for example, several mayors and a good number of corporation officials had held responsible management positions in Barrow and been involved in the Land Claims Act. Point Hope leaders were similarly involved in the Land Claims movement. Still, the context of local leadership for all the villages is NSB defined for the most part, no matter what the previous experience of those in leadership positions.

When dealing with state and federal agencies, the centralized power structure of the North Slope has proven to be a better bargaining agent than the (decentralized) separate villages. Not only has the NSB been able to provide services which the

federal and state governments had previously either been unable or unwilling to, the NSB has also been able to bargain effectively to protect perceived **Inupiat** and village interests. One suspects that individual villages would have had little influence on the official federal position on subsistence whereas the AEWG, with NSB support, has had a large effect. Thus, the importance of the political form and structure of the NSB within the context of ANCSA and the absolute necessity for structural forms to deal with, and often attempt to fend off, organized and sometimes single-purposed outside agencies while simultaneously attempting to implement the goals and desires of the **Inupiat** (as a group, but perhaps more importantly as communities) cannot be overemphasized. This is the actual political context of Point Lay and is fairly well-documented from an institutional point of view (Chance 1964, Harrison 1972, Gallagher 1974, Arnold 1976, Morehead and **Leask** 1978, **McBeath** 1981, Cornwall and **McBeath** 1982, **McBeath** 1982, Olson 1982, among others).

With the decline in NSB revenues, this context is of course in the process of revision (Knapp et al. 1986 provides a wealth of regional economic information in this regard). Capital Improvement Program employment has decreased greatly and it could be argued that employment is as important a CIP product as the facilities that are built. Even more ominous are the potential problems of the high cost of maintaining the facilities. There are few or no local community monetary sources, and the end or serious curtailment of CIP employment will make direct subsidies from the NSB necessary.

Beyond the maintenance of the facilities, there are divergent opinions as to the appropriate use of NSB subsidized resources, such as the hours of operation, use of the facilities for "personal" business, and the like. One example in Point Hope is the function of the school as a community service facility. It costs a lot of money to keep the school open after hours for the public to use -- this is not seen, by the administration at least, as a cost that the school budget can accept. Where is the money to come from? There are people to pay to supervise the recreation, for example, as well as increased maintenance and energy costs. Members of the community, on the other hand, do not always appreciate the distinctions between the various segments of the Borough -- often these are seen as facilities in the community that are not being put to the uses that those in the community would desire. To a large extent, the Borough is seen as a source of dollars for local use, not as an extension of the local population and as representing the legitimate desires of a larger constituency, of which Point Hope is a part. Often the attitude in Point Hope seems to be that the NSB exists as a benefit for the community, and the performance of the NSB is judged by how well Point Hope fares relative to the other North Slope villages. The attitudes expressed in one public meeting indicated that if the other villages don't do well in absolute terms, it is acceptable for Point Hope not to do well either. On the other hand, if Barrow appears to get a disproportionate share of budgetary resources, there is a good deal of dissension. It is not clear that the people of Point Hope think that the idea of having a structure like the NSB would be a good idea if there were not the direct revenues that result from it.

As alluded to elsewhere, there is currently a redistribution of political power taking place within Point Hope with the reactivation of the Point Hope IRA. The city government is closely associated with the NSB; it is easier for Point Hope to retain a measure of independence from the borough through the IRA. For example, it is much easier for the IRA to just say no to research or other programs that are loosely affiliated with the borough than it is with the city government -- there is much less of a political price to pay directly or indirectly. Additionally, the IRA represents both a move in the sovereignty direction and a different level of interaction with

both the state and the federal government. The IRA is able to assert broader control over a larger land base and to politically encompass more of the **local** corporation lands. The IRA is also explicitly founded on the notion of commonly held resources -- the land -- and provides a more appropriate forum for the manifestation of the expressed ideals of egalitarian distribution of, and access to, resources.

Within the present atmosphere of change, the NSB itself has changed its emphasis from protection of subsistence resources, combined with the development of job opportunities, to one where the jobs are apparently given primary importance (**World and Smythe 1986:386**). The evidence cited in support of this statement is that the NSB no longer litigates to protect nearshore subsistence resources (which had not been successful in any case) and recently dismantled the NSB Environmental Protection Office. Certainly the felt need for a subsistence-jobs tradeoff is not an unexpected development (Hoffman 1983; **Galginaitis** et al. 1984:164-174, 385-388; **Galginaitis** and Petterson 1985:84-87).

Jobs, obviously, are not seen as being a trade-off with most kinds of subsistence in Point Hope. For some, subsistence is what one does if one does not have a job (money for subsistence pursuits then must come from others, typically from others in the family who share in the subsistence goods); for others it seems as though jobs are a necessary prerequisite to success in subsistence (the discussion of household networks, beginning on page 151, addresses subsistence in the context of household networks). In Point Hope, a whaling captain requires a considerable source of accessible family income in order to support a crew. It is beneficial, in a whaling crew at least, to have a balance of employed and unemployed people in the task group and to have one or more members of the crew who are not employed during the time of the preparation for the whaling. Once the crews move onto the ice, there is the problem of some individuals having to return to the village for jobs during the whaling season.

Analysis of behavioral settings (Barker and **Schoggen** 1973) suggest that the smaller a community, the more pressure there is on each individual in terms of the daily things that need to be done. All communities, no matter how small, have certain jobs or tasks that need to be done if the community is to function. As a community grows larger, the number of these tasks increases, but at a rate less than that of the increase in size (according to Barker and **Schoggen**). Thus, the smaller a community, the more of these necessary tasks are roles there are in proportion to the people available to fill them. When the demands of several layers of outside government as well as those of private industry are added to those of day-to-day life, it is a small wonder that residents of Point Lay feel harried at times. Because of its size, Point Lay has manpower problems in its relations with larger political entities, and it is only in alliance (or **patron-clientage**) with the NSB that Point Lay can continue to exist as a viable community.

There are manpower problems with villages even the size of Point Hope. There are simply too many potentially important institutions and, at a minimum, there are problems getting people to serve for a number of reasons: demands on the energy of individuals; getting individuals to commit to a particular institution; demands on an individual's time; the finite number of individuals who are willing and able to be "leaders" in the villages (that is, those who will accept leadership positions and who others will accept as leaders); the finite number of individuals who will accept the responsibility of the position and the conflicts that inevitably result from filling any of the leadership positions; and the phenomena of "burnout." (The latter occurs among non-Natives as well as Natives in Point Lay.)

The number and types of institutions vary from village to village, but some of the institutions that need to be staffed are as **follows**:

- City Council and office of Mayor
- IRA or Traditional Council
- Clinic/Health Board
- School Advisory Council
- Corporation Board of Directors
- Corporation Appointed Officers
- Corporation Businesses (e.g. store, fuel, camp)
- NSB Village Coordinator
- Whaling Captain's Association
- Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission
- Church Board
- Fire Department/Emergency Medical Services
- Search and Rescue
- Fish and Game Representative
- Planning/Land Office
- Arctic Slope Regional Corporation liaison
- NSB Higher Education Board
- Post Office
- Various NSB Committees (e.g., Planning Commission, Commission on Language, History and Culture)
- Mother's Club (or equivalent)
- Bingo Committee
- Bingo Sponsoring Organizations
- Inupiat** Community of the Arctic Slope representative
- North Slope Borough Assembly
- Formative Commissions (e.g. **Beluga** Commission, Migratory Bird Commission, International Caribou Commission)
- Recreation Committee

Beyond staffing problems due to numbers of institutions in relation to numbers of residents, often all is not smooth sailing once the positions are staffed. Kinship is articulated as the cause of some political disputes observed. After one particularly heated exchange in a public forum in Point Hope, a leader of one of the factions involved explained that it was just the "Smiths" who were making trouble, and by assigning a kin-based cause, effectively avoided consideration of the merits of their arguments. In several other instances, labeling the opposition as being only kinship based was a convenient, if specious, argument. Large families are also seen as extremely helpful in building a political base in the community -- one individual attributed his lack of success in the political arena to being "just a guy with a small family."

The issue of local control is probably the central question with political significance on the North Slope. The small communities are dependent on the NSB, yet wish to retain local control. The NSB espouses **Inupiat** local control, yet must exert regional authority and in some instances seems to "favor" industry or other interests over those of local communities and perhaps **Inupiat** at large (**Worl and Smythe 1986:386**). ASRC and ICAS present other views of **Inupiat** self-control. The former was established by ANCSA, whereas the latter is a more indigenous organization, although it, too, derives legitimacy from federal legislation. The oil companies, the state, and the federal government have direct stakes in the control (and

taxation) of oil development as well, and influence, in both direct and indirect ways, the differential degree of control exerted by regional and local entities.

It is apparent that the perception of closeness of the goals of Barrow and the NSB to those of the local village varies from village to village. The NSB can be considered local or non-local depending upon the context. The NSB is often seen as intrusive in the areas of **enculturation**, through the determination of the school curriculum, and social control, through law enforcement. One of the governmental distinctions between Point Lay and Point Hope is that the latter was incorporated as a city in 1966, **well** before the formation of the borough. Point Hope ceded **local** powers formerly residing with the city government to the borough. Contemporary Point Lay, on the other hand, was founded within the context of the borough, and expectations were formulated within a borough context. Point Lay is still not incorporated as a city and as a result of this **legal** status should have a different relationship with the borough, particularly for the provision of goods and services. The empirical situation, however, is that the borough treats Point Lay as if it were an incorporated city in virtually every way.

Cully Corporation History and Structure

The **Cully** Corporation, a for-profit entity, is directed mostly by volunteers. The incorporation papers for the **Cully** Corporation were signed in **Wainwright**, Alaska on May 7, 1973. The papers were signed in **Wainwright** ostensibly because that was the closest place to Point Lay with a notary public who could witness the signatures. **Wainwright** was also the logistical base, and previous residence, for many of the people who moved back to Point Lay. Two **of** the three formal incorporators **still** reside in Point Lay. The third has evidently relocated to Barrow. Of the seven members of the first board of directors, four reside in Point **Lay**. **At** least one of the other three has since passed away, One is in Barrow. There were 120 original enrollees, as 12,000 shares of stock were issued. All of the original members of the **Cully** Corporation board of directors gave their addresses as Point Lay, Alaska. How closely this reflects reality is not known, but it is likely that most if not all did indeed live in Point Lay at that time. There is no residence requirement to serve as a corporation officer. All do have to be shareholders, of course.

The **Cully** Corporation has had difficulties in attracting and training personnel. The current board of directors is composed of six people (the usual number is seven), three of whom have served since 1973. A fourth is essentially of the same generation, was quite active in the land claims movement, is a former president of **the** ASRC, and lives in Barrow. The two others are in their 30s. Members are not paid, except for the president. In addition, one of the officers works in the, corporation office as a secretary/general office person. Board members are elected/chosen at an annual shareholders meeting, but this meeting is not always a formal affair. The continuity of leadership of the corporation could be a sign of good management, clear direction, and shareholder satisfaction; it more likely represents a very limited talent pool from which to draw and a lack of interest to assume the responsibilities of running a corporation. Most shareholders are rather disinterested in the day-to-day operations of the corporation and leave it to the president (and the board).

The deferral of the board on as many matters as possible to the Point Lay IRA Council is symptomatic of this. The reliance of the **Cully** Corporation on one individual to keep its books straight and to handle all business matters is another. The board votes on all corporation matters, but pretty much allows the president to make day-

to-day decisions on his own. These day-to-day decisions mostly deal with paying bills of the two enterprises which the **Cully** Corporation is involved in, the **Cully** Camp (for construction workers and visitors to the village) and the fuel business.

In the past, the **Cully** Corporation did attempt to enter the construction business. This did not meet with much success, except reportedly for a brief time when a non-Native was hired as the office manager. The corporation is said to have been responsible for the store at the **Kokolik** River site. As discussed above, that met with less than fiscal success. At present the store in Point Lay is called a Native store and run by the IRA. Most of the past construction projects in Point Lay were managed by corporations from outside of Point Lay -- **UIC** from Barrow, **Tigara** from Point Hope, and the ASRC. The ASRC did work with the village on the first housing projects. Currently, all work projects in Point Lay are either run by the NSB or are joint ventures of the **Kuukpik** Corporation (of **Nuiqsut**) and a private contracting firm.

The history of the **Cully** Corporation in regard to the store in Point Lay has been briefly described above. Similar events in other North Slope villages have led the NSB to initiate a heating oil subsidy program for all of the villages. Another motivating factor for the program is the perception that Barrow benefits from cheap heating costs due to the availability of natural gas and that this economic break should be shared with the outer villages. In any event, the NSB buys diesel in bulk, pays for its transportation to each of the villages, and gives it to the respective village corporations. The only restrictions that the NSB puts on this diesel is that it be distributed to residential customers and that the diesel used for NSB facilities in the villages is stored in village tanks and delivered at no charge. The village corporations cannot sell this diesel but can charge for delivering it. This is one of the **Cully** Corporation's main sources of revenue, not a unique situation on the North Slope but perhaps clearer in Point Lay than in other villages. **Cully** Corporation has not always been clear on the nature of this contract. They have sold some of this diesel (and actually some belonging to the NSB stored in village tanks) to outside contractors and then had to ask the NSB to bring in more, among other problems. The corporation is often slow in delivery of diesel to NSB facilities, and has dragged its feet on assisting the NSB Public Works Department in repairing the diesel delivery truck. Diesel is still delivered in 55 gallon drums in Point Lay, pumped for the most part by hand.

School Advisory Council

The School Advisory Council is elected by village residents, and then elects its own officers. The members are unpaid but receive per diem if and when they must travel to Barrow or elsewhere for meetings. For the most part their business is handled by conference phone calls or trips of NSB school administrators to Point Lay. Again, elections are not a matter of tension in the community, there generally being only enough people expressing interest in the positions as there are positions available. Those who are elected and then do not attend meetings are replaced. Elections are generally held at the same time as the IRA Council elections and the health board elections at a general meeting of all village residents.

Health Board

The health board is in theory also elected. The precise functions of the health board are unclear, as it was inactive during the period of the fieldwork. The board

does oversee the health clinic and the work of the health aides. A board was elected in January, but it did not meet. A list was put up asking interested people to sign up for the board sometime after this. Finally a notice was posted that everyone who had signed up was on the board (as only a limited number of people had done so). Thus, an election was avoided altogether. Members are not paid, although if there is some need for them to travel on health board business, they will receive a per **diem**.

Voluntary Organizations in Point Hope

Point Hope Fire Department

The Point Hope Fire Department is scheduled to meet monthly in the Point Hope Fire Station, although it is possible for more time to pass between meetings if a significant number of personnel are out of the village (hunting, out on the ice whaling, or similarly engaged). Fire Department meetings are normally held in conjunction with Tikigaq Search and Rescue meetings, except during actual emergency operations. According to the chief, attendance of around ten at any one department meeting is typical, and this roughly corresponded with field observations. Formal membership requires a minimum level of training, varied during field research: in September 1987 a total of thirty-three members were listed on the roster; in November 1987 there were thirty-six qualified members on the roster. For the three meetings attended during field research periods, all attendees were Inupiat, and with one exception at one meeting, all were male. At the meetings attended, one member in his early 20s was present, with the rest of the attendees being in the approximately 30 to 50-year-old age range.

According to those present at one of the meetings, most Search and Rescue efforts involve people who become lost in the area between **the** hills to the east and the lagoon adjacent to Point Hope, in the broad, relatively flat, open areas of tundra. In that area, if the weather obscures the hills as reference points, which it often does, the tundra looks the same in all directions, making disorientation easy. Those people who need to be rescued in the hills most often have run out of gas, or their machines have broken down, but typically when people are in need of rescue on the coastal plain they are disoriented, but still have gas and food.

In response to the problem of disorientation, Search and Rescue has put up trail markers to the two most popular river spots used for fishcamps. The markers are placed approximately seventy-five steps apart, so they may be followed in relatively bad weather conditions. There are also two emergency shelter domes along the way and there is scheduled to be a third placed in the near future. One man present at the meeting who has built a private cabin offered to let people use it as a shelter as long as they do not abuse it.

The Tikigaq Search and Rescue squad may be called upon to work anywhere in the North Slope Borough when there is an emergency. In the winter of 1986-87, for example, they were called upon to help in a search for a lost Barrow resident. His body was found after a search that lasted approximately four weeks. It is also not uncommon for Point Hope to work with the NANA Search and Rescue. In the winter of 1986-87 there was a search in which **Kivalina** SAR searched the south side of the mountains between the two villages, while Point Hope searched the north. Weather prevented crossing the mountains from either side, so the teams depended on each other to perform a portion of the search.

While the Point Hope Fire Department is formally an organization administered by the North Slope Borough Fire Department, in actuality it functions on a day-to-day basis as an autonomous entity. Equipment comes from the borough, but Point Hopers are the ones who fight the fires, maintain the equipment on a routine basis, and so on. People from the Borough periodically inspect the fire station and the equipment to ensure department readiness. There was some discussion in the fire meeting of the difficulty of getting funding and equipment from the NSB fire department to be used in Point Hope. In the minds of the firefighters in Point Hope they are the most distant from Barrow, and when things are cut in borough, Point Hope is the first to lose funding and equipment.

At the borough level, the Fire Department and Search and Rescue are separate operations. In Point Hope, while they are formally separate entities (at the meetings the fire meeting is formally opened and closed before the Search and Rescue meeting is opened and closed), they are, essentially, a single organization that fulfills a range of functions. According to the fire chief, personnel necessarily overlap because the only way to efficiently get insurance for Search and Rescue volunteers is to first train them as firefighters and get them on the Fire Department roster.

At a meeting attended there was a distribution of individual equipment that had recently arrived from Barrow: ten pairs of bunker pants and ten pairs of boots. Since there were not enough for all the members of the department, the pants and boots were allocated to “the guys who have responded first to the last four or five fires.” On normal fireground operations the fire squad is organized into one or two individuals assigned to the tanker, one or two individuals assigned to the ambulance, one or two individuals assigned to the pumper, a **nozzleman**, two hosemen, and two self-contained breathing apparatus (**SCBA** or “air-pat”) men, with the remainder of responding firefighters assigned to general support tasks.

After the main portion of the fire and Search and Rescue meetings, the fire equipment was taken out for a run to the airport. This opportunity to drive the large fire equipment and hold a male gathering out at the airstrip appears to be a standard component of all Fire Department meetings. Apparatus consists of a 2,000 gallon capacity tanker (on an International Harvester chassis), a 1,200 gallon capacity pumper (also on an **IH** chassis), and an ambulance, which is based on the Chevrolet Suburban/Silverado model. The **apparati** still look new, as does the fire hall itself. Radio, light, and siren checks were run on all vehicles.

A new fire captain needed to be named, as one of the two captains had moved out the area. The fire chief asked if people wanted to elect one or have him appoint one. There was no indication that people felt strongly one way or another, so the chief responded “OK, I’ll appoint one,” and named an individual. This indicates the informality typical of the Fire Department in Point Hope.

Apparently there is going to be differentiation of formal status on the Fire Department by seniority, as well as rank, in the near future as per instructions from the borough. Those who have served on the department for five or more years will get leather jackets, while those serving less than five years will continue to wear the satin-type baseball warm-up jackets that are now issued to members.

The irregular meetings aside, formal interaction among firefighters within the context of this organization is quite limited. In the time since they have received their equipment from the borough, the Point Hope Fire Department has responded to a total of four or five fires. In the past two years, according to the fire chief,

there have been three incidents in **the** village that required Fire Department response: one was a plane crash at the airport in 1986; another was in a two-story house, just east of the fire station, that now stands as a burned-out **shell**; the third was at the Whaler's Inn. There have also been, of course, a number of small fires in the village that individuals brought under control without needing Fire Department assistance.

Continuing training for firefighters is available from the Borough but it is at times difficult to get people to attend. Sometimes it is difficult to arrange for people to attend advanced training because it often involves traveling to other villages to receive the training, although travel sometimes acts as an incentive for people to attend the training. For example, at the time of fieldwork, three firefighters were scheduled to attend training in the use of the Self-Contained Breathing Apparatus in **Wainwright**. **Wainwright** is a popular place for Point Hoppers to go, so there was no difficulty in getting the training slots filled and, in fact, according to the chief, response was probably greater than if the training was to be held **in** Point Hope itself. In November 1987 the fire chief of Point Hope was invited to go down to **Kotzebue** to attend a fire chief meeting and training session, which marked the first time that, under the present organizational structure, Point Hope firefighters had been invited to **Kotzebue**.

The Fire Department/Search and Rescue group also may be called upon for political support. At one of the meetings one of the men of the group formally announced he was running for the North Slope Borough Assembly, and asked for the endorsement of the Search and Rescue/Fire Department. The members present agreed to the endorsement. Some discussion followed to the effect that the group should organize a fund-raising dinner for the candidate to benefit an election fund. While women are highly involved in search operations, primarily in support capacities, they are virtually uninvolved in **firefighting** operations.

Tikigaq Search and Rescue

Tikigaq Search and Rescue (also known as Point Hope Search and Rescue) was formally organized in September 1981. It was preceded in the late 1960s by the Ski-Do Club, which subsequently faded away because, according to one of the leaders of SAR, "Land Claims took care of that." There were so many issues that the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act brought up and institutions that needed to be organized and staffed that the Ski-Do Club just fell through the cracks.

While there is almost a complete overlap of active personnel on a day-to-day basis between the Fire Department and Search and Rescue, there is not a complete overlap in membership. As of April 1988 there was a total of seventy-five individuals on the Point Hope Search and Rescue roster, which would make it appear to be a much larger organization than the Fire Department. The Search and Rescue roster includes fourteen women which further distinguishes it from the Fire Department, and at least one non-Native as a member. Again, however, it is important to note that under conditions other than during an active search, the Search and Rescue organization is composed of a relatively small number of active individuals, and those are interested and willing to participate in the decision making processes in the organization. These individuals are, by-and-large, members of the Fire Department as well. However, the leadership of the two groups is different.

Meetings rarely start on time and members are frequently **called** over the fire radio, on the CB, and sometimes telephone calls are made to round up late comers. At the

meeting observed, eventually fourteen individuals were present. Thirteen were adult male **Inupiat**, and one was an adult female **Inupiat** who acted in the capacity of recording secretary to the meeting. A substantial portion of the men present were active in the community as leaders in other capacities such as the IRA council, the city council, and the **Tigara** Corporation board.

Search and Rescue business was conducted first at the meeting. During 1987 there were no extensive searches conducted, while during 1988 there was a major SAR effort mounted. This effort was reviewed. During the first part of the SAR gathering, before the formal meeting started, there was a videotape playing of an elder from Point Hope identifying places on a map by name and discussing some of the features of the place, with his son assisting him and asking questions about the places. This tape is seen as a valuable resource to SAR as during the extensive search there were some problems with place names and descriptions. The tape and information are also seen as a valuable resource through the preservation of an Elder's knowledge of important features in the environment. Individuals present were clearly interested in the maps and the features described, and there are plans to make similar tapes on local ice and weather conditions.

A discussion was held about getting young people involved in the ongoing trail marking project so that "they have something to do," can get involved with SAR, and can perhaps learn more about the land. The videotape mentioned above is seen as another way to approach this. The movement of a new emergency shelter to the trail was also discussed. Apparently one has been donated, but the logistics of moving it up the trail to where it would be most useful have not been finalized. SAR is also in favor of starting scouting in Point Hope, but has not as yet formalized a plan or agenda for doing so.

With the start of the formal meeting, all of the meeting minutes, year to date, were read. Apparently the minutes from 1987 were not as formally kept, but now that there is a recording secretary they are typed and kept in order. This was the first meeting in which Roberts Rules of Order were followed for the meeting. The meeting was formal in its structure, and informal in its flow and interaction between individuals. Official forms are also coming into use, and the group present approved the use of a form for reporting expenses incurred in an SAR operation so that individuals could then be reimbursed.

There was considerable discussion on the amount of Search and Rescue funding that Point Hope receives from the Borough. As in many other contexts, the funding was stated as being "from Barrow" rather than "from the borough." This reference is significant, because it is felt that Barrow, as a village, benefits disproportionately from (a) having the borough seat in that community, and (b) being the largest village and therefore having effective political control over the workings of the borough. It is strongly felt by many in Point Hope that Barrow and the borough are synonymous when it comes to funding decisions. The borough receives Search and Rescue money from the state, and Point Hope does not feel that they are getting their fair share of it. It was the consensus at the Search and Rescue meeting that they should divide the state-provided funds equally so that each village would get a fair proportion. A resolution was soon drafted to reflect this consensus. The resolution to be passed on to NSB Search and Rescue called for Point Hope to receive their fair share of the state money routed through Barrow. The resolution was unanimously approved. It should be noted that using the number of villages to "evenly divide the pot," rather than pro-rating funding based on village population or by "favoring Barrow" by centralizing institutions (and therefore funding) there, would increase the allocation that Point Hope now gets. If one uses 1989 NSB population figures, the

population of the borough is 5,169 and the population of Point Hope is 591. If a sum is split evenly between the eight villages, Point Hope would effectively receive funding for 646 individuals. The point was also discussed that now, with the benefit of hindsight, it seems a mistake to have ceded power over Search and Rescue to the borough. Some individuals voiced the opinion that the **local** Search and Rescue **should** have organized as a City of Point Hope institution and gone directly to the state for funding.

Midway through the meeting, one of the locally stationed Public Safety Officers was **called** and invited to the meeting to explain a new liaison with the state in reimbursement of search expenses. Under a new procedure, Tikigaq Search and Rescue will be getting search reimbursement directly from the state rather than through the borough. The procedure requires that a police officer make **a** visual inspection of personal machines that are to be used, and fill out the paperwork and send out the receipts when the bills come in. The State **will** pay for gas, food, broken parts, and the like. They will not pay for things like cigarettes, alcohol, and other items that are deemed non-necessities, and as the officer explains “just use common sense” in what to submit bills for.

SAR has received donations in the recent past from both the Women Dog Mushers and the Lions Club, but those funds have subsequently been expended. Efforts are underway to secure a bingo license to enable efficient fund raising. Most other public service organizations use bingo as their main financial support. The Fire Department is different in this regard as they can rely on a regular budget allocation from the NSB. It was also noted at the meeting that the Fire Department identifies its members through emblems and jackets, but that Search and Rescue did not. This is apparently an important membership concern, as members are engaged in purchasing jackets and designing an emblem of their own, in an effort to maintain a group identity separate from the Fire Department, and also a way to emphasize the identity of the group as Point Hope rather than NSB or Barrow. **The** Fire Department is commonly viewed as more of a NSB organization, especially since it formally runs the building that both organizations meet in and store their equipment. The Fire Department also has quite a bit more equipment, and as stated before, has an assured annual budget.

There are other contrasts between the two organizations which relate to their social organization. The Fire Department is equipment-intensive in its operations, requiring expensive and specialized gear while Search and Rescue is labor-intensive, requiring a substantial number of individuals to conduct ground search but little in the way of specialized gear. Where capital equipment is required for search support, such as fixed-wing aircraft or helicopters, this equipment is provided directly by the borough and manned by borough employees. The skills utilized by firefighters are acquired through specialized training, whereas SAR operations utilize the same skills that individuals have been honing over a period of years in the normal course of subsistence hunting pursuits. Firefighting requires a knowledge of fire behavior and structural designs; Search and Rescue requires a knowledge of human behavior and the natural environment. Firefighting operations are typically intense, but short-lived phenomena that require little in the way of broad-based supportive action by the community, while searches often extend for considerable periods of time and require the involvement of a large number of individuals to support the operation,

The opinions expressed at the Search and Rescue meeting regarding the relationship of the formal institution of Search and Rescue in the community of Point Hope to its “parent” institution in Barrow have parallels in other, structurally similar institutions in the village. When a person in Point Hope says that the funding is

“from Barrow,” it is not like referring to federal funding as money “from Washington.” Washington, as a community, is not typically perceived as a direct competitor for federal funding, nor are the legislative bodies that sit in Washington controlled by the city of Washington. Barrow is seen as a direct competitor and, in fact, the North Slope Borough Assembly is composed primarily of Barrow residents. The relationship of an institution like **Tikigaaq** Search and Rescue to NSB Search and Rescue is problematic. At the local level, **Tikigaaq** Search and Rescue (like the closely related Fire Department) is seen as a village entity, staffed by village residents. On a day-to-day basis, it operates more-or-less independently of the borough. It is, however, dependent upon the borough for funding and it is the borough that sets operational policy and procedures for the obtaining of funding and, to some extent, the day-to-day operations.

There are several formal volunteer institutions in Point Hope that, unlike Search and Rescue and the Fire Department, are not affiliated with the North Slope Borough. The service institutions include the Lions Club and the Women Dog Musers.

Ipiutak Lions Club

One of the meetings of the Lions Club in Point Hope, the **Ipiutak Lions Club**, was attended in April 1988. Interestingly, the start of the meeting overlapped with the end of the blessing of the whaling service at the Episcopal Church. This was not a “planned” or even avoidable conflict on the part of the Lions as the church service time was fixed at the last minute. The church service had been scheduled to take place several days later, but was moved up due to the fact that ice conditions favorable to whaling appeared earlier than anticipated. It was important for the service to be held before the crews went out on the ice, and people were anxious to move onto the ice during good weather. The service was attended primarily by the whaling captains and their spouses, so that the large majority of the active membership of the Lions were not forced to choose between two equally attractive events. At the Lion’s Club, held in the conference room at the Point Hope Fire Station, a total of eleven individuals attended, of whom two were individuals desiring to join the group. A total of thirty-one individuals are on the membership roll of the club, but at least two of those have recently moved out of the community. The club pays dues for its members and does not accept dues from individuals.

The main business of the meeting was to conduct the yearly elections. There were a total of eleven offices to be filled, which included president, secretary, treasurer, first, second, and third vice president, “Lion Tamer” (responsible for Club property), “Tail Twister” (responsible to jokingly keep members in line), and three board member slots. Only the first three offices were contested, and the voting was lopsided in two of races. The vote for president was split between three candidates 7:1:1, secretary was 5:4 between two candidates, and treasurer was 7:1 (one man did not vote). Everyone present was elected to office and, in fact, there was one more office to be filled than there were individuals present (the previous president automatically moves into the immediate past president slot, so does not run for an office). It took a long time to nominate someone not present for the office (third board member) that remained open.

The Lions raise funds through sponsoring bingo in the community on Monday nights. Rent for the bingo room of seventy-five dollars a night is paid to the **Tigara** Corporation. At least one of the officers of the Lions must be present at each bingo session. The Lions own **all** but one piece of the bingo equipment used (the Women Dog Musers own the remaining one). The Lions do not charge the other bingo groups to

use the bingo supplies, although the individual groups must buy their own **non-reusable** supplies.

Organized as a volunteer community service **club**, the Lions aid various causes in the community, but perhaps their most notable effort is providing eyeglasses to the children of the community.

Women Dog Mushers

The Women Dog Mushers are a community service organization of Point Hope. While ostensibly organized around dogsled racing, the group performs such community services as matching the city funds for putting on the community Christmas celebration, helping out with Thanksgiving and other community events, and donating funds to other service organizations such as Search and Rescue. The group raises funds by sponsoring bingo games and an annual dogsled race.

The 1988 dogsled races were held on Friday March 25 and Saturday March 26 with a single heat starting at **1:00** p.m. on both days. Prizes for the event were substantial, with first prize being \$1,500, second was \$1,000, third was \$800, and fourth was \$500. There was also a \$100 prize for the best time of the first day. Six women mushers participated in the race.

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

Little systematic information on shamanism was obtained, due to the sensitive nature of this topic. Some valuable opportunistic observations **were** made in Point Lay, however, and Point Hope was recently the site for a study devoted primarily to **Inupiat** tribal healing (Turner 1987,1988 :**personal** communication).

The formal church in Point Hope has been investigated and comparisons drawn to Point Lay. This discussion appears the section on the role of the church in the village. It is assumed that the difference in scale and historical experience partially account for the differences. A mission has existed in Point Hope since **1890**. Historically, this mission has had outstations at **Kivalina** and Point Lay (**VanStone 1964:25**).

Contemporary Religious Organizations in Point Lay

When asked, most adult residents of Point Lay will affirm that they **belong** to the Episcopalian Church. A fair number of the young adults claim to have been “saved” or “born again,” but usually do not mention specific denominational affiliations. Most teenagers are not concerned with the question in any way, and until recently children were also not affected by the claims of religion (the Baptists now conduct a Sunday school every week). On the whole, even those individuals who mention a specific denomination as “their” church behaviorally treat all churches pretty much alike. When talking about religion they express this by saying that after all, there is only one God and that He should be the same for all of us. This, along with some other factors, is probably why the Baptist Church in Point Lay has not as yet attracted any sort of **Inupiat** congregation.

The claim can be made that there are two churches in Point Lay, although only one physical building exists. The Episcopal Church of course has the longest time in the

Point Lay area, as periodic trips were made to Point Lay by missionaries from Point Hope. No Episcopalian Church has ever been built in Point Lay, although a building fund exists and a name has been endowed -- St. **Albans**. When services are held, and they are quite irregular, they are in the community building. The Baptist Church is relatively recent in Point Lay. It began with the Baptist missionary from **Wainwright** flying to Point Lay to hold Thursday night services several years ago. More recently, a small church/living quarters was constructed and a resident Baptist missionary recruited. He and his family have been in Point Lay for less than a year.

The Baptist Church in Point Lay

Two phases may be separated for discussing the Baptist Church in Point Lay -- before and after the resident missionary. Before, when the missionary from **Wainwright** came in once a week (weather and his other duties permitting) the effect of the church on the village was minimal. The only stable congregation was a non-Native couple. A few **Inupiat** may have on occasion attended services, but the missionary saw far more villagers by visiting them in their homes than he did in church. With the arrival of the missionary in early October 1987, the same pattern is still evident with a few modifications. The only steady members of the church are the same non-Native couple. Most contact between the missionary and the villagers is through visiting and the interactions of day-to-day life. As the resident missionary does not visit people in the same way as the itinerant missionary (with more time in the community he is less active about seeking individuals out in their homes), most interaction between the missionary and other people is through ordinary social discourse or on those few occasions when people seek the missionary's help. This difference can be attributed partly to differences in the personalities of the two men, combined with the difference of being a resident versus being itinerant. The overall result, however, remains the same. The Baptist Church is at best marginally influential in Point Lay.

Baptist services are now held twice a week, although one is called a study session. Singing hymns is quite important for setting the tone of the service, and for involving such people as are present in the service. The key part of each service is the sermon (or the study). Most of the time the only people in attendance from Point Lay were a single non-Native couple and their young daughter. On occasion a Public Safety Officer would be there. On one occasion an **Inupiat** woman attended, and on another two young **Inupiat** males from out of town came (they were helping in the SAR and were explicitly looking for something to do that they had not already done). Thus, for the most part the Baptist Church in Point Lay is a non-Native institution and shows no signs of changing. As the missionary expresses it, sermons are how Jesus conveyed the message. The missionary's criticism of "singspirations" and other religious meetings in the village is that they are **all** singing and no message.

The doctrine of the Point Lay Baptist Church is that the Bible is literally true. The oratorical style is "fire and brimstone," and the message is that Jesus is coming again soon and that Armageddon is upon us. In theory their doctrine is that all one need do to be saved is to believe in Jesus as one's Savior. Along with this of course it is implied that one read the Bible and believe it. The question of how people who are saved can have different ideas on religion is not addressed, other than to say that the Baptist way is right and that all other views are from the Devil. The contradiction is thus that what appears to be a very simple and rather **unrestrictive** doctrine is in actuality quite limiting. Catholics, and more to the point here Episcopalians, are explicitly attacked for "non-Biblical" practices such as communion. This of course does not help the missionary when he is talking to people who for the most part identify with the Episcopalian Church.

The one major change that the resident missionary has instituted is Sunday school. This is taught by the missionary's wife and the one steady female church member. Actually, the Sunday school was started by this church member once the church building was completed but before the resident missionary came to Point Lay. The Sunday school is attended only by children, who range in age from the very young to 15 or 16. Attendance is irregular, with peaks and valleys. Some children attend more regularly than others, but in all cases the children decide whether they attend or not, as no parent in the village ever suggests that their children go to Sunday school. Rather, the reverse is often the case. The child has to convince the parent that the child should be allowed to attend. Such permission is usually granted, since there is evidently **little** fear that the Sunday school teachings will be counter to any that the parents hold as fundamental.

In this regard it must be stated that the Sunday School does teach in a much more ecumenical way than do the church services (although the missionary would certainly not want to be considered ecumenical). This is probably due to the age of the people attending, as they are certainly not ready to learn and discuss finer points of doctrine. Primary emphasis is put on the study of the Bible and Jesus as Savior. Few, if any, parents would object to this. Given the lack of many other diversions in Point Lay, Sunday school is then seen by both parents and children as a worthwhile and entertaining activity.

There is, of course, at least minimal **Inupiat** support for the Baptist Church in Point Lay. The lot upon which the Baptist Church stands was donated by a resident of the village (as reported by the missionary and congregation members). The dedication service for the church was very well attended, although since then **Inupiat** attendance has been minimal. The material for the church was, for the most part, donated -- a great deal from the surplus from local projects. The **actual** construction work was done primarily by the missionary and the non-Native member. Permission to build the church was given by the village council.

The resident missionary is in somewhat of a "double bind" in his dealings with the residents of Point Lay. On the one hand he wishes to "save" them, and on the other he sees them all as hypocritical sinners who do not really want to come to the Lord. On the one hand he wishes to be a full-time pastor, and on the other realizes that his financial basis of support and the necessity for him to be a community member too may not allow for this. Most of the money necessary to keep the church comes from other churches in the lower-48. An additional important source is the tithe from the non-Native member couple. Little support comes from the rest of the community. However, the community does recognize that the missionary has much to offer in terms of his skills and knowledge (outside of the church).

As a resident of the village, the Baptist preacher at least in theory has an opportunity to interact with other village residents in contexts other than the church. In actuality, he does not do so to any great degree. Partly this is his own choice -- he does not go visiting to any great extent. Partly it is the choice of those in the village. Most feel that they did not invite the preacher here and so see no need for themselves to go out of their way to make him feel welcome. The preacher did take part in the SAR operation, but mostly as a partner to the one male member of his congregation. He did not stay out overnight, but was very active in the early part of the search when hopes were highest and there was the most need for him to take part. When people need items welded (**snowmachine** undercarriages and so on) they will ask the preacher for help as he has recognized expertise in this area. Similarly, the preacher was asked to teach a wood shop class in the school because of

his skill in using the tools. The school would not allow people to use the shop without supervision, and they had no one really qualified to do it. By hiring the preacher, the shop was opened to community use for two nights a week. The preacher also taught the school students during the day. The evenings were mostly for adults to use the tools -- they seldom needed that much help from the preacher.

Given the poor attendance at the Baptist Church, most people came to know him through his efforts in the Search and Rescue operation in the fall of 1987 and from the wood shop class. These activities allowed others to see and assess him in other than church contexts. The result has been that he seems to be more-or-less accepted at least as a temporary resident of Point Lay. His participation in the SAR, and teaching of the wood shop class, and willingness to do emergency welding and so on has given him a recognized position in the community. There is of course some grumbling about his hunting activities on Native land, but these are directed at all non-Native hunters at some time or other. **Inupiat** do accept that non-Natives can legally hunt caribou, according to state and federal law. They object primarily on the grounds that it is their land and that non-Natives should ask the village council for permission to hunt there. Most non-Natives seem to think that to ask in this context would be to run the danger of being told "no," and as they would hunt in any event to do so after being told not to would be worse than hunting without having asked.

The Episcopal Church in Point Lay

The previous pattern of no physical church in Point Lay, with periodic visits from outside church functionaries, continues today. There is no Episcopal Church building in Point Lay. The claim can be made that the community building is at **least** partially an Episcopalian Church, as there is a pulpit stored in a corner of the building. In addition, there is a collection of various hymnals and Books of Common Prayer used in the few services held. The Alaskan Epiphany claims that a parish or mission of the same type as exists in Point Hope exists in Point Lay, while Barrow merely has an Episcopalian congregation. It is unclear what this is meant to imply given the lack of a building and the relative infrequency of services. A building fund exists, but little is known about it except that there is a labeled collection box in the Native store for contributions. While fieldwork was conducted, only three Episcopalian services were held -- two full services initiated and conducted by outside functionaries, and one rather abbreviated one on Christmas Day which was entirely local. In addition there were two "singspirations" during the period of the fieldwork.

The **singspiration** of November 10, 1987 was not a totally local creation. This was during the SAR operation, long enough into it that people were beginning to lose heart. The **singspiration** was conceived of as a way to improve the morale of the community at large, and of the searchers themselves (those from Point Lay as well as those from other villages). To this end, Elders from **Wainwright** and Barrow were flown to Point Lay for this event. As part of the **singspiration** they would talk about searches in the past, give advice, and so on. In addition, the Barrow Assembly of God minister and part of his congregation (7 people in all, 6 with musical instruments), and the Barrow Presbyterian minister came. The Point Lay Baptist minister also was present.

The evening began with an opening prayer by the Baptist minister, apparently as the resident religious functionary. A resident **Inupiat** is in fact the Dean of the Arctic **Deanery** of the Episcopal Diocese of Alaska, but he apparently does not actively

promote the church in Point Lay. After the opening prayer there were testimonials, other prayers and short “sermons,” advice from Elders, and singing, in no particular order. People stood up and talked when they thought it appropriate. There were perhaps 35 adults and 10 children present at the peak of attendance. Few of them were non-residents (aside from those listed above, who are not included in those totals and were seated facing the larger group of people). The **singspiration** was sort of rough at first as many of the songs picked were not that familiar to the people present. As the evening went on, people did get more in the spirit of the **singspiration** and it gained more of a communal atmosphere, similar to that described for **singspirations** in **Nuiqsut** (**Galginaitis** et al. 1984). There **were** about 20 people present at this point. As this was occurring in the community building, however, this was difficult to maintain and indeed by the end of the evening **people** were ready to go home. The **singspiration** lasted perhaps five hours.

As with **singspirations** in **Nuiqsut**, the longer the **singspiration** went on the more people were willing to do “specials” (solos or songs with a restricted number of other people). In fact, after the last hymn was announced, but before it was sung, about 10 people presented ‘specials’ (all of the Barrow people, plus an individual from **Wainwright** and a few people from Point Lay). There was some pressure on for Point Lay people to do specials. As the night went on there was also more in the way of testimonies, but only from Barrow people, and only after the Point Lay Baptist preacher left.

At the last, there was a general “thank you” to the people attending. The **singspiration** was said to have revived lagging spirits. However, many of the searchers did not come to the **singspiration**, and those searchers who were there were mainly Point Lay residents. The service seems to have benefited mostly members of the community at large, and not the searchers.

November 26, 1987 **Singspiration**: there were special reasons for this **singspiration** as well. The Thanksgiving feast was held on November 26 and was followed by an Eskimo dance. Both were in the community building. After the Eskimo dance it was suggested that a **singspiration** would be beneficial to community spirits (the SAR had been terminated for all intents and purposes just before Thanksgiving). There were a good number of people there, including five from the school who had attended the feast and the dance. This was unusual for Point Lay. The **singspiration** was slow in starting as the dance had ended at **9:00** p.m. or so and people had to go home to get their instruments. Once that had been done no one wanted to be the first to suggest a hymn to sing. Once hymns were chosen it became clear that not too many people knew very many of them very well. People did use the opportunity to stay at the community center and talk, as this is an unusual situation. Usually the community center is the scene for bingo three nights a week, and the other nights it is open for recreation -- mostly young people playing pool, loud music, and sometimes young women playing scrabble and very young children running around. Conversation and visiting is usually not possible, and there is really no other public gathering place in Point Lay other than the community building. Once singing started, conversation for the most part stopped. Singing ended about **11:30**, so that this was a rather short **singspiration**.

December 8, 1987 Episcopal service: the assistant to the Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Alaska was visiting Point Lay and held a service in the community building. It was scheduled for **7:00** p.m., but started somewhat late. People phoned in to see if the service had started yet, as is common with events held in the community building. In the end, there were about eight women, five men, four older children, and four infants and babies present. For comparative purposes, this is

about 50% of a typical bingo night. The service ended about **8:30**, so it was of standard length. There was quite a bit of singing, although again no one wanted to pick out hymns. As the pastor was a good strong singer, he could lead well enough to make the service a success. There were prayers for the general success of SAR. Since this effort had already been discontinued though the person had not been found, this may have been an attempt to put some sort of closure on the affair. There was also a short sermon. This was also one of the few occasions when a village person took part in a religious service. The Point Lay resident who is the Dean of the Arctic **Deanery** read the first Bible lesson.

December 25, 1987 church **service**: This was the only completely locally initiated service, and it was unclear at the beginning whether it would be a complete service or more of a **singspiration**. The researcher did not see any notices about it or otherwise hear about it, but did see people going to the community building around **11:00** a.m. When he went over he was told there would be a service, however, only five men, two women, two boys, and four girls showed up. No one present wanted to officiate at a service (and the Dean was not there) so it was suggested that we sit down and start singing Christmas songs. Four or five were sung and then there was a long pause, after which one more song was chosen and the Lord's Prayer was recited. This ended the 30 minute service, which was followed by coffee and refreshments. People did remark that everyone would be at the community building tonight (for the feast and the beginning of Eskimo games) but also made remarks such as, "They won't spoil our Christmas," and "**This** was well planned." Clearly more people had been expected.

January 5, 1988 Episcopal Church service: An administrator for the North Slope Borough vocational education program visited Point Lay on school business. A resident of Barrow, this man is also an ordained leader in the Episcopal Church and was prevailed upon to hold a service as long as he was in town. Although he is a deacon and not able to bless the bread and the wine for communion as a priest can, he came with a supply of these things already blessed so that he could give communion. He also baptized five people, ranging from a young father to a child of two or three. The service itself was quite nice. It began somewhat late as several of the principals were late. The service started with a hymn and a homily on the Christmas season and baptism. Most of the service was out of the Book of Common Prayer. The sermon was also the most memorable of those preached in Point Lay, at least for the researcher, as it was an emotionally active and relatively well-attended session -- 10 women, 9 men, 7 older children, and 7 infants and babies. Another family walked in just as the service was ending. After the service, people stayed and talked for a while. Part of the success of this service no doubt **lay** in the fact that the deacon had been the principal of the Point Lay school for five years (mostly over at the "New Side" river site). People were glad to see him, he was able to give direction to the service, and baptism and communion gave both structure and meaning to the service. There were also enough people there to form a large enough congregation to establish the feeling of a community church. More pragmatically, the hymns sung were familiar enough, and there were enough people there that no one felt self-conscious about singing (or not singing).

A usual comment after services or **singspirations** was that there used to be more of them held, and that people wished more would be held. The long **singspiration** held in conjunction with the visit of the Elders during the SAR was remembered as the longest **singspiration** in at least eight to ten years. Church, however, seems to be subject to the same time pressures as every other activity, and the plain truth is that no one wants to devote the time and energy it would require to rejuvenate the Episcopal Church in Point Lay. That this may be possible, given a dynamic leader,

seems to be indicated by the few examples where such organizing people came in from the outside on visits. That a committed person alone is not enough seems to have been demonstrated by the resident Baptist missionary, who so far seems to have no new converts. It is still very early to make a final decision on that, but Point Lay residents seem to have rejected the fundamentalist Baptist teachings in favor of the more tolerant ones of the church that they grew up with.

History of Religious Organizations in Point Hope

Point Hope has been the site of continuous **missionization** by outside churches since the end of the last century. While the original **missionizing** denomination, the Episcopal Church, remains in the community, other denominations have **missionized** in the village as well.

History of the Episcopal Church in Point Hope

The Episcopal Church established the first mission in Point Hope; its beginning was marked by the arrival of Dr. John B. **Driggs** in the village in 1890. It is perhaps more accurate to say that the foundation for the mission began in 1890, as **Driggs** worked his way slowly into the fabric of the community, and it was 1900 before he performed the first Christian baptism and marriage in the community. Point Hope mission was the second Episcopal Church in the Alaska, the first being founded at Anvik in 1886. During the early days of the Episcopal mission, trips were made to **Kivalina** and Point Lay, and these communities became outstations of the Point Hope mission (VanStone 1962:25).

The mission at Point Hope was founded at the request of Lt. Commander Stockton of the revenue cutter *Thetis*. The cutter cruised the entire Alaskan arctic coast in 1889. Deeply disturbed by the conditions he observed in the coastal **Inupiat** villages, conditions resulting from the uninhibited actions of **non-Inupiat** in the area during a time of rapid cultural change, Stockton was moved to write Dr. Sheldon Jackson, then General Agent for Education in Alaska “pleading that something should promptly be done to save them [the **Inupiat**] from destruction” (Stuck 1920a:28). Spurred to action by Stockton’s letter, Jackson set about to negotiate with “several missionary societies of Protestant bodies to secure the simultaneous establishment of missions to the Eskimos at three points . . . along the western Arctic coast . . . The **Congregationalists** accepted Cape Prince of Wales, the most westerly point of the continent, and the Presbyterians Point Barrow, the northern extreme of Alaska . . .” (Stuck 1920a:33-34). The Episcopalians accepted Point Hope.

The writings of Hudson Stuck, Archdeacon of the Yukon and Alaska of the Episcopal Church, are instructive for the perceptions of the church at Point Hope and the work of **missionization** in this era. It was indeed a period of turmoil when **Driggs** arrived in the community, as the tyrannical Attungoruk had been killed only the year before.

The church is a central institution in the community today, but often employs marginal men, men exceptional in their willingness to accept the challenge of the church in the north. Combined with teaching at the first school in the community, the early churchmen developed great influence, the legacy of which is remembered today. Given the present centrality of the church and the legendary status of the early church leaders, it is difficult to imagine the early days of the church in the community. Stuck, writing soon after **Driggs’** time, captures some of the images.

In the midst of this inflamed and licentious population, without any knowledge of the Eskimo tongue, with no Arctic experience, Dr. **Driggs** was set down; a shack was hastily erected, his supplies were dumped on the beach, and the ship sailed away leaving him to his task. For eighteen years, with only three visits to his home in Baltimore, most of the time without any colleague or assistant, he devoted himself to it. (Stuck 1920a:35)

One of the most vivid pictures of the life of the missionary at Point Hope is from the pen of the Rev. **E.N.** Edson, who went up to take charge for a year while Dr. **Driggs** came out on his first furlough. Writing in 1895 he says, "It is not good for a man to be alone' and these words have more meaning than they bear on their face. The effects of the isolation of this field of the mind, and, by reflex action, upon the body, are terrible. To do one's own housework, cook one's own meals, wash dishes, sweep, cut firewood for living rooms and school, teach a school of forty or more natives without a common language; to be on a restricted allowance of drinking water, to obtain which **meagre** supply a journey of one and a half miles and in winter of sixteen miles, must be made; and coupled with all this for ten months in the year to face the rigours of an arctic winter -- this is a severe test for any man. A whole year without a sight of dear ones, or even a letter, is a hard trial." Dr. Driggs had endured it for four consecutive years. (Stuck 1920a:27)

In the end, the difficulty of his work and **life** situation in Point Hope took its toll on **Driggs**. In most publications, his eventual removal from his position is little covered but the following passage from Stuck is an exception.

The night before we had talked much of Dr. Driggs, his long work here [Point Hope] and its miserable end. There is no doubt that his solitary residence had told upon him and that he had become mentally unbalanced, and little doubt that towards the last he had addicted himself to the use of drugs. I cannot see any good in hushing up such matters. To acclaim a man for years in the **high-flown** manner of missionary publications, and then suddenly drop him and mention him no more at all, is likely to rouse a suspicious bewilderment that is worse than the commiseration that would follow a knowledge of the facts. That he was mentally unbalanced his eccentric doings and sayings establish, and that he fell latterly into a use of stimulants, **I** think is very likely. Anyone who has spent eighteen years alone in the Arctic regions and has retained his **full** faculties and self-control, is entitled to throw the first stone at his memory, I think, and no one else. It became necessary to remove him, there is no question about that; and there can be no question in the minds of those who know the Bishop of Alaska that it was done with all gentleness and tenderness and consideration. I warrant he had rather cut his hand off than do it, but, as we say in the north, 'he had to do it.'

Dr. Driggs took it ill; refused to accept his passage out **and** retiring in **dudgeon** some twenty, miles further up the coast made his residence with an Eskimo family; venturing a little income of his own in a native whaling enterprise. It is said that whenever the weather permitted he would continually walk the beach, looking towards the sandspit which had been his home so long, muttering and gesticulating. Here, some years later, he fell very ill. Word of his plight came to his successor at Point Hope on the wings of a gale that denied return against it for several days, and when it was possible to travel he was found already dead. (Stuck 1920b:128-129)

Perception of early church officials visiting Point Hope is interesting, and reflects the way many outsiders feel about the community even **today**. "I had **ample** leisure to acquaint myself with Point Hope. The place itself, indeed, called for no very long investigation to describe it adequately; it is perhaps as dreary and desolate a spot as may be found on earth." (Struck 1920 b:105) It is important to note that the person writing this was not unfamiliar with human and climatic conditions in the north -- he was the Archdeacon of the Yukon and Alaska at the time.

The perception of the severity of the climate and conditions was tempered with the understanding of the benefits of such conditions, however, a perception that many contemporary visitors to the village do not share.

There have been several installations of an anemometer at the mission, and the interior mechanism yet remained, but the vane had been blown off every time. If the reader will add to these violent, persistent winds, first the driving snow and sand with which they are charged, then the cold that accompanies them, and then the darkness, at a season when the sun does not rise above the horizon at all, he will understand that any continuous travel against them is out of the question, and that even to be outdoors upon necessary occasions while they rage is fraught with discomfort and difficulty, not to say danger. Storms we have in the interior; in certain regions, and especially in certain reaches of rivers, high winds that blow for many hours in one direction, but nothing that I have known in ten years of winter travel comparable to these awful Arctic blizzards.

Why should this sandspit, naked to the blast from whatever quarter it blow, be the home of human beings for generation after generation? The answer is very simple: chiefly because it **is** naked to every blast, its situation offers special advantages for seal hunting. The seal is taken at the edge of the shore-ice where the open water begins, and all the winter through the winds are now driving the pack-ice in upon the shore ice and now driving it out again. When the pack-ice is driven away from the **shore-ice**, then and only then is sealing possible. The advantage of Point Hope is that almost every wind that blows renders sealing possible on one side of the sandspit or on the other, and to these coast Eskimos the seal is the staff of life. If the seal be plentiful they can manage for food and fuel with nothing else. (Stuck 1920b:106-107)

Originally, the Episcopal mission was built approximately one mile away from the village of Point Hope itself.

The village of Point Hope clustering as it does about the end of the forefinger of the spit, with easy access to both shores, one is surprised to find the church and the mission school and the missionary's dwelling upwards of a mile away. With the abandoned government school five miles away at Jabbertown (where no one any longer jabbers) and this mission plant withdrawn so far **up** the sandspit, one has the impression of an infected spot, from close contiguity with which even the agents of amelioration discreetly shrink. The impression is, of course, false. When the government school was built there was a school population, the offspring of Negroes, **Portugese**, Hawaiians, Germans, Irish, English and I know not what other nationalities and Eskimo wives, whose fathers made a living by whaling. . . While the abortive school at Jabbertown is thus easily explained, I was never able to reach any explanation of the isolation of the mission, unless it were this: that when Dr. **Driggs** first settled at this place there was a freshwater lake hard by the spot where he built, which lake was afterwards turned into a salt lagoon by an invasion of the sea during a storm. This circumstance, and possibly a prudential consideration also, in view of the riot and license and even sometimes drunken homicides that followed the visits of vessels. in view of the murder of Mr. Thorton of Cape Prince of Wales, who was called to the door and shot with a whale-gun by a drunken Eskimo, may have sufficiently accounted for an original withdrawal which now finds no excuse whatever and is distinctly detrimental to the efficiency of the work. Unfortunately sites once adopted are with great difficulty abandoned, and every additional building or outhouse of any kind, every improvement to the "plant" increases the difficulty. (Stuck **1920b**: 108-109)

The explanation given in Point Hope today for building the mission a distance from the community is that **Driggs** was intimidated by the villagers and preferred some distance between the mission and the village, at least initially. Clearly the reverberations of the time of Attungoruk were still being felt, shamanism was a powerful force in the village, and drinking and violence were not unknown. In fact, the inconvenience of having the buildings distant from the village was overcome when they were moved into the community near the end of the spit in 1955. The ice cellar at the original location of the mission complex is **still** in use. Browning Hall burned at the old site; the mission house and the church itself were moved to the present community when the townsite was moved in the 1970s. A new church was built in large part from the insurance benefits from Browning **Hall**, however, so the old church now sits unused, as does the old mission house. Both stand abandoned adjacent to the contemporary church building.

Interestingly, as strong a symbol of change in **Inupiat** life as the church is, early church leaders recognized the basic incongruities between the typical Western church (and other) building forms with the realities of the arctic environment.

This was one of my first reflections; there followed a strong feeling that the whole plan of white man's building on the coast, government schools, churches, stores, warehouses and residences, is fundamentally wrong and foolish. With his usual lack of adaptability, the white man has simply reproduced the structures that he was used to in temperate climes. The government schools here are just like government schools anywhere else, unsightly and incommodious. The whole establishment of **St.** Thomas's mission looks for all the world from a little distance like a Manitoba ranch, with its dwelling, barns and its windmill; the dwelling, in particular, is lifted clear off the ground and the wind has uninterrupted sweep under **it**; the schoolhouse is a California bungalow. In the dwelling a thermometer always read fifty degrees lower when put upon the floor than when put up four or five feet upon the wall, and we wore our fur boots indoors . . . I am convinced that the **only** wise architecture for the Arctic regions is the Eskimo architecture. (Stuck 1920b:109-10)

The fact that Point Hope received an Episcopal mission rather than another denomination was an artifact of the time the mission was built and a working agreement between the powerful churches at the time. From the point of view of the community, it was clearly the luck of the draw, as it was a decision villagers had no part in. That it was an Episcopal mission, however, has had significant implications for the village today. First and foremost, the Episcopal Church in Point Hope has been characterized by a degree of tolerance for local custom that is greater than in many other villages that have been missionized by different denominations. For example, Christmas religious services were combined with community secular festivals in much the same way that they are today.

The Christmas season must not detain us, interesting and enjoyable as it was. The Christmas-tree was not without a certain pathos; it consisted of a number of branches of stunted willows tied together, and a man had gone twenty-five miles inland to gather even this poor semblance of a tree, so naked is this coast. The hearty feast that followed the hearty church service (where seventy natives made their Christmas communion) was spread with fried lynx, boiled seal meat, 'ice cream' of whipped seal-oil and berries (made in much the same general way as the Indian 'ice cream' of moose-fat and berries) and plenty of tea and hardtack. (Struck 1920b:112).

Whereas "Eskimo dancing" was discouraged in some other parts of the state as either **un-Christian** in general, or shamanistic in particular, the Episcopal Church had a tolerant attitude toward it. The Archdeacon wrote of the dancing that accompanied the Christmas feast as follows:

The dancing that followed was very interesting, the most expert native dancing that I have ever seen ... The elaborate involved attitudes, changed with great rapidity and instant accord, the vivacity and sparkle and evident thorough enjoyment, were very

pleasing, and to save my life I cannot understand why all the other missions and all 'the government schools should make such a dead set. against this harmless amusement. There is no more of fence [sic] in it than in an exhibition of Indian club swinging. . . I am glad that this Eskimo dancing is not only tolerated but, **at** due season, encouraged at Point Hope. (Struck **1920b:1** 12-1 13)

Surely the fact that Point Hope is recognized as having outstanding dancers to this day is attributable to a large degree to the attitude of the Episcopal Church toward dancing. The church has also integrated itself with the whaling complex of the village and provides a Christian spiritual component to the undertaking.

History of Secondary Missionization in Point Hope

Contemporary (1988) Point Hope has a second church in the community in addition to the Episcopal Church. This is the Assembly of God Church, and will be discussed **in** some detail below. The Assembly of God Church, however, does not represent the first secondary **missionization** effort in Point Hope. (By "secondary missionization" we mean the founding, or the attempt to found, a second mission in a village that already has an established mission; a second wave and a variant form of Christianity after the establishment of what was originally a non-Native church in the community.) VanStone (1962:154-55) was able to directly observe a case of secondary missionization.

An unusual situation that developed while I was at Point Hope afforded an opportunity to observe the attitude of the people toward their church and the extent to which it is woven into the social fabric. A female missionary of the Pentecostal Church, who arrived in the village without any advance notice, declared her intention of staying at least a year. She was able to find a place to live without any difficulty and obtained permission to use the National Guard building for services. People were considerably impressed by her statement that God had told her to come to Point Hope. The initial attitude was one of surprise. Everyone was curious, but no one was particularly excited or upset. There was even some hopeful speculation that she might build a church in the village, thus providing local employment opportunities.

VanStone reports that "no more than four or five services" were held because of financial difficulties -- when the cold weather came there was no money for heating the National Guard building, and although the services were "fairly well attended . . . most of those present seemed to be there out of curiosity or for entertainment. Many people were impressed by her flamboyant manner of preaching but were embarrassed and made highly uncomfortable by requests for personal testimonials." (155)

VanStone also reports that after approximately five months in the village the missionary was forced to leave due to "lack of funds plus an inability to get along by herself in a rigorous environment." He reports that since the Episcopal Church had been the only church in the village for over 60 years, Point Hope villagers were not used to looking at religion from a comparative perspective. This is not to say

that they were unaware of other Western religious traditions, as they did have at least passing exposure to other Christian denominations through friends and relatives in other villages.

VanStone, speaking of the Pentecostal missionary, speculates that “the type of religion that she represented, one that appeals strongly to the emotions, might originally have had more attraction for the Eskimos than the more formal procedures of the Episcopal Church. However, it is now, for the most part, repellent to them.” (155) Also, the labeling of such things as dancing and motion pictures as sinful did little to win converts in the village.

The Assembly of God Church later succeeded where the Pentecostal effort failed (in addition to the funding difficulties) apparently due to (a) the fact that the Assembly of God missionary does not compete with the Episcopal Church for members -- there is no attempt at conversions, rather, the minister sees the church as serving a different set of needs and a different if overlapping set of individuals and (b) it does not see itself as theologically incompatible with the Episcopal Church and does not stress denomination in church services. This is a very similar situation to one described in **Unalaska** (Impact Assessment **1983b** and **1987b**, Downs 1985) where the very successful secondary mission did not go after converts among the members of the established Christian church which, like the Point Hope Episcopal Church, featured Native leadership, was integrated into a multiplicity of aspects of Native life, and featured a predominantly Native congregation.

The secondary missionization experience in Point Lay has been very different from that of Point Hope indeed. Although there is no physical representation of the primary mission in the village (Point Lay has been an outpost congregation of the Episcopalian efforts in the region that have their focal point at Point Hope), most of the people in Point Lay consider themselves Episcopalian. The secondary mission, which is present in the village in the form of a resident minister and a church building, is antagonistic toward other denominations. This minister sees the teachings of other Christian denominations as clearly wrong and a favored target for attack and conversion; the secondary missionary in Point Hope does not believe that denominations are all that important and feels that the two churches in the community serve two overlapping but different sets of needs.

Contemporary Religious Organizations in Point Hope

There are two active churches in Point Hope today, the Episcopal Church and the Assembly of God Church. They provide a contrast with each other, with the religious organization of the community thirty years ago, and with the religious organization of **contemporary Point Lay**.

The Point Hope Episcopal Church

The old church building, along with the old mission house, stand unused and **unmaintained** in the center of the new village site. Painted dark green with white trim, neither building has windows remaining. They are dilapidated, and used by children for play. Adjacent to the old church building, the new Episcopal church building is painted a lighter shade of green, is in good repair, and is modern in appearance. The new church is a modern-looking building on the inside as well, with carpeting in the center aisle, wide side aisles, new pews, and wooden paneling throughout. The new church is obviously well cared for, although occasionally there

is no heat in the building. This, however, is a fairly common occurrence in the public buildings of Point Hope.

The role of the Episcopal Church in Point Hope today is quite different from when VanStone studied the community in 1955-56. Writing of this time VanStone stated **that:**

There can be no doubt that homogeneity in religious faith is an important factor in creating solidarity and serves as a unifying force in the village. Point Hope lacks the religious factionalism that characterizes many Alaskan villages and the people, united as they are by their membership in the single church, are provided with ideal patterns of behavior that are quite meaningful. (VanStone 1962:157)

The existence of Browning Hall, a large community center where community activities took place, also served to strengthen the church's importance in the village. Now there is more than one active church in the village, the community hall (**Qalgi** Center) is a secular building so that community events do not have implicit church sanction, and attendance at Sunday services would appear far less than in the 1950s when fifty percent of the men of the village regularly attended church and women attended more regularly than men (VanStone 1962:156). Services are less frequent as well. In the 1950s services were held Sunday mornings and evenings and Wednesday evenings. Now services are held on Sunday mornings and occasionally on Sunday evenings, as well as for special events.

Nevertheless, the Episcopal Church continues to occupy an important place in the life of contemporary Point Hope. Unlike the 1950s, the ordained leader of the church is a local man, rather than an outside missionary. The presence of the Episcopal Church continues to be felt at various community activities which are primarily secular in nature. For example, at the beginning of the community Thanksgiving feast the deacon and lay leaders of the church offered prayers, and prayers were also spoken at the spring whaling festival. Older men of the village who are leaders both in whaling and in formal politics, tend to be active members of the Episcopal Church as well.

During field research in 1987-88 attendance at Episcopal Church services varied widely. Regular Sunday services were attended as well as services on special occasions conducted by the local deacon, local **lay** leaders, and the assistant to the bishop of the region. At typical Sunday services, the number of lay leaders participating in the service varied. Two to three men and two to three women in the choir were common, as were one or two altar boys on any given Sunday. Some Sundays had either no adult male or female choir participants or no altar boys. Whereas other Sundays had as many as six female and five male members of the choir. All of the individuals who participated in the service as readers or members of the choir were **Inupiat**. Total attendance of the congregation not helping with the service was typically in the twenties. On one typical Sunday the congregation of twenty-six consisted of seven adult men, eleven adult women, two teenage girls, five younger girls, and one young boy, **all** of whom were **Inupiat**. Most of the adults appeared to be elders, and a few were younger, but apparently no one in their twenties or early thirties was in attendance. At another service, of the twenty-one people sitting in the main part of the church, seven were males, and fourteen were females. Only three or four of these people were in their thirties and one woman who was in her twenties accompanied the only child present -- **all** other people were considerably older.

Language usage between **Inupiaq** and English varied from week to week. At **one** service hymns were divided approximately two-to-one Inupiaq-to-English and the lay reading was in **Inupiaq**. At another service, the vast majority of the proceedings were conducted in English, although the first language of the deacon is **Inupiaq**. English was used exclusively up through the prayer for the sick, and all of the hymns were in English. One of the responsive readings was in **Inupiaq**, however, and the sermon was first given in **Inupiaq** and then in English. On some Sundays hymns were accompanied by an organist who was the only **non-Inupiat** helping with the services. On other Sundays there was no accompaniment.

Visitors to the church are usually recognized and welcomed, and sometimes a welcome hymn is sung for them. Sometimes, when there is even as few as one visitor present who is a **non-Inupiaq** speaker, it is explained that the reading or a sermon is going to be done "in Eskimo," and this is done in a way that seems a bit apologetic that the person is not going to understand and to indicate that the person is more than welcome. There is a paradox with the language usage in the church in that obviously the elders prefer the longer passages such as the sermon and long readings to be done in **Inupiaq**, while at the same time the elders of the church wish to expand their membership to younger people in the community, a considerable number of whom do not understand **Inupiaq**.

Two services were attended where the assistant to the bishop of the region was in the community to confer with church leaders and conduct services. This individual, based in Fairbanks, also looks after the interests of the Episcopal Church in **Kivalina** and Point Lay. On both occasions that this individual was in town, the Eucharist was celebrated and communion was given. The two former clergymen in attendance received it first, and the accompanying **blessing** was given first in **Inupiaq** and then in English. On one of the occasions there were a total of thirty-eight individuals in attendance with a ratio **of** approximately two males to every three females. On the other occasion, there were thirty-six adults in the congregation, along with fifteen or so children. Four men and six women were in the choir on this occasion, as opposed the previous occasion when there was only **one** woman in the choir and no men. On both occasions, virtually all of the service was in English. The second of the two services was held during the time of preparation for the whaling season. The assistant to the bishop gave a sermon that featured "preparing for a new life" as a theme, and analogies were made with preparations for whaling. He discussed repairing the boat frames, preparing the skins, sewing, and stretching and putting on of the skins. **Also** mentioned were getting the grub boxes ready, getting the whaling tools in order, and cleaning out the ice cellars. The virtual moving of the village of Point Hope out onto the ice was seen as the building of a new life, a life out there that is removed from the regular world.

One service was attended when the local deacon was out of the community and one of the local lay leaders conducted the service. This was the least well-attended of **all** the services observed. For this service there were two altar boys, two women in the choir, and no men. There were a total of eight in the congregation in addition to those directly involved in the service. Two were elders who were former church leaders, another was the wife **of** one of these men, one was one of these men's grandson, and two were anthropologists. One of the women in the congregation is of the same family (by birth) as the man leading the service and one of the former leaders. Of all in attendance, only one male elder and one altar boy were not directly and closely related to a single family group.

In the sermon, the lay leader touched on some of the current problems of the community. He noted that surely the Lord must be coming soon because so many bad things are happening -- seven or ten years ago you didn't hear about rapes and murders, now it seems you hear about them every day. He noted all of the bad things that happen with drugs and alcohol and how this was affecting Point Hope. His message was that the body is like the church -- we like it clean, we should keep it clean. All of the service including prayers, hymns, and readings was given in English, with the exception of the sermon. Some of the sermon was given in English, followed by a long stretch of **Inupiaq**, ending with a recap in English. The leader thanked the eight for coming and noted that this was out of a population of six hundred.

Members of the congregation present at a typical Sunday Episcopal service do not represent a cross-section of the total population or even of the **Inupiat** residents of Point Hope. Both younger and older age cohorts are over-represented compared to adults in the 15- to 45-year-old range. It is important to note that on any given Sunday not only are there a disproportionate number of Elders attending the service, but that Elders, and individuals who are approaching the age where they may be considered Elders, are conducting the service. That is to say, Elders are the leaders and "in control" of the both the spiritual and social context that is the Episcopal Church in Point Hope. Whereas political and economic leadership positions in the community, such as the presidency of the **Tigara** Corporation and the office of the mayor, are in the hands of younger individuals, the leadership of the church is comprised of active, older individuals. While there is an ethos of respecting and showing deference to Elders in the community at large, the Episcopal Church is the only example of a formal institution primarily run by Elders.

As noted in the discussion on language use in the Point Hope, the Episcopal Church services are one of the primary contexts in which **Inupiaq** is used in the community. This is consistent with the prominent role that the Elders play in the church. This language use reinforces the connection between the contemporary church and the Point Hope of the past. In the church context, **Inupiaq** is a living language and a connection with the cherished past in the same way that the Elders are. Although it was an "outside" institution not all that many decades ago, the Episcopal Church is clearly an "**Inupiat**" institution now when one considers linguistics, membership, and leadership. It is an institution that has remained more-or-less intact when other institutions in the community have changed dramatically.

The role of the church vis-a-vis these other community institutions has perhaps changed. At the time of VanStone's work in 1955-56, the church was involved in virtually all aspects of life in the community. Today there are many institutions in the community that do not overlap in function or leadership with the church, but that is not to say that the church is unimportant. It may be that the Episcopal Church in Point Hope has experienced a decline similar in nature to the decline of religious institutions in other communities throughout in the United States, and has little to do specifically with the proliferation of other formal institutions in the village. It also may be that the individuals in the 15-45 year age range may attend church as they get older and sleeping in or subsistence hunting on a day off from work is not as attractive as it is to them now. The church does provide a continuity with what was perhaps a more religious time, and attendance is high for the Christmas and Easter holiday services; church functions are equivalent to community functions on those occasions. According to VanStone, the church is the one setting, the one institution, in the village that still seems like the Point Hope of 1955-56 (1989: personal communication.).

On the other hand, countering these arguments to some extent are several observations. Since the Episcopal Church uses **Inupiaq** as its principal language, younger residents who are least fluent in **Inupiaq** may not be attracted to Episcopalian services precisely because it has become more of an **Inupiat** institution. The apparent preference for younger residents in Point Hope to attend the Assembly of God Church on a regular basis, where services are in English, tends to support this conclusion. Because the two forms of worship are so different, however, the causal relation is not so clear. On special ceremonial occasions many Assembly of God people will attend the Episcopalian Church, but this also tends to support the language-related conclusion. It seems that the Episcopal Church is still considered the “traditional” church of Point Hope and is the ceremonial church of choice. Such special services are most often in English (although portions may be in **Inupiaq**), and sometimes have guests from other villages presiding. These are also the occasions when many people who normally do not attend church are present, and these people tend to be younger and less fluent **Inupiaq** speakers.

Point Hope Palm Sunday, Good Friday, and Easter Services

During one portion of fieldwork, the field researcher was able to observe some of the major spring holidays celebrated by the Episcopal Church. These services featured generally larger attendance than typical Sunday services, and the composition of the congregation was noticeably different as well.

Palm Sunday service, conducted by the local deacon, featured approximately fifty people in attendance, with a complete range of ages represented, but with elders and young children overrepresented. There were no altar boys, but four men and four women were **in the choir**. Readings and the hymns were in English, but most of the sermon and virtually **all** of the announcements were **in Inupiaq**. In addition to the formal church service itself, there was a sermon **in Inupiaq** delivered over the **CB** radio later in the day, and apparently there is a similar one given every Sunday.

Good Friday service saw twenty-eight to thirty people in the congregation. There was a somber mood to the service, and all extraneous paraphernalia had been removed from the church. Fewer children than usual were in the congregation, probably as a result of it being a school day. There was, however, a contingent of high school students (four males, three females), seated together, who had been excused from school so that they could attend church. They were not usually in church.

Easter service was by far the best-attended event observed at the Episcopal Church. Unlike regular services, people arrived quite early for the service and the entire church was filled to capacity. Service did not get underway until fifteen minutes after the usual starting time of 11 a.m. due to a continuous stream of latecomers. All of the available pews and benches were filled and were approximately 160 people in attendance. Everyone was in a festive mood and extremely friendly. There were numerous “Happy Easter” greetings and handshakes exchanged before the service as well as afterwards. The service was longer than usual, lasting two hours, and included several baptisms. Approximately ten children were baptized at the service, three of them from the same family. The father of this family explained that he was “getting caught up” today.

Another ritual that extended the service was communion, and it appeared that all present received it. The communion itself was a bit different from the one in a regular Sunday service; a wafer was placed in the member’s hands who placed it in their own mouth just prior to having the wine administered. The person then drank

directly from the cup that the minister tipped up to the person's lips. He then wiped the lip of the cup before moving on to the next person. On Easter individuals were given a wafer by one person, it remained in the taker's hands until the person with the wine following removed it, dipped it in the wine, and then placed it in the taker's mouth.

"Refreshments" were scheduled for immediately after the Easter service and were to be served in the **Qalgi** Center, but it **turned** that the heating system in that building was not operating. Therefore, the site was moved to the church itself. After approximately an hour of preparation following the service, the refreshments were served. Paper plates, bowls, and plastic forks were distributed before the food, served by women who made their way around the room, serving people who were seated primarily on the floor and pews around the outside of the room, with others seated in the pews.

Rather than being "refreshments" such as coffee and donuts, it was a veritable feast. There was **beluga maktaq**, whale meat, sweet rolls, two kinds of cake, warm mixed fruit, cold mixed fruit with cool whip, potato salad, apples, and soda pop. Soda pop and the apples were distributed to the kids first, and then whatever was left over was given away to the adults. A number of people who attended the church service did not stay for the feast; others who did not attend the service seemed to show up for the refreshments. Some individuals came over after attending services at the Assembly of God Church. Overall, there were perhaps the same number of individuals at the feast as at the church service or slightly fewer. Virtually everyone who attended the feast took food home with them.

The Blessing of the Whaling: Point Hope

The Episcopal Church, represented by its deacon, had a prominent role to play at a number of seemingly otherwise secular public events. For example, at the Thanksgiving feast, the deacon opened the feast with a prayer and similarly blessed the **Nulukatuk** festivities at their opening. For the beginning of the whaling season, however, the blessing took place at a special service held at the church itself on the evening of Wednesday April 6. A whaling boat was brought in, carried down the center aisle, and placed in the front of the church. Reportedly, the **umiak** used in the service can be anyone's and is usually one that is stored nearest the church for ease of handling. In 1988 however, the deacon's boat was used even though he lives and stores his craft some distance from the church. Paddles from each of the individual whaling captains and a darting gun from one of the crews were placed inside the **umiak**. A total of thirteen male and two female captains took direct part in the service by sitting in the pews in the front of the church where the choir normally sits. (This included the local deacon, who is also a captain.) Twelve adult males, twenty adult females, and approximately fifteen children of various ages were in attendance. The service followed a program printed on a photocopied sheet, and there were several portions of the service where the captains read lines in order as part of a responsive reading. Lasting for an hour, the service focused on prayers for success, protection, and safety.

The Point Hope Assembly of God Church

There has been an Assembly of God mission in Point Hope for the past twenty-six years. Reportedly, there was some friction between the established Episcopal church and the new Assembly of God mission in the first few years of their coexistence, but

this apparently is no longer the case. In fact, during formal church services and other church activities the minister doesn't mention "Assembly of God" or, in his words, "preach denominations"; at **one** service attended the minister announced the time services were being held at the Episcopal church.

The present Assembly of God minister and his family have been in Point Hope for over two years. His perception is that the Episcopal Church appeals to older people and **Inupiaq** speakers while the Assembly of God Church appeals to younger people and English speakers. This perception is not inconsistent with field observations. The minister speculates that perhaps this relation between the churches in Point Hope may change as language use patterns change. **While** there may be a transition as **Inupiat** monolingual English speakers get older and they use **Inupiaq** less in the Episcopal services, so far the Assembly of God has been consistently more successful in appealing to young people. It is difficult to predict such changes, however, as there are a number of complicating factors, such as the fact that some of the leaders and most active individuals in the Episcopal Church in Point Hope are also individuals who are important figures in the community in other arenas, such as whaling, formal politics, and the local corporation. Whether active membership in the Episcopalian Church will continue to be correlated with powerful elders in the coming years remains to be seen.

The present Assembly of God church building is new since the move of the village to the new town site. It is a prefabricated wooden box-like structure, two stories tall and painted white. The main room where services are held is **on** the first floor, and a small unoccupied apartment and the rooms used for Sunday school are on the second floor. The apartment used to house the minister before a church-owned house was built adjacent to the church.

The Assembly of God is an active church. Adult attendance for Sunday morning services averages between eighteen and twenty individuals. Sunday evenings draw approximately thirty-five attendees of **all** ages. In addition to the Sunday gatherings, there are often prayer meetings held on Wednesday evenings. Perhaps the largest difference between the two churches is the level of involvement of children in the churches. Children are actively brought into the activities of the Assembly of God Church. The Sunday school program, for example, had an average weekly attendance of forty-four children during 1987, and the minister is anticipating that they will have an average of fifty children in Sunday school this year. The Episcopal Church in Point Hope, on the other **hand**, does not have Sunday school as regularly and has not been as successful in attracting large numbers of children. The Assembly of God minister is clearly interested in holding the attention of the children and making church attendance an enjoyable experience for them. (The difference in the styles of the churches in their activities towards young people may well be related to other child-rearing practices and values. **Inupiat** tend to be more non-directive and have very few adult-structured activities for children.) One of the youth programs in progress in April 1988 was a reading incentive program that featured rewards children could earn by reading stories, telling the story to an adult, and having the adult sign off that the child had indeed completed the task during a specified time frame. On the Sunday that marked the end of the program three children earned **Walkman-like** radios. Other children who did not earn the big rewards still earned "funny money" dollars which could be applied toward other rewards, partially offsetting the disappointment expressed at having missed the most desired rewards.

Outside of the usual services, religious movies are occasionally shown at the Assembly of God Church in the evenings. On Easter evening, for example, there was a

movie shown about how a young man found meaning in his life through finding Christ. In attendance were eleven adult **Inupiat** females, seven adult **Inupiat** males, seven high-school aged **Inupiat** females, one high-school aged **Inupiat** male, and approximately thirty-five **Inupiat** children. The only **non-Inupiat** individuals present were the minister, his wife, and their children. There is some overlap between attendance at events at the two churches in the community. For example, one of the older **Inupiat** men in attendance at the movie took an active role in the Episcopal Easter service held earlier in the day, as did his wife who was also in attendance. The Assembly of God minister reports that he doesn't mind that people go to one church one time and the other church another time. Further, he does not see it as his mission to go out and recruit members from the other church.

Prayers were recited both before and after the movie and there was some additional discussion by the minister both about the movie and other church activities. Testimony was also given by a young **Inupiat** woman as to how accepting Christ into her life had changed her. Movies at the church are rented, and it was only recently that the minister found that donations by people in attendance could pretty much cover the rental cost of the movie, allowing them to be a more frequent activity than in the past.

The movie itself was a story about the son of an alcoholic and wife-beater; he himself turns into an adulterous wife-beater before he gets "born again." During one sequence the male lead dates a young woman in her late teens or early twenties -- she is a Christian, and he is not; she becomes pregnant. One particular scene is of her crying dramatically and regretfully ruminating that her life is over, that she has made so many plans and that now the pregnancy has cut them all short. This particular scene drew laughs (nervous, empathetic, or otherwise) from some teenage girls in attendance, some of whom have children of their own and all of whom have friends that have had children as teenagers. Traditionally, one of the areas that missionaries on the North Slope have been interested in is the control of pregnancies outside of marriage. In the movie all was made well through the male lead finding Christ and the male and the female leads getting married. While the portion of the movie that dealt with "illegitimate" births was perhaps viewed differently by **Inupiat** young women than some other young female segments of the American population, other portions that dealt with alcohol abuse and spouse abuse clearly struck a chord with many in the congregation, and these areas are publicly considered problems in Point Hope.

The Assembly of God minister and his wife are originally from the Midwest and worked there before coming to Point Hope, and have become content in a community quite different from those they were raised in. They appear to be quite well accepted by the community and take part in community activities, including sports and hunting. Apparently there were some ill feelings over the minister hunting in the beginning, but he reports that these have lessened as he was accepted into the community and people saw how hard he was willing to work at hunting, especially when pushed to do so by economic necessity. (There is likely to always remain some with uneasy feelings however, as in the minds of some individuals, **non-Inupiat** are never truly "locals" and game should be for the use of locals only.)

If there is one way to characterize the difference in foci of the two churches in the community it is that the Assembly of God Church seems to focus more on the present, immediate life-situation of its members. There is an emphasis in the Assembly of God Church on interactive participation of the congregation and the minister during services, and individuals are encouraged to testify and discuss their problems in front of the group so that others may pray for them. On the other hand, the

Episcopal Church seems more timeless and independent of the present congregation. The Episcopal Church has been in the community since before the present members of the congregation were born and will presumably remain long after the present members of the congregation pass on. People come and go over their lifetimes; the church seems relatively independent of whoever composes the congregation at any one time. For the Assembly of God, however, it appears that the present constituency of the congregation and leadership is the church, and the church appears to be heavily dependent for its success on the personality and individual effort of the minister; his personality is quite unlike that of many of those in his congregation. Were the present minister to leave and not be replaced from the outside, it is easy to imagine that the Assembly of God would cease to have a presence in the community in a relatively short period of time. The Episcopal Church, on the other hand, is a more enduring institution in the community, a place of the elders and of continuity with the past, and it draws its day-to-day leaders from within the community. There is, of course, support for the Episcopal Church from Fairbanks, but both the ordained and lay leaders are local **Inupiat**.

FORMAL INSTITUTIONS AND LEADERSHIP

Because of the small size of Point Lay and its status as an unincorporated municipality, there are fewer formal political bodies and actors than one would expect. This is truly the realm of "local-level politics" in the sense of Swartz (1968) and F. G. Bailey (1969, 1971, 1973, 1983, 1984). The lack of formal Western political institutions at the local level potentially allows for the functioning of more traditional **Inupiat** mechanisms.

There are two formal institutions in the village with political aspects, the village council and the village corporation. This is the standard case in Alaska Native villages. The Point Lay IRA Council has been incorporated under federal law and is treated as the **local** governing body by all interested parties. The **Cully** Corporation, the local ANCSA corporation, could act to politically oppose the council, but the degree of overlap of personnel between these two organizations prevents this from happening. As such, Point Lay is a dramatic comparison case to **Nuiqsut** where quite the opposite is true (see **Galginaitis** et al. 1984). Another formal position that is not technically an institution but which has important consequences for the village is the of village coordinator. This person is employed by the NSB to serve as a liaison between his village of residence and the NSB. This person is chosen by the village and approved by the NSB. This individual can have a great effect on programs available in the village and ideally monitors the **pulse** of community-NSB relations.

The main entity with which Point Lay interacts is the **NSB**. As the NSB is in effect the sole support of the village, this is quite understandable. The NSB is also the main mediator between Point Lay and other agencies, at least on many issues. As the source of **CIP** and other construction project funds the NSB helps resolve local problems between the village and contractors. Through the NSB Wildlife Management Department the NSB mediates between subsistence users and state and federal agencies. Through the NSB Planning Department the NSB sets a slope-wide policy on development. The NSB of course provides most of the basic services within the village (education, water, power, police and fire protection, and so on). Given this situation, the position of Village Coordinator has the potential to become a formidable power.

Given the scale of borough operations in the village, and the seemingly all-pervasive influence of the borough, one can appreciate how the role of the village coordinator is often an important one. For institutions that are components of more inclusive NSB institutions, typically the local head has an immediate supervisor on the borough **level** with whom he or she interacts frequently. For example, the local supervisor of the Rural Employment and Living Improvements (**RELI**) program in both Point Lay and Point Hope interacts frequently with his contact at the borough level. On the other hand, the institutions that interact with the borough, but are not themselves components of borough institutions, are in a structurally more difficult situation. For example, both the Point Hope city council and the village corporation (**Tigara**) work with the borough on a number of different programs and projects. For the **Tigara** Corporation, this relationship is not direct. **Tigara** has a working relationship with the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation which, in turn, has a close working relationship to the North Slope Borough. The village coordinator is in a position to act as a go-between for the NSB and the corporation. If this person is especially effective in his or her position, he or she can be quite active in pursuing the desires of the village and is in excellent stead to get borough programs for the village on advantageous terms.

Indeed, there are times that it seems that the village coordinator is more significant to the smooth functioning of programs and services within the village than the mayor. In Point Lay, where there is not as much functional differentiation in leadership positions as in Point Hope, this is not quite as important a factor. The only paid leadership positions in Point Lay are the village coordinator and the president of **Cully** Corporation. Point Hope, as a second class city with a small population, cannot pay its mayor a salary. However, the Point Hope mayor is reimbursed for the time he spends each day in the city offices answering the phones, dealing with correspondence, and so on. There is no paid IRA Council staff in Point Lay. This makes the paid position of village coordinator an especially key one in Point Lay, and partially explains the closeness between the IRA Council and the **Cully** Corporation. Given the lack of IRA resources in Point Lay, **Cully** Corporation personnel and the village coordinator have assumed the roles of coordinating with the NSB. In Point Hope, on the other hand, the position of village coordinator may exacerbate institutional conflicts. This is an important point of contrast with Point Hope, which has a plethora of formal institutions. There are strong indications, however, that Point Lay, while not electing to formally incorporate as a community or choose to recognize many of the provisions of ANCSA, is nevertheless ensnared in a web of institutions very similar to those found in Point Hope.

The question in Point Lay then becomes one of social control and the creation/maintenance/illusion of consensus. This is a complex process, expressed in Point Lay (as in **Nuiqsut**) in the idiom of kinship and no simple prescription can be given for its examination. The initial description of this political structure is relatively straightforward and includes the following institutions:

- a) The IRA Council, which works with, as well as against, the ICAS and NSB;
- b) The **Cully** Corporation, which works with and against, the ASRC and NSB;
- c) The School Advisory Council (SAC);
- d) The village Elders;
- e) The senior men (informal peer group of decision-makers/advisors);

- f) The school staff; and
- g) NSB functionaries and representatives of the **NSB** mayor,

We will discuss each of these in the appropriate section below.

Introduction to Leadership in Point Lay

Leadership and responsibility are inseparable in Point Lay, as in most communities. What distinguishes leadership and responsibility in Point Lay is the way its people deal with this relationship. This results from the relatively small pool of people within Point Lay available to fill leadership (responsible) positions and Point Lay's incorporation into a regional, state, and national system. These factors put many demands upon local people if they are to adequately protect their local interests. This is very much the same dynamic as exists for any small rural community, whether in Alaska or the lower-48. What perhaps distinguishes it is the degree to which Point Lay is clearly a peripheral and dependent community of the central regional entity, which is centered in the core (and largest) city of the region. Point Lay is thus dependent on the NSB (and Barrow) while at the same time realizing that while their interests overlap to a great degree that there are significant areas of at least potential interest conflict. The same dynamic exists in other North Slope villages, although it can be mitigated by the somewhat larger size of the other villages. It nevertheless remains true that most North Slope villages are too small to adequately staff all the responsible positions that currently exist (see pages **174-75** for further discussion of this topic).

The demands of responsible leadership are usually presumed to be at least somewhat proportional to the size of the community or organization involved (with a certain minimum required for any size organization, no matter how small). Thus, it might be suspected that there would be relatively few positions requiring administrative and decision-making skills in Point Lay. This expectation would be most incorrect. Internally, Point Lay does indeed have few developed leadership positions and in fact deals with most internal affairs "informally and by consensus." This will be discussed at some length below, when the reasons for the quotes will become more evident. It is the demands of external agencies (the NSB, various parts of the Alaska state government, different agencies of the federal government, firms interested in mineral resource development, and other interest groups) which require more formal and time-critical leadership action and which create problems for the village. These will also be developed below. Since to a large extent the people of Point Lay attempt to fold the larger external system into the smaller internal one, that is probably the more logical way for us to approach this topic as well. What will result is necessarily a view of the political and decision-making system from a Point Lay perspective. This will be tempered at the end with a summary based on a larger macro-perspective.

We realize that the distinction of an "internal" leadership structure and an "external" one is artificial. It is being used here as a heuristic device to point out certain differences in relations within the village and those between the village and other entities. While we will not be arguing organic versus mechanical solidarity (**Durkheim**), there is certainly a personal quality in village relations absent in larger communities. Although villagers try to maintain this personal quality in all contexts (and at times external entities attempt to use it to their

own advantage), it is continually attenuated the higher one goes in the bureaucratic hierarchy dealing with issues of concern to Point Lay. There is also the question of what leadership in Point Lay is, and the degree to which leadership confers or is synonymous with authority and power. It will be our contention that the terms are not at all equivalent within Point Lay, at least in the minds of **Inupiat**, and that at least some of the problems of communication between the village and other entities (including the NSB) result from thinking of these terms as equivalents. This point has received some development within the North Slope context (**Galginaitis et al.** 1984), but will be elaborated on below.

Internal Leadership in Point Lay

Point Lay was reconstituted as an explicitly **Inupiat** community. The IRA Council was, and is, the only formal political organization in the village. The powers of the IRA Council derive from the constitution of the Native Village of Point Lay adopted in 1946 under the Indian Reorganization Act as extended to Alaska. For the **Inupiat** residents of Point Lay, the IRA Council is Point Lay. They have resisted incorporating as a city for fear of setting up competing formal organizations. There are two key implications to be drawn from this. First, by conscious decision of the **Inupiat** residents, there is only one formal political organization within Point Lay. Second, non-Natives have no formal representation within that organization. What will be discussed in the following pages is the scope of the activities of the IRA Council and its members, the informal organizations within Point Lay that contribute to the leadership structure of the community, and finally, the internal leadership dynamics of the village (the “leadership cycle” -- recruitment, service, and “retirement” -- and the contributions of **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** to that cycle).

Internal social control is fundamentally informal within Point Lay. The IRA Council exists to deal with various authorities from the “outside.” Despite this mandate, it is still true that the IRA Council is used to formally structure the way disputes are presented and resolved within Point Lay. The Point Lay mayor is expected to take the lead in dispute resolutions and to lead the way in the formation of a consensus. This is a key pattern to be discussed below. Also, certain “external” institutions must also be discussed as mainly “internal” issues, although they will also be referenced in the next section. These include such issues as housing, the post office, the village corporation, and the store. Leadership within the village is also provided from village voluntary organizations which have links to the “outside.” Thus the post office, the School Advisory Council, the volunteer Fire Department, the health board, and the bingo committee will **all** be discussed as part of the local leadership arena, but clearly also have implications for “external” relations questions as well.

A general discussion will precede more specific case examples, although this may seem to be somewhat backwards. Perhaps the most general point to make is that almost all decisions made by Point Lay **Inupiat** are framed within a consensus model. That is, in theory everyone who is present at the time the decision is made agrees with the action taken. In actuality, as discussed in the **Nuqsut** case study (**Galginaitis et al.** 1984:266-67) what is achieved is the lack of dissent. Depending upon the forcefulness of the person perceived as the chairman of the meeting and thus spokesman for the group, such lack of vocalized dissension may be achieved easily or only with difficulty. The ideal model is for the person in charge to be as nondirective as he can. Discussion should not be forced in any specific direction and everyone should be allowed to have his or her say. All Point Lay mayors (and in fact, all Point Lay **Inupiat** leaders) fit this mold and apparently always have. This

contrasts with **Nuiqsut**, where both **nondirective** and much more directive mayors have been observed (**Galginaitis** et al. 1984, **Galginaitis** 1989). This contrast in leadership styles will be developed in the Northern Institutional Profile Analysis report, but is not germane here except to remark that it is an exception for North Slope village **Inupiat** leaders.

This does not mean that there is a lack of public criticism about the decisions that are made or actions that are taken. In fact, such criticism is often quite heated. It is usually made by individuals not present at the meeting where the matter was discussed, however, and so is often dismissed as the noise **of** people who did not have the force of their convictions to come and talk when it counted. This argument loses its force when those people have legitimate reasons not to have attended (out of town on business, sick, work). Even people who did attend a meeting sometimes complain only after the fact. They would cite the comments that would be directed towards them as the apparent source of conflict (and sometimes, they think, themselves personally) as reasons that they did not talk out. It is **also clear** that there are several Point Lay people who as a matter of principal do not attend IRA or other village public meetings. One in particular says that if people want to use his expertise, they can elect him to a formal position. This his fellow residents have not been willing to do. They value what he knows but consider him personally erratic. He does have a position as the village liaison with the **ICAS**, but was recently made the alternate rather than the primary representative.

The reason given for not electing this individual is that he has too many ideas about what should be done. He would be too directive. Conversations with him make it clear that he believes this is the case as well. Point Lay people prefer that the individuals in leadership positions not be overtly directive. They are constantly afraid that someone's interests **will** be hurt in the pursuit **of** a speedy decision. This is coupled with a hesitancy to be **held** responsible for any decision or action by any **Inupiat** person in a leadership position. It may seem contradictory that people who are willing to direct decisions and assume responsibility are shunted from leadership positions while those who shun responsibility have such positions thrust upon them, but that is indeed the system as it currently works. It appears to be an operationalization of the thought that anyone who really wants to be president should be disqualified from the position. It is also clearly an elevation of the ideology of consensus over the importance for making decisions within any given time constraints.

This **Inupiat** ideology is perhaps most pervasive in the frustration that any outsider experiences when trying to accomplish the (usually) very specific task that is the reason for his being in Point Lay. The outsider is first directed to talk to the person "in charge." Almost invariably such attempts result in the outsider becoming enmeshed in a potentially endless loop of village contacts. We label this cycle of reciprocal referrals by the phrase most often used in response to requests or questions about anything -- "You're talking to the wrong guy."

Until the researcher was known in the community, he experienced this process in almost all matters. Trying to arrange for housing for the first period of fieldwork was a very trying experience. People were outwardly helpful, suggesting what appeared to be feasible possibilities, but none of these in fact were fruitful. A week was spent going from one referral to another. The one suggestion that yielded results was that the researcher post signs of his need in various public places. While at bingo that night he was approached with a possibility and made the arrangements the next day. Likewise, when searching for the minutes of past IRA Council meetings he approached the village coordinator who referred him to the past

secretary of the IRA Council, who referred him to the IRA Council president, who referred him to the **Cully** Corporation president (who is the current secretary of the IRA Council and actual custodian of all official documents kept in the community building filing cabinets). The final result was that these minutes were never found or examined. It is uncertain if they actually exist, and if so, where they are located. The same process was repeated in a search for old school records that were known to have existed as recently as 1985 (**Neakok** et al. 1985). These documents were also not located, after several referrals. They do exist in partial form as tape recorded readings by an official of the NSB Planning Department (**Libbey** 1989: personal communication).

When the researcher needed a pick to chop some ice out of a doorway early in his stay in the village he was directed to several likely locations in the village to find one (Public Works, Utilities, the school) only to be **told** that there was no one there who could authorize the lending of the tool. A final example, but one that by no means exhausts our cases, is when a resident **non-Inupiat** requested that he be allowed to park his plane on the village apron of the airstrip. The IRA president referred him to the corporation president, who referred him to the DEW Line station (which is responsible for the airstrip), who referred him back to the village since they control the use of their apron. Finally, it became clear that none of these people were the “right guy” to talk to as it was a village resident who had no official position on the IRA Council who objected to this **non-Inupiat** having a **plane** in Point Lay. His single objection was sufficient to block this request, and the other **Inupiat** saw it as the **non-Inupiat's** responsibility to talk to this man and gain his consent before any further action could be taken. The “leaders” had no responsibility in the reconciliation of these two individuals.

This pattern has several implications. First, it relieves the people who were consulted from any responsibility for the results of the outsiders' actions. He is acting on his own and does not have even their tacit approval as, according to them, it is not theirs to give. Secondly, outsiders (and village residents, since they are subject to the same system) are at best given only limited access to information or resources and thus kept at a relative disadvantage. Thirdly, as a result of the above, local control is enhanced **while local** responsibility is diffused. Local decision makers retain control over the definition of the situation while making it appear that that is simply the way things are. This is especially important in those situations where village residents are faced with outsiders whose purpose they do not really understand and the usefulness of whose work is questionable (the category **into** which most researchers are probably put). Where it is presumed that the results could potentially harm the interests of the village this aspect assumes even more importance. Some more detailed examples may make this clearer.

When possible, those in formal leadership positions will delay taking action, especially if called on to make a decision alone. The Point Lay mayor was only half joking when he told the researcher about his filing system. When he received a letter from someone he did not know he threw it away unopened. The second letter he put into his filing cabinet unopened. The third letter from the same address he would read, because if they wrote a third time the matter was probably important. Letters thought to be of little consequence are ignored. An example would be when the Department of the Interior contacted the Point Lay IRA about becoming the Authorized Village Entity (**AVE**) sometime prior to March 14, 1985 (although the man who was mayor at that time is now president of **Cully** Corporation, the dynamics, or lack of them, are the same). Copies of seven letters on this matter addressed to the IRA were found dated between March 14, 1985 and November 16, 1987. At no time was there a written response to these letters, the last of which informed the IRA Council

that since they had not objected to becoming the AVE, that they had been designated as such. To ensure that the necessary public notice had been posted so that this was legal it had been necessary for the Department of Interior representative to call a **non-Inupiat** to ask him if the posters about this action had been posted. As they had been (at least according to this informant) and there was no public comment, the **USDOl** was allowed to take this unilateral action. The designation of the IRA Council as the AVE for Point Lay has made no discernible difference.

Internal Leadership and the Post Office in Point Lay

At present (May 1989), the **Cully** Corporation is responsible for the post office as a subcontractor to the Postal Service. They have a formal contract to handle the post office. At present, the terms are for a base amount per year plus specified rate per pound of mail handled (incoming or outgoing). The IRA Council used to hold this subcontract, but because of various problems was forced to relinquish it and the **Cully** Corporation was the only party willing to take it up. Before the IRA Council operated the post office there was no official United States mail service to Point Lay. This history will be elaborated below.

When Point Lay was reestablished, mail service was much less frequent and very much less formal than at present. Whatever planes came in took whatever mail there was to go out. If space was at a premium packages did not go out unless individuals made prior arrangements. There was no postmaster, so a bag was kept in the store into which people put items to be mailed. While the loss of mail was not common, delay in delivery **was** very common. Receipt of mail was also quite irregular. Letters could arrive in any plane but upon arrival in Point **Lay** were **simply** put on a **shelf** in the store. Unless a person looked for mail and picked it up it could **remain** there forever, or be lost under piles of junk mail and catalogs. Packages and special deliveries (CODS, certified and insured mail, and so on) were not deliverable to Point Lay unless special arrangements were made with the Postal Service and the air carrier. For much of this period Cape **Smythe**, the air carrier servicing Point Lay, was authorized to sign for mail for anyone in Point Lay, as it was quite inconvenient to have such mail retained in Barrow and unavailable unless the individual wanted to go to Barrow personally. When these problems became too aggravating, the Postal Service convinced people in Point Lay to open a contract postal office. The IRA was chosen as the entity to operate it because no individual was interested. It was conceived as a profit-making endeavor that should return its profits to the people it served. This contract also provided the IRA Council with its only source of funds. These were the reasons given by local informants as to why the IRA Council was chosen over the **Cully** Corporation to operate the post office in Point Lay.

The arrangement allowed for a base amount to be paid to the IRA. This amount paid the postal clerk(s). The hauling fee was paid to the **Cully** Corporation, since it was their truck which was supposed to haul the mail between the airstrip and the post office. In actuality, any truck which met a mail plane would take that mail along with other freight. Given the bypass mail system, nearly any plane which landed could be carrying mail. The hours of the post office were irregular, but for **1987-88** were listed as hours of 9:00-10:00 a.m. and **1:00-3:45** p.m. three times a week (about 12 hours per week or 600 hours a year). There were at least two basic problems with this. The first was that the contract was let on the basis of a prevailing federal wage scale which was too low for Point Lay. The second was that the posted hours were treated as a minimum by the community. If **mail** came in, it was expected by the people of the village that it would be immediately sorted and available. Thus, the IRA found that it had to pay substantially more than the amount arrived at by

multiplying the federal wage scale by 600 man-hours each year. This combined with the fact that the IRA did not receive any of the postal hauling money meant that it ran the post office at a substantial deficit. Given this situation, it was not surprising that the IRA Council late in 1988 gave the Postal Service 30 days notice that it would no longer run the post office.

There were (and **are**), however, other aspects to the problem. The post office was physically located within the Native store, in a sort of closet. It had a locking door and a safe, but had only minimal storage space. CODS and other large packages were left outside the post office in the store aisle that served as public access to the post office. They were thus available to anyone who happened to be in the store. Although this was not a serious problem for Point Lay people, it worried the Postal Service, especially as there had been an increasing number of CODS that either disappeared **or were** not paid for. There was also no steady mail clerk. Rather, there were about four people who took turns opening the post office. No records were kept as to who was on duty when, so that there was no accountability for missing money orders, CODS, or stamps. The IRA could not provide good oversight because it had no full-time staff or even an office. While the store location of the post office was convenient for people, it was not really convenient for the store. The aisle became very crowded when people picked up their mail, and at those times was almost useless in terms of retail merchandise. Perhaps more serious was the state of the accounting for money orders at the post office. Since Point Lay was and is almost always cash poor, money orders purchased with pay checks are the most common form of currency in the community. There had been an increasing number of money orders which had disappeared from the post office. Understandably there was not much public information about how this situation came about, but there was much private gossip.

This situation reached a crisis for several reasons. First, the magnitude of the missing money grew beyond the IRA Council's ability to assume responsibility for it. Second, the Postal Service was threatening to shut down the post office unless another entity were put in charge of it and certain changes were made in its operation. Thirdly, there was a real possibility that some entity other than the IRA or the **Cully** Corporation would be able to handle the post office. The IRA originally contracted for the post office as they believed it was necessary for the village and there was no one else to do it. Recently, however, two private trucks had arrived in Point Lay and it was expected that one of the owners of those trucks would be interested in the post office. The IRA Council considered rebidding on the postal contract, but in the end did not. No private individual bid, either. The **Cully** Corporation was the only bidder, and they undertook this endeavor only because there was no one else willing to. They realized that it was an essential village service.

If properly run, the post office is a guaranteed money-maker. The private individual did not bid on the contract, however, because of the time constraints that it would impose. If for some reason he wished to be out of the village he would have to arrange for someone else to handle the post office. This person would have to be approved in advance by the Postal Service. There are few people who would fit into this category and that is one of the reasons that the Postal Service demanded a change in operators. The IRA Council had been employing a series of clerks, few of whom had much formal training and many of whom had difficulties with simple arithmetic. Since the large scale was not kept in balance, mistakes in weighing packages were often made. The clerks also had no training in how to use this scale. They also had problems using the different rate charts (and knowing when and how to apply them). In addition, the new subcontractor was required to move the post office out of the Native Store. The Postal Service wanted a more secure location. Private

individuals would have had only their home or a storage building to use, none of which would have been suitable. The truck owner also judged that they would have to haul too much freight along with the mail, which would be too much of a problem for their hatchback vehicle. All in all, this couple decided that it would not be worth the bother.

Once the IRA Council gave up the subcontract in late 1988, Point Lay was actually without mail service for a time. People were so upset at the problems this caused that **Cully** Corporation agreed to take over. **Cully** agreed to the Postal Service demands that the postal clerk be trained and approved, and that the post office itself be moved out of the Native Store. In fact, the post office was run exactly as it had been before. This continued for perhaps a month, after which time the **Postal Service** shut it down as all the old problems still remained. It was only after **Cully** Corporation moved a vacant house onto corporation land, modified it for use as a post office, and hired a new postmaster, that the Postal Service **allowed** the post office to reopen. The Point Lay post office is currently scheduled to be open four days a week, essentially 10:00 a.m. to noon and 1:00 p.m. to **3:00** p.m. There are still **only** three scheduled mail days, but mail can arrive at **nearly** any time, and the post office will open 'whenever mail arrives. There is still some difficulty with hiring a steady and dependable mail clerk, and at times the **Cully** Corporation president must assume these duties when the regular clerk is unavailable.

Throughout this process the Postal Service was very anxious to resolve the past problems and reopen the Point Lay post office. Postal inspectors were in the village several times during the course of our research, both to investigate financial improprieties (missing money orders, forged checks, and missing CODS) and to provide training for potential mail clerks. The Postal Service sincerely wished to put the problems of the post office to rest and get on with providing what they consider an essential service to the village. The Postal Service acknowledged that the problems in Point Lay were by no means unique, although they were rather extreme. The Postal Service attributed the problems to inadequate training resulting in misunderstandings of accounting procedures, and a lack of adequate oversight. The Postal Service does not attribute any of the problems to outright larceny or fraud, or at least has taken the position that they are not going to prosecute as long as the money deficit is made good. The IRA Council has agreed to this arrangement and has assumed this financial responsibility. **Cully** Corporation has agreed to provide oversight from now on, and indeed that is why the corporation president is the relief postal clerk.

Internal Leadership and the Bingo Committee

The organization and operation of bingo in Point Lay is described in detail elsewhere. What is of interest here is the overall perception of how bingo is run as an organization. The "cycle of corruption" conceptualization described for **Nuqsut (Galginaitis et al. 1984:331)** is held by people in Point Lay as well. Although the bingo committee is organized as a central clearinghouse for all village charities, the members of this committee are periodically purged as they either get worn out from working too much (bingo is held at least three nights a week from **7:00** p.m. to 11:00 p.m.) or are relieved of their duties for suspected liberties with bingo funds. It is interesting in regard to the post office problems that all bingo operations in Point Lay are run under one license obtained by the **Cully** Corporation.

Again, the reason only one organization in Point Lay has a bingo license appears to be a matter of accountability. The licensing authorities require a certain level of documentation and require that the organization demonstrate an ability to keep such

records before a bingo license will be issued. In Point Lay, **Cully** Corporation is the only organization able to meet these expectations (although this is not the case in most other villages, where each organization commonly obtains its own license). In fact, it is unclear whether **Cully** Corporation's records are adequate for state regulators in this regard. People in the village are unsure if they even have a license or not. The **Cully** Corporation president maintains that they do and that it has been lost in the mail. A replacement was (is) on the way. There were various interpretations as to what this meant, but those individuals who were the most cautious had withdrawn from serving on the bingo committee and were no longer playing bingo. Almost everyone else was acting as usual, although wondering on occasion where the license was and why it was not on display. There were no "Vegas" or "pull-tabs" in the village since a state bingo license is required to purchase them. Without the physical license the bingo committee did not want to order them. Since "Vegas" is the real money-maker at bingo, the problem with the license has crippled the bingo operations.

This is a recent problem, however, which developed at the end of 1988 and into 1989. It appears to be a particularly severe instance of the regular "cycle of corruption" and is analogous to the post office situation. It appears that there are some financial irregularities in the bingo accounts and until they are straightened out there will be problems obtaining another license. As bingo is important both financially and socially, this is a difficult problem. The corporation president is the one held responsible for obtaining the license, yet he has little control over the bingo committee and none at all over the operation of bingo itself. He thus distances himself from the situation as best he can. As this issue was not resolved at the time the researcher left the field, we cannot discuss the final results of this situation.

The "normal" state of affairs for bingo in Point Lay is for a bingo committee to be elected every year. Such a committee will serve unaltered until people resign or demands are made for a new board. There are only demands for a new board when people become convinced that a significant amount of bingo proceeds are being absorbed by the bingo organization. On very few or no occasions are these charges followed up by formal action or investigations. Usually the losses are absorbed and a new committee elected, consisting of people who were on the committee that existed prior to the one just dissolved. This new committee is full of energy, runs many games, and almost always shows a much improved bottom line for several months. Then this position gradually erodes as members become less active, devoting less of their time to working for bingo (although they may still play). Members also begin to borrow "temporarily" from bingo for travel or even everyday expenses, as it is one of the more steady sources of cash in the village. When these abuses become excessive, the cycle repeats itself. This cycle is not unique to Point Lay, and in fact seems to be quite general on the North Slope.

Internal Leadership and the Health Board

The health board is elected every year and serves as a **liaison with** Barrow. It also provides funds for the transportation of patients to Barrow for medical treatment. They do **this** through sponsoring **bingo**. For **this** reason, many of the women on the health board are also on the **bingo** committee. There are seldom any men on the **bingo** committee but men often serve on the health board. Recently one man declined to act as chairman because of other **time** commitments and **his** perception that **bingo** was in trouble. For purposes of our discussion we wish to note this overlap with the bingo committee and the fact that this **non-Inupiat** resident, who had served on this board

in the past, was declining to serve as chairman. He also served as fire chief, and the volunteer Fire Department met **every** Tuesday (see below). Bingo is **played** Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. IRA meetings and other community events are scheduled on Thursdays. This leaves no days for health board meetings, at least for this man, and he says not enough of the members work for the NSB to arrange for people to obtain time off to attend the meetings during work hours. This is evidence of a clear structural problem.

Internal Leadership and the Fire Department

The Point Lay Fire Department has a clear hierarchical relationship to the NSB Fire Department. As discussed elsewhere, this hierarchical arrangement causes some conflicts between Point Lay and the NSB. Within Point Lay, the Fire Department and SAR are the same thing, whereas at the NSB level they are different organizations. Similarly, within Point Lay the fire hall and its contents are seen as common community assets to be used as needed and desired by all. **At** the NSB level these assets are to be conserved and used for emergencies only. This has caused some problems in the recruitment of volunteers and leadership in this organization.

The fire chief in Point Lay for several years has been the **non-Inupiat** man mentioned above in connection with the health board. He was recently absent from Point Lay for about a year, but was never formally replaced as chief during this period. An **Inupiat** did informally serve as chief in his absence. His departure from Point Lay was sudden, with no time for preparation. People recall that when he left he took the only set of keys for many of the locked doors in the fire hall. Duplicates had **to** be ordered from Barrow. People in Point Lay used this as an example of how hierarchical this man and the NSB had kept leadership in the Fire Department. Since his return, he has been careful to ensure that several people know what is going on and that several people (including some young members) have sets of keys. The fire department, however, is one area where **non-Inupiat** exert substantial influence. In this man's absence, another **non-Inupiat** shouldered a great deal of the burden of maintaining the building, especially during an extensive period of Search and Rescue. It is apparently these men's mechanical abilities combined with their recognized ease at getting along with **non-Inupiat** NSB superiors in Barrow that accounts for their prominence in the Fire Department. Also, no one in the Point Lay Fire Department has much **formal** fire-fighting training. These men may have more training in how to handle emergency situations, however, than anyone else in the village. Several **Inupiat** have now attended at least one fire training session held on the North Slope. The Fire Department is still grossly undertrained.

Internal Leadership and the School Advisory Council

The School Advisory Council (SAC) in Point Lay, for the period of the field research, was relatively inactive and ineffective. The same **non-Inupiat** man who was absent for much of this time was the titular president, and was not formally replaced. He resumed his position upon his return. Few community residents attended meetings and most of the time a quorum of the SAC was not achieved. This was commonly attributed to the perception that the SAC had little actual influence locally or at the NSB level and that the president of the SAC and the principal of the school were the dominant forces in any event. These perceptions are indeed not far from the truth, and the school, while seen as important for the future of Point Lay's children, is also seen as having little direct relevance to the central values of Point Lay's adults. The school is not relied upon to teach **Inupiat** culture in Point Lay, and the

SAC has not been used to foster that goal in the past. Under its present president the Point Lay SAC seems mainly interested in academic excellence and as broad an array of offerings as possible. The school is perceived as a **non-Inupiat** institution, although its service population is of course primarily **Inupiat**. The reasons for this are complex or simple, depending upon one's perspective, but as long as the administration and teaching staff are predominantly **non-Inupiat**, and the local **SACS** remain advisory, this is not likely to change. **Non-Inupiat** leadership in Point Lay for the SAC thus appears to fit the pattern, but to be of no real concern to most residents of Point Lay.

Internal Leadership) and Housing

Housing is a very complex issue in Point Lay. The aspect of housing of interest here is its allocation. That is, how do people find or receive housing, and upon what basis are such allocations justified? We have a limited number of cases to draw on for this information, but several are quite detailed. The researcher was intimately involved in several of these, since he had to find housing for his research periods. He had four different housing situations -- living with an **Inupiat** family, renting a temporarily vacant house, looking after **Cully** Camp for the Christmas holidays, and staying for a very short time in a NSB house. In addition, we have information on how two young **families** from communities south of **Point** Lay found housing, one in **Cully** Corporation housing and the other by renting a vacant house. Throughout the fieldwork there was also a constant ebb and flow of people and families moving in and out of Point Lay that provided information on this topic. The most informative lesson on the dynamics of housing allocation was the researcher's own experience in this regard.

There is a mixture of older and newer NSB houses in Point Lay, with a few self-built houses and some apartment-like units in the old converted school building. These last units belong to the **Cully** Corporation and were transferred to the **Cully** Corporation from the NSB School District in exchange for the rights to rent several newer NSB houses once they were built. At the time Point Lay residents thought that **this** was a good deal as the converted school units existed whereas the new NSB house did not. At present, many villagers are very displeased as they perceive the converted school **units** as crowded **while** the NSBSD houses are often underutilized. Up to **this point** Point Lay teachers often were **single** or couples **with** no or few children, **while their** houses have at least three bedrooms. In any event, the new NSB houses in Point Lay are occupied by **non-Inupiat** school personnel (four houses), **non-Inupiat** PSOS (two houses), elderly **Inupiat** (three houses), and other **Inupiat** families (three houses). The remaining **Inupiat** and "mixed" households live in older NSB housing or in self-built housing. The few **non-Inupiat** who do not work for the NSB in one capacity or another all live in self-built housing or are special cases in some other regard, but all **non-Inupiat** who work for the school live in newer NSB houses (except for one recently-hired janitor). In any event, there is a clear perception that **non-inupiat** teachers and PSOS live in new NSB houses while **Inupiat** live in older houses.

The allocation of remaining new NSB houses demonstrates criteria consistent with patterns seen in **Nuiqsut** (Galginaitis et al. 1984). Elders are given first priority for the newer NSB houses, even when this results in less than optimal use of the space in the house. Large families with rather senior adults are given next priority. These categories encompass the six **Inupiat** cases in Point Lay. The **Inupiat** Elder couple who lives in an older house does so by choice. It is what they are used to and is quite comfortable for them. The remaining housing in Point Lay

falls into four classes. The first is owner-occupied. The second is rented from an absentee owner. The third is rented from an owner living elsewhere in the village (depending on relationship, there may be no compensation involved). The fourth category consists of **Cully-owned** apartment units in the converted school.

The first and third classes pose little problem in the explanation of allocation. The first is self-explanatory. Most are included in the home ownership program whereby the occupants pay \$100/month and will eventually own the house. The third is also relatively unproblematic. Either such arrangements are long-term and involve little or no compensation, or they do involve compensation and are short-term. Different people in the village have different explanations for this pattern of why no one is able to rent a house long-term from a resident landlord. These ranged from capriciousness to wanting to exert a sense of control over property and other people. Often an element of jealousy and selfishness was ascribed to the landlord in such a situation. The feeling was that the landlord felt s/he was not receiving the gratitude or financial rewards due. After a limited period of time this exploded and resulted in the termination of the arrangement. Certainly arrangements where no compensation was involved lasted longer than those with compensation, so there may be some truth to this speculation. Those property owners who do not require direct compensation for the use of property they are not using may indeed have less emotional investment in that property and are certainly acting in accordance with local sharing ideology. They in fact receive a great deal of positive reinforcement from the community at large and the one family unit living in their house in particular.

The fourth class also supports this view. There were five units, but now are six, in the converted school. They are owned by **Cully** Corporation and no rent is paid **by** the families that live in them. They are apparently allocated, or were originally, by need. Those people least able to afford housing were allowed to live **in** these units. For the most part the **people** who live in these units are now working steadily. The couples tend to be young and in fact one of the new couples from the south recently moved into the sixth unit, which was created for them by subdividing one of the existing units. **Cully** Corporation is clearly supporting the ideology of sharing in this context.

The second class is perhaps the most problematic. Point Lay informants tend to have difficulty understanding an absentee landlord. They can understand a person who is gone who does not want anyone to use their things or live in their house. They admire a person who allows others to use his house while he is gone. However, they gossip about those absentee landlords who will only let **people** use what they currently have no use for if they are paid. In the case of the houses for rent in Point Lay this gossip is exacerbated by the amount of rent demanded, which is five times the standard Point Lay house payment. It is also quite difficult to get in touch with these absentee landlords. Such houses are the choice of last resort. The couple who eventually moved into the sixth **Cully** unit lived for several months first in the crowded house of a relative with a wife and three young children. It was an older 'NSB house, originally one room, that had been divided into a bedroom and a living room. The couple who moved into the absentee landlord's house had no other option. They had no real close kinsmen willing to take them in and because they were employed were able to afford the rent. They did not enjoy paying this much and may indeed have been behind on their rent, but had occupied this house for nearly a year when we left the field "in May 1989,

The ideal in Point Lay is for each household to have a housing unit (and preferably a house) of its own. No "established" Point Lay family has a problem with this, but

those young **people** currently in the household formation process may have some problems in this regard. There are several cases to discuss that bear on this discussion. The first group demonstrates how outsiders, in this case two couples from south of Point Lay and the researcher, found housing in Point Lay. The other suggests how young Point Lay households will be formed. It should be pointed out that the young Point Lay households that now exist were formed in a period of relatively large housing supply. This is no longer the case as most vacant and available housing units in Point Lay are in need of rather extensive repair or are missing vital equipment such as heaters, cooking stoves, and/or water barrels.

The researcher spent his first week in Point Lay actually staying at the DEW Line station as it proved impossible to arrange housing over the phone as a complete unknown. Space at **Cully** Camp was available but at far too high a rate for ethnographic research. After a week's effort at trying to locate vacant houses and discuss housing possibilities with key people (the village coordinator, mayor, corporation president), the researcher was no closer to finding housing in the village than before. This seemed to be due both to the fact that no one knew him and that there were no vacant and livable houses available. At the suggestion of the acting village coordinator the researcher had put up signs advertising that he was looking for a place to stay. The researcher had requested by phone that the village coordinator do this before he arrived in Point Lay but she was on leave by the time the researcher arrived and had not done so. These signs did finally bring results as a room in an **Inupiat** household was made available to him. This situation proved invaluable as an introduction to the village, but was quite noisy and crowded, especially for the people who he had displaced from the room. Nonetheless, this was what was available and the researcher stayed here from September through most of December 1987. At that point the **Cully** Camp was going to be empty, since the cook and all the construction crew were to leave for the holidays. The researcher, with the help of a local **non-Inupiat**, approached the corporation president with the possibility of the researcher staying at the camp over the holidays to serve as caretaker. The president considered it a reasonable proposition, as the camp had had a history of running out of fuel and freezing up (an expensive proposition). There were also problems of the camp being broken into. The presence of the researcher would solve both problems. In return, the researcher would gain a quiet workspace.

In retrospect, the rented room and the **Cully** Camp sitting assignment were the two least complicated housing arrangements that the researcher made. The terms of the contract were understood by all parties. Subsequent housing arrangements ran afoul of unshared assumptions and misunderstood expectations. The presence of the researcher allowed the villagers to keep using the **Cully** Camp for laundry and television viewing, and even general visiting. Most villagers did not perceive it this way, though, seeing it as a most **lucrative deal** for the researcher. Any number of people said that they would gladly exchange places with the researcher. It soon became clear that the corporation president was taking some heat because of this local perception. The corporation president wanted a responsible caretaker, at as little expense as possible. His primary concern was that he not have a fox guard the chicken house. At the same time, he eventually was hounded for favoring an outsider over a local. This did not become obvious until the researcher's next field trip, as he left Point Lay early in January and did not return until April 1988.

At that time the researcher spent one night in Point Lay and was able to arrange to rent a vacant house the next. This house **had been** occupied by an **Inupiat** household during the previous trip. An agreeable price was negotiated. Interestingly enough, there were several possible houses to rent at this time and the researcher was seen as an acceptable (and perhaps even a desirable) tenant. The researcher made what was

perhaps a mistake by choosing a structure in the best physical shape and one that was most immediately available. By waiting **he** could have rented a cheaper, but smaller, house from the people who had lived in Point Lay the longest. They were not in Point Lay at the time, however, and would not be for some time. All went well **until** the researchers arrived who were to help the researcher with the collection of oral histories. The researcher assumed that it would be acceptable for them to stay with him in the house that he had rented, as it was certainly large enough. The **Inupiat** who had rented it the year before had had several guests while she was there without any obvious landlord problems. However, the fact that she was no longer in Point Lay, and the informal gossip about the landlord in the village, should have alerted the researcher that he did indeed need to inform the landlord of his guests. This was made painfully clear when the landlord informed him he should **leave** when his rent (paid in advance) ran out.

Thus, at the end of May the researcher had to find alternate housing at short notice, with a scheduled trip to Point Hope for **Nulukatuk** looming. As his trip was **also** drawing to a close (with a departure date scheduled for the end of June) he was not looking for a long-term rental. With these constraints in mind he arranged to stay in a NSB house for the remaining research period. This resulted in a great deal of trouble for the researcher, however, as it put him right in the middle of an ongoing dispute between the village and the **NSB** over the allocation of the newer NSB houses.

During the summer, when the teachers and PSOS tend to be out of the village, these houses were for the most part empty. Policy had been not to let anyone use them. This policy had just been changed at the time the researcher was looking for a place to stay. This change was not publicized, however, and some villagers complained that allowing the researcher to use one of these houses when other village people needed housing was unfair. The identity of those who complained' was not determined. **The** best information available suggests the primary complainer was a man the researcher talked with a good deal both before and after this incident. Thus, it is very doubtful if the complaints were based on any personal problems. The people in Point Lay most in need of housing at this time were the two young couples who had moved to Point Lay to work, one living in a rented house and the other with some kinsmen. The mayor of Point Lay was sympathetic to the researcher, but could not do anything but support the village sentiment that the researcher should leave this NSB house. This is exactly what the researcher attempted to do.

To make the case as short as possible, several days were spent exploring the possibilities suggested by various people. Prominent among these were the mayor and one of the IRA councilmen. There was a vacant **Cully** unit open, but it was clear that the researcher did not meet the allocation criteria for such a unit, while the two young couples did. The couple in the rental unit was said to have the inside track for the **Cully** unit, even though the other couple was acknowledged to be in greater need and had asked first. The mayor said that he had told the "needy" to move, but that they had not done so as yet. He was not interested in why, as he assumed that people could take care of themselves, and went to tell the "rental" couple that they could move. This potentially freed up a unit for the researcher, the expensive rental house where these people were living.

At the researcher's promptings the mayor then went to see the other couple to see if there was a problem, and indeed there was. The couple whose unit had been subdivided to make the sixth **Cully** unit had denied this couple access by insisting that separate meters for electricity and a separate propane hookup be installed. The mayor cut through this objection, saying that with free rent they should not be so petty. The mayor forcefully said that this couple could move now and the installation changes

made later. This was especially dramatic as the units involved were **Cully** Corporation owned and thus in theory under the authority of the corporation president but not the mayor. The fact that the couple who was holding up the move in the **Cully** units was from Point Hope and not “real” Point Lay people may have made this easier.

This then left two households with claims on the rent-free **Cully** unit. When the researcher asked the mayor who would be allowed to move in, he said that he was not going to decide. Whoever got in first could have it. It is clear that everyone in the village agreed that these two couples were the two most in need of housing. One was crowded in with relatives and the other was paying a very high rent. It perhaps was not too surprising when the crowded couple was the one which moved. The other couple had made the decision not to move even before the other one began to move. It is likely” that the disadvantages of a small apartment unit in close proximity to other such units, one of whom was perhaps somewhat upset at having some of its space taken for the creation of this unit, made this decision easier.

There were still other possibilities for the researcher. The mayor suggested that the researcher investigate some of the substandard units to see if they could be made livable. There were no such possibilities, although the researcher did indeed look at them. The mayor suggested that the researcher try to reach an accommodation with the corporation president so that a compromise rate for staying at the **Cully** Camp could be arrived at. Several such attempts were made, but the corporation president did not want to talk and no one seemed willing to serve as an intermediary. The mayor did not want to put his status on the line, and he felt that it was the researcher’s responsibility to patch up relations with the corporation president in the first place. While the mayor and the corporation president do not always agree, they have to live with each other in the same village, are good friends and close cousins, and have to deal constantly with each other. The mayor made the understandable decision that the possible rewards for assisting the researcher were not at all likely to be balanced by the risks he would be thereby assuming. The non-Native who had helped arrange for the **Cully** Camp stay the December before made the same assessment. The last suggestion of the mayor, which he had actually been making since the start of the dispute over the researcher staying in the NSB house, was that the researcher try to reconcile with the landlord of the little house where he had been living before he was told to leave.

The researcher had attempted this several times since the notice was given, and had been told not to try to change her mind. He respected this, but asked her for the reason for the eviction. She said that her husband’s brother was coming to work in Point Lay that summer. This was not the entire story, however, and it became obvious that it was the extra guests issue that was the problem. Once the researcher acknowledged that he had erred in not informing the landlord of their arrival and especially in not asking if it affected the rent, she finally agreed to rent the house to him through the end of July. Her husband’s brother was not expected until then in any event. The researcher then left for Point Hope, stayed there until June 23, and received a call to return to San Diego as soon as possible. He stopped very briefly in Point Lay, checked out with everyone, and quickly left. He had paid for the little house rental in advance, but did not attempt to ask for a refund. Such requests simply are not made in cash-poor Point Lay unless there is a desperate need for the money. It would also be a social error. The researcher and this couple now had reasonably good relations. Debts between friends are seldom handled on a demand basis. The researcher was fairly sure that the couple would keep track of the account until he returned. It was not the only such marker which was still out.

When the researcher returned for the last period of fieldwork in April 1989, he was surprised and pleased when his former landlord sought him out and said that he **could** stay in the little house to use up the money that he had paid in advance. The researcher would have gladly done so, but there was no **stove** in this little house. It had been fixed up by a contracting firm in the meantime, who had wanted to use it as a bunkhouse/camp. The landlord had then had a dispute with them, saying that the contractor had rented the house under false pretenses and then moved seven men in. The contractor disputes this version of the story. At any rate, the landlord thought this was too many people to live in one **small** house, especially as the water system that had been installed drained directly under the house. In any event, it appeared that the construction firm had rented the house so that it **could** save money by not living at **Cully Camp** and the landlord could make money by renting the house at many times its normal rate. However, this contractor was not at **all** popular in the village. The expansion of the Public Works building, the project they were then working on, was said to be low on local hire. The avoidance of **Cully Camp** by a firm **contracted** to the NSB was considered extremely bad form. The fact that the **firm** was joint venturing with another NSB village corporation was especially galling. **All** combined to make the force of public opinion on the landlord enough to ask the contractor to leave the little house. The contractor did so, leaving all improvements (as agreed upon) except the cook stove. The landlord says they took the heating stove, but most villagers agree that this is not so. The landlord took the heater for his own house.

The rest of this contractor's dispute with the village over housing and **local** hire is part of the "external" relations and leadership question. It is enough to remark here that this indicates that the researcher's problems in finding housing were not personal, but were more structural in nature. Even the corporation president said that as a person he was welcome, but that as a contractor (even one without the resources of the NSB behind him) he was expected to pay for being in Point Lay. **An** individual's desire for private gain can subvert this expectation for a **while**, especially if that person is seen to need the money. Thus, the researcher's stay with the **Inupiat** household was seen as beneficial to that household both because he contributed money, and also because he helped with household chores and acted as a member of the household (even to the extent of babysitting for relatives' children). The researcher's renting of a private house was tolerated because he was a lone individual and the amount of money involved was relatively small. When more researchers arrived, the implicit agreement was broken because the researcher at that time did not understand the unspoken terms of that agreement. This situation was made even worse by the researcher's blunder into the dispute between the NSB and the village over the allocation of newer NSB housing. It took a tense several days for the researcher to negotiate his way out of this mess and to regain a tolerance for his staying in the little house again.

The researcher did indeed stay in this **little** house for the final week of his **four-** week research period. It took that long to get a heater installed. The first three weeks were spent **in** the household of two NSB teachers. **As** school was **still in** session this was acceptable to the community, especially as they knew of the efforts the researcher was **making to obtain** alternative housing. The allocation of housing is anything but a **simple** procedure, however, and can be seen to involve **all** sorts of **local** pressures.

Internal Leadership and Local Issues at IRA Meetings

IRA meetings concern themselves mostly **with** external affairs. There are **times**, however, when local grievances are brought up. The most general of these are when individuals from Point Lay call up officials of the NSB in Barrow to complain about other people in Point Lay. One such case involved a series of calls allegedly made complaining about the Point Lay health aides. The motive was reportedly to get the aides fired so that the complainer could be hired. One aide quit, claiming harassment. Another aide thought about quitting. This was discussed at a public meeting and support for the health aides was expressed. People were also told to use the “chain of command” in Point Lay so as not to make Point Lay look like an unorganized village of complainers. This was a constant refrain at meetings. A major desire was to present a united front to the NSB in particular.

“External” Leadership in Point Lay

Point Lay is a small community and internally has relatively few problems to contend with. The major role of leadership in Point Lay is in relation to contacts with outside agencies and their representatives. There are a multitude of these and our discussion can not possibly be exhaustive. The cases discussed above, although classified as internal village concerns, show the extent to which **all** village affairs are permeated with larger regional, state, and national concerns. What follows is a brief description of the structure of this network of concerns, a discussion of some major issues within that context, and the behavior of Point Lay leaders. Those portions of the treatment which seem to repeat previous material are included for completeness.

The External Leadership Context

Point Lay is the only unincorporated city on the North Slope. The other seven communities of the NSB have transferred most of their formal powers to the NSB. While Point Lay has not done so formally, the effect is as if they had. Since the money to operate most facilities comes from the NSB, the practical considerations of the situation mean that Barrow functionaries try to treat Point Lay much like the other NSB communities. This is a double-edged sword in many respects. Point Lay people wish to be recognized as having the only “real” IRA on the North Slope, thus standing in the ideological vanguard in defense of **Inupiat** land. On the other hand, Point Lay wants to receive what they consider their “fair share” from the NSB in terms of services and the creation of local jobs. Many times it seems that in the attempt to play both ends against the middle that Point Lay functionaries end up with a compromise unsatisfactory to most of the parties involved. This perception is fundamental as many times situations in Point Lay do indeed involve two (or more) mutually incompatible viewpoints. Thus, while at times the attitudes of Point Lay leaders and community sentiment seem contradictory, changeable, and opportunistic, at another level this merely reflects the basic incompatibility of the ‘preferred local state of affairs with the pragmatic realization that the village has to deal with entities with many more resources and much more power than Point Lay.

Given the overwhelming importance of the NSB, and the centralization of the NSB in Barrow, it is understandable that there is concern in the outer villages over the sharing of resources. The generalization can be made that people in Point Lay (and in the outer villages as a whole) perceive themselves as being deprived in comparison to people who live in Barrow. Barrow residents enjoy cheap heating costs with none

of the inconveniences of diesel (delivering it, pumping it, cleaning up the inevitable small spills, smelling it). Barrow residents have reasonable shopping **opportunities** and a bus system. Barrow residents have a full-service school system. Barrow residents have a hospital, a counseling center, and daily access to **social** services. Barrow residents receive mail every day and have regular air transportation on a daily basis as well. Barrow has several basketball courts and buildings open for public recreation. Barrow has a softball field and several playgrounds. Many people in the outer villages of course have chosen not to live in Barrow in spite of their perception that Barrow has much better services. Size, noise, alcohol and drugs, crime, and access to subsistence resources are all factors as well. People in the villages understandably would like to have the benefits available in Barrow without the drawbacks, if that were possible.

Added to this is the perception that many important components of the villages are under the direct control of the NSB. Search and Rescue and the Fire Department, being volunteer organizations, vary somewhat from the other **village-based borough institutions that are staffed by paid employees. For example, the Department of Municipal Services (formerly the Utilities and Public Works departments) operates** in the village as an independent entity on a day-to-day basis, performing such tasks as supplying the village with electrical power. It is, however, a part of a **borough-wide** Department of Municipal Services in a very direct way. The individual staff members are borough employees, and the borough has a direct say in hiring and firing decisions. It is the borough that sets policy and procedures and funding levels, and it is borough that decides on numbers of employees, and so on. It may be seen then, particularly when one examines the relative amount of employment provided by the borough directly and indirectly, that the oft-voiced concern over local control has a basis in fact. If one considers the borough an “outside institution” to a **large** degree (from the perspective of Point Hope and Point Lay), one can see that there is effectively “outside control” over education, employment, income, housing, and a large number of other programs in the community. It is difficult to overstate the importance of the influence of the borough on life in Point Lay and Point Hope. There are, of course, contexts in which the borough is not considered an “outside institution.” Whether it is considered inside or outside is a function of frame of reference. For example, when the borough is involved in issues of lobbying at the state or national level, it is seen as an institution of which Point Hope is a part.

Given the scale of borough operations in the village, and the seemingly all-pervasive influence of the borough, one can appreciate how the role of the “village coordinator” is often an important one. For institutions that are **subcomponents** of more inclusive NSB institutions, typically the local head has an immediate supervisor on the borough level with whom he or she interacts frequently. For example, the local supervisor of **the** RELI program interacts frequently with his contact at the borough level. On the other hand, the institutions that interact with the borough, but are not themselves components of borough institutions, are in a structurally more difficult situation. For example, the local corporation, the Tigara Corporation, works with the borough on a number of different programs and projects, as does the Point Hope city council. While the **Tigara** Corporation has a working relationship with the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation which, in turn, has a close working relationship to the North Slope Borough, the **Tigara** Corporation does not have a direct institution-within-an-institution relationship to the borough. The village coordinator is in a position to act as a go-between for the borough and the corporation. If this person is especially effective in his or her position, he or she can be quite pro-active in pursuing the desires of the village and is in excellent stead to get borough programs for the village on advantageous terms. Indeed, there are times that **it** seems that the office of the village coordinator is

more significant to the smooth functioning of programs and services within the village than the office of mayor.

Much of the village-Barrow antagonism seems to reduce to this simplification. Village people want the services available in a large community combined with the advantages of living in a small community. Since a small community cannot financially support such services they must depend on a more central governmental entity to do so. This is of course the NSB. Given the nature of the NSB economy the provision of equivalent services in Barrow and the villages was not considered that much of a problem. The ideological decision was made to make them as equivalent as possible. This required a higher level of funding in the villages per capita than in Barrow, but since the money seemed unlimited and came from taxes on oil production facilities, this was not deemed terribly significant. Now that the NSB has realized that its resources are indeed finite and that the outer villages cannot be subsidized at that much higher a per capita rate than Barrow, Barrow-village and **NSB-village** conflicts are increasing. Informants have explicitly said that in the days of Mayor Brewer (and especially 1983 and 1984, the height of the NSB **CIP** when money was flowing freely) the villages could get whatever they wanted, whereas now the NSB mayor was hard with them and they got only a little (**Galginaitis 1988 fieldnotes**).

This in turn accounts for much of the perception that the NSB does not really pay attention to the needs of the outer villages and that most trips to the outer villages are simply "public relations" or are arranged only when the NSB wants something from the village. It is undeniable that the period just before elections is one of increased travel for NSB officials. It is also **clear** that there is no policy of regular trips to the villages by NSB officials or representatives so that they do indeed only go to the villages when there is a **NSB-village** issue to discuss. It has been shown through experience that regular trips of NSB representatives to the villages, in the absence of at least one known piece of business, are usually a waste of time. The village people generally do not want to arrange a meeting to discuss things in general, and in fact it is often difficult to convince them to schedule meetings to conduct vital items of business. Regular trips of NSB representatives to meet with the village mayors and council members outside of meetings may be beneficial, but are probably not cost effective. These village people are precisely those most likely to be absent from the village at any given time, since they tend to occupy several leadership/representative positions at the same time. They are also people likely to periodically be in Barrow because of these duties (or in transit to other places) and so can stop in to see NSB representatives for an informal talk if they should so desire. The fact remains that **NSB-village** face-to-face interaction occurs only on an ad hoc and crisis management basis.

In Point Lay, such meetings have recently been most common with the Planning Department and special representatives of the NSB Mayor's office. All of these meetings had to do directly or indirectly with the transfer of land. The operation of a camp for construction workers by an outside contractor was also a related matter of concern. For NSB projects to be built in Point Lay (and the other villages), clear NSB title to the land on which they are constructed must be established. Given the Point Lay position that the IRA Council owns the land and the **NSB's** acceptance of the ANCSA and thus the ownership by **Cully** Corporation of surface rights, this ensures an opportunity for dispute and delay with every project. This is indeed what has occurred in the past and is likely to continue in the future. Other villages have problems with establishing title to land and transfer of land to the NSB, but none quite like Point Lay.

External **Leadership** and the **Cully** Corporation. the Point Lay IRA **Council**. and ANCSA

Land (encompassing the sea ice and ocean in this context) is seen as the crucial issue in Point Lay, because of its importance for subsistence. **To** all intents and purposes there is only one viewpoint in Point Lay on these issues. This topic is discussed in detail under the topic “Kinship in Action: We Are One Family” (see page 147), and will not be recapitulated here.

External Leadership at Public **Meetings**

The “active information seekers,” “key people,” “opinion leaders,” or whatever you may wish to call them in Point Lay tend to be those people in positions that **are** invested with formal responsibilities and powers. **These** include the mayor, IRA Council members, the president of **Cully** Corporation, **Cully** Corporation board members, the village coordinator, and representatives to various NSB committees (Planning Department Advisory Committee, Wildlife Management Committee, and so on). These individuals travel fairly often (the mayor, corporation president, village coordinator, and representatives to various NSB committees more than the others). These people have access to more information than other villagers. Many times they reflect the “party line” held by the NSB mayor, the major **Inupiat** policy maker in the NSB, because to a large extent the NSB mayor controls the flow of information to the villages. They also, however, have independent sources of information from travels off-Slope and from personal contacts in various NSB departments. Thus, while these people may not have read widely of the published information on oil development (lease sale announcements, **EISs**, oil company planning documents and contingency plans, state and federal multi-year leasing plans) they are generally fairly well informed as to the local environmental consequences of planned development. They are looked to in the village to take the lead in dealing with these issues.

A good example of how Point Lay people deal with contentious issues, whether local or external, was provide by the last IRA Council meeting observed in Point Lay, on April 27, 1989. There was a very full agenda. Representatives from UIC (the Barrow village corporation) were present to ask for Point Lay support in bidding on a service contract for the Barrow Public Health Service Hospital. A representative from the NSB mayor was present to discuss the ongoing disputes and problems between Point Lay and a local contractor responsible for several NSB projects in Point Lay and to try to reach a settlement so that bidding on other projects could proceed. Representatives from an oil company were present to talk about the planned exploratory drilling to be done in the Chukchi Sea in the summer of 1989. Local issues discussed at the end of this meeting concerned the management of the Native Store (internal), the need for a minibus in the village instead of a terminal building (need to talk with **NSB**), and funding for the school yearbook.

The meeting itself was almost canceled, and was delayed in starting, because it had been scheduled on the same night as a **school** “declamation.” This is an event at which the students perform for their parents and friends. Such events are more highly valued in Point Lay and most people would attend such an event over a public meeting. An earlier meeting with the oil company people had been canceled precisely because of this sort of conflict. In this case, the decision was made to hold the meeting after the declamation. The starting time of the school program was moved up to accommodate this compromise. This made for a very lengthy meeting, from about 7:00 p.m. to 11:30 p.m.

The UIC request created no problems for people and after some discussion was given unanimous support. The common reaction seemed to be that the net result would have no effect on Point Lay, but could perhaps create more jobs for **Inupiat** in Barrow. Beyond this, there was no explanation of what the effects of **UIC** having the contract rather than the ICAS some other firm would be. Most Point Lay people saw this issue as inconsequential to Point Lay, but it was first on the agenda because the entire board of the ICAS had come to Point Lay to present this and there were friends and relatives among them. They had chartered in and once the business was concluded they left. This takes a matter of twenty minutes.

The next part of the meeting dealt with the dispute between the contractor and the village, and lasted from **7:40** till 900. The immediate problem was that the contractor was housing his imported labor force in a private camp built next to the building he was completing. Point Lay people objected to this for a number of reasons. This camp did not have a permit and was in competition with **Cully** Camp. In addition this contractor and the village were at loggerheads over local hire and had a rather stormy history in terms of housing.

Our best reconstruction of events is as follows. This company, in a joint venture with the village corporation of another NSB village, won the contract to put an addition on the Public Works building. For housing in the village they rented a house, which they set about to modify for their use, agreeing to leave all the improvements when they were done. The preliminary work on this project involved mostly local hire for site preparation and other labor-intensive work. However, after this phase most of the work was more detailed and specific and the bulk of the labor force was imported. This led to a Point Lay perception of jobs being taken by an imported labor force. In addition, they were all staying at the rented house and thus were denying **Cully** Corporation the revenues usually derived from an outside labor force by having them stay at the **Cully** Camp. The result was that the contractor was evicted from the house with two weeks work left on the project. They ended up by living in the Public Works building and finishing as quickly as they could.

This same company then won the contract to complete the USDW building in a similar joint venture. Since **Cully** Corporation had also bid on this project in joint venture with another company, they were not pleased to start with. However, the contractor and the non-local component of his work force initially stayed at **Cully** Camp. They built a camp at the work site for storage. Things went well for perhaps a month when the perception of the project changed. Local hire became an issue. The contractor produced documentation that locals did indeed work a significant number of hours, but locals perceived this as a fabrication. Few locals worked on the project for any length of time because of a high turnover rate, but many worked a short time. Thus, each party was emphasizing a different aspect of the situation. The contractor also complained about conditions in the **Cully** Camp, saying that there was little food and that it was not kept very clean. Relations deteriorated from that point, but a public meeting held in January apparently reached a compromise. The contractor agreed to stay in **Cully** Camp if certain minimal conditions were met.

Apparently these conditions were not met, even though the price had gone far beyond what was normally charged. Either the contractor was asked to leave or did so voluntarily. He moved to the camp out at the work site, which he said had at that point received a permit. Local hire was reportedly going well, however, so that there were few overt complaints in the village. However, in March "the wheels came off" and villagers began to complain a great deal to the NSB. Local hire was the big issue, with the contractor pointing out the relatively high percentage of hours

worked by local labor and the locals countering with the relatively few individuals who stayed on the project for any length of time. **Cully** Corporation also began to lobby for the contractor to move back into **Cully** Camp, especially as there were to be several other projects in Point Lay in the summer of 1989 and a competing camp was not desired. This the contractor did not want to do as the operation of **Cully** Camp was sub-standard, and admitted to be so by several Point Lay residents. The management of **Cully** Camp had been changed in December 1988 and service had declined precipitously.

This was the situation at the time of this meeting. The only new information presented at this meeting was the compromise deal offered by the NSB (which was eventually effected several days later). The NSB was to buy the second camp from the contractor and allow **Cully** Corporation to operate it through a subcontractor. The occupants of the camp would pay **Cully** Corporation for staying there. **Cully** Camp would probably discontinue operation as a camp but **still** be used for the RELI office and public services. The per night charge was capped at \$100. Essentially this compromise rewarded both **Cully** Corporation and **the** contractor, at the expense of the NSB.

Most interchanges during this portion of the meeting were rather emotional. Point Lay residents accused the contractor of bleeding money from the village, and thought that the NSB was holding the scheduled summer projects ransom if Point Lay hesitated about accepting the NSB compromise solution. The contractor thought that Point Lay people were being irresponsible as all he wanted was a steady work force and a decent place to house them. The NSB representative had his hands full being diplomatic and trying to salve everyone's feelings while pushing for the NSB solution. Anything that had ever gone wrong on a job by this contractor, whether in Point Lay or elsewhere, was brought up. The end result was not terribly hopeful **in** the aggregate, except that the heat of the issues has been dissipated. The meeting ended with the NSB representative saying that the best solution was one worked out between the contractor and the village. The IRA president said that this would be decided in Barrow at a Planning Department meeting to consider the same issues as were discussed at this meeting. The **Cully** Corporation president had left for Barrow to attend this meeting and the president of the contracting firm would also be there. Thus, the end result of this meeting was informational. People were informed as to likely solutions.

The meeting in Barrow was held, but no details are available. No solution was finalized there. After the **Cully** Corporation president returned to Point Lay the NSB representative also visited again with a letter of agreement between the **NSB** and **Cully** Corporation. The terms were those of the proposed NSB solution, and the **Cully** Corporation president eventually signed it. It was apparent that the village leaders did not want to negotiate a separate or different agreement with the contractor and were willing to accept the **NSB's** lead in this. The contractor simply wanted to get the job done and not lose any money on this aspect of the job. The NSB wanted to get these projects done and was willing to inflate the budgets a little bit more to facilitate this.

Following a break, the meeting moved on to oil-related issues. The oil representatives had also chartered a plane into Point Lay, but were given no special consideration because of this. They wanted to leave as soon as they could as they were paying the charter by the hour, but made no public reference to this fact. They had arrived only shortly before the planned start time of the meeting, however, and had made it plain that they intended to leave as soon as it was over. There had been no opportunity for any community residents to talk informally with any of them.

The documents prepared by the oil companies detailing their proposed drilling season, and contingency plans for various sorts of accidents, were readily available in Point Lay. No one in the village, however, was familiar with these documents. Perhaps this was because their local availability was not widely known in the village. This appears unlikely, however, as there was no demand or request to see such documents before the meeting and even the mayor, who had received the documents and must have placed them in the community center (on top of the bingo cabinet with many of the other public documents of community interest) had not looked at them closely. For the most part village residents relied on the oil company representatives to convey what was in the documents to them. The questions they then asked were based on this information as informed by their previous disposition to be hostile to offshore development. This pretty much guaranteed less than a fruitful discussion.

This portion of the April 27 meeting in Point Lay was dominated by the recent Prince William Sound **oil** spill. The Shell Western agenda for this meeting was clearly to minimize the effect this would have on North Slope offshore oil exploration by emphasizing the differences between such a tanker accident and likely exploration accidents. They claimed that the worst case scenario during exploration was a well blowout, which because of its characteristics would be easier to handle and have fewer consequences than tanker accidents. While this logical argument appeared to be true, it made little impression on the local audience. Even if such an accident did not produce as much spilled oil as quickly as the tanker spill, they were still concerned about the damage it would do. They were not convinced that the technology existed to adequately clean such a spill given the difficulties experienced in Prince William Sound and the potentially much more severe conditions off the North Slope. They were also not convinced that this was the worst case scenario, and indeed it was not. It was the worst case scenario with a reasonable chance of happening, that is, that can be planned for.

Point Lay people also asked many questions related to oil development and production not immediately relevant to this exploration project but which did reveal certain of their concerns. One major area for these were questions about how oil from any eventual field that was developed would be transported. They are understandably concerned about tankers, especially as the ocean is open for so limited a time, but were also quite concerned about pipelines. One pipeline concern was that to protect the pipeline from ice gouging it must be buried fairly deeply, and that to do so the bottom of the ocean must be disturbed enough to potentially disrupt subsistence resource species of importance to the **Inupiat**. The wildlife specialist there from the oil company said that this was not a likely effect. Secondly, village residents were concerned with the potential failure of the pipeline due to corrosion and asked how it would be repaired if it were buried. This concern was evidently fueled by their perceptions that the TAPS line had been experiencing some problems with cracks and leaks (it is unclear what the source of this information was, as the **oil** company representatives claimed not to be familiar with this problem with TAPS). They asked if a land pipeline had this problem, would not a pipeline exposed to salt water be even more prone to leak? The Shell Western people could only cite their experience with ocean pipelines in the past, but the issue was left unresolved.

For the most part, the meeting was amicable. The oil company presentation was only one part of a much longer meeting dealing with several pressing issues. The presentation was clearly not one suitable for a Point Lay audience, which had little interest in the logical comparison of the Prince William Sound tanker spill with a (possible) **Chukchi** Sea oil well blowout. They wanted to ask questions instead and about halfway through the presentation began to do so. Some were related to what was

being presented and some were not. The answers to the questions provided usable, if sometimes unsatisfactory, information to the audience, whereas **the** formal presentation did not. The meeting became somewhat more **confrontational** through the questions and by the end of the meeting it was evident that the two groups were as polarized as ever, with the Point Lay contingent feeling that their concerns were not fully understood and that they had no influence over the development process anyway. There was no personal reaction against any of the Shell Western personnel, all of whom were very professional.

While there has been little North **Slope** media coverage of OCS activities, there are still local concerns over these activities. Opinions vary on the desirability of development in general and shore, and offshore facilities in particular, based on their, overall potential for employment and the movement of workers within the region. According to local opinion, the probable impact of an oil-related facility is a function of its absolute size, the villages that it is near, and the type of employment opportunities that it offers. At public meetings, residents on the North Slope seem to be most concerned about oil spills associated with OCS activities. A large spill is a relatively low probability event, but would have a large effect were it to occur. Local people, especially in Point Lay, perceive such events as the most salient aspect of OCS development. Conversely, many Point Lay residents seldom if ever think of the economic effects of OCS development.

After this oil discussion door prizes were presented and fruit brought by the oil representatives distributed. This was appreciated but also perceived as an **all-too-**obvious attempt at public relations and manipulation. Point Lay people would much rather have their words listened to than to sit through a meeting such as this and receive fruit at the end. During this distribution process the few items of local business were taken care of. The Native Store manager had been out of the village for a long time, leaving the operation **of** her store to her clerk. The **clerk** now either wanted to be named manager or to quit. She did not want to do the work but not receive the pay of the manager. Everyone agreed this was reasonable, but that she could not be hired as manager without firing the other person. They did not want to take this action while this person was absent, so that this item was tabled. The issue of the need for public transportation in the village was also raised again. It was decided to send another letter to the NSB asking for a minibus rather than a terminal at the airstrip. This is essentially a reordering of project priorities.

Leadership Style and Leadership Cycle

To talk about a leadership cycle in Point Lay is somewhat misleading, as the same people who were leaders when the village was refounded in the early 1970s are still the leaders today. They have aged, and are members of two different generations, but have not as yet passed the torch on to other individuals. There are two younger individuals, children when Point Lay was resettled, who have assumed sporadic leadership roles, but their performance has to this point been erratic. One served as mayor for half a year before becoming disenchanted with the frustrations of the position. The other served as village coordinator but found it too time consuming a position.

The characteristics of the group of Point Lay leaders are that they are male, between about forty-five and sixty years old, educated through high school within Alaska but off-slope, and have some post-secondary education and/or military service experience. All have worked outside of Point Lay as temporary "migrant" workers on construction projects or as members of seismic crews. All have intimate knowledge of the Point

Lay area from childhood. The two younger individuals who have exhibited some interest in responsible positions are close relatives of these individuals.

There are essentially three men who are considered leaders in Point Lay, and two others who they usually also consult on most matters. These men are leaders not in the sense that they initiate action or make decisions, but more in the sense that on any matter of consequence they are the individuals expected to take the lead in exploring the possibilities and expressing the local consensus as it takes shape. The three are differentiated from the other two by the fact that it is these three men who have taken turns serving as mayor. One of them has in effect been **Cully** Corporation president for life because of his financial expertise (no one else is really qualified). The other two men are not willing and perhaps a little old to be mayor, and may have personality differences as well. One of the three men who has been mayor has retired from the rotation, which is one reason that a younger man was tried in the position. This did not work out and one of the other two served as the effective mayor. Other men and a few women do serve on the IRA Council as members and on the **Cully** board of directors, but are for the most part no more or less important than village residents in general.

No matter who is formally mayor or corporation president, whoever among these men is present in the village is expected to participate in any decision that has to be made. The man who formally occupies the office has somewhat more pressure on him as he is the individual external agencies look to as a contact person. The others can avoid participating by being unavailable. They can be physically absent or simply uncooperative. The formal title holder can and does also use this tactic, but is subject to a certain kind of community pressure for tasks seen as essential to the village. It is not uncommon for people to use the "You're talking to the wrong guy" tactic to refer a person to one of the formal position holders. Given the yearly change in mayor, most external agencies are unsure who exactly is mayor in any given year anyway and this will often confuse them and delay any proposed activity. Other times this works to the village's disadvantage, however, as information is often **misrouted** and never disseminated throughout the village. External agencies often simply contact the person they know best, whether or not he is a formal officeholder. For any given year, there are informational letters posted in Point Lay addressed to three or four different men as mayor of Point Lay.

There are also numerous other memberships on committees, boards, and so on that must be filled by Point Lay people. These three men also dominate these positions, filling two or three each. Other people do hold positions on such committees, but tend to specialize and hold one at a time. Such positions tend to be those which the three men are either uninterested in or have no time for.

To the extent that one can speak of a leadership cycle, it is one based on the formal holding of office. Because of the responsibilities for serving as a contact person and the expectation that such a person should be available for discussions and to take the lead in decisions, such officeholders are seldom willing to serve for longer than a year. Such formal officeholders are at least verbally held responsible for the decisions made and actions taken by the relevant group, if the results are not held to be favorable. In addition, even if all things proceed well, such individuals often are the subject of village censor for being too "bossy." That is, if formal leaders are too directive in discussions or formulation actions, they are subject to as much community disapproval as if they had presided over a disaster. Thus, housing is allocated by social pressures more than centrally allocated. Search and Rescue operations in Point Lay are more free form than centrally planned. Bingo chairmen are not only subject to fiscal scrutiny, but also have to bear the gossip of being

called “bossy” in connection with requiring people to work a minimum amount, formulating rules about the use of bingo money, and so **on**. Leadership “burnout” is thus essentially a case of an individual getting tired of community people making demands on their time, expecting that the individual will take the lead in all community problems and event, and then making critical comments when things do not turn out well. **Inupiat** society is so non-directive that the titular leader in actuality has little direct control over how things turn out. As in **Nuiqsut**, “followership” is perhaps more important than leadership (**Galginaitis** et al. 1984).

Non-Native Aspects of Leadership

There is one other aspect of leadership which has not as yet been treated. **Non-Inupiat** occupy some significant leadership positions in Point Lay. One **non-Inupiat** man is the head of Public Works, the fire chief, and president of the SAC. These positions are clearly a result of his perceived **competencies**, but **also** his interests and history in the community. He has lived in Point Lay since the first houses were built and has married an **Inupiat** woman. For most decisions requiring dealing with the NSB or other governmental agencies he is consulted. He is perceived as having very similar interests to those of **Inupiat** residents as he has made a decision to raise his family in Point Lay. Another non-Inupiat man is a vital cog in the Utilities Department and in the Fire Department. He is less actively involved in the village than the first man, but both are respected for their abilities and accepted because of their partners.

The first man is often accused of being “bossy” and trying to establish his own little kingdoms. This is an attempt to limit the sphere of his influence within the village, it seems. He reports, and **Inupiat** informants confirm, that he served as the informal mayor of Point Lay for a year when Eben Hopson was NSB mayor. He of course was not eligible for the formal office, but was asked to represent Point Lay interests to the NSB. He felt that he did a good job of this and earned the respect of Hopson while doing so. He says that because of his personality that he is indeed seen as “bossy” by many village residents, but is self-assured enough that he can live with this.

On the other hand, this man does not expect to live in Point Lay forever. He and his wife consider Alaska their home and have enough money to live where they wish. He expects to always visit Point Lay since his wife’s parents live there, but fully expects to move on some day. When that day comes, he says that he will not be missed one bit in Point Lay. He admits that **people** now rely upon him to a certain extent, but points out that they got along without him for a year when he was in Anchorage and would be able to do so again. He feels that no man is indispensable and that for the most part **Inupiat** prefer not to depend upon **non-Inupiat**. His conclusion is that no matter how well integrated a **non-Inupiat** is into a village, that once he is gone it is as if he had never been there.

One other **non-Inupiat** should be discussed here. This woman was an early immigrant, serving as a school aide on the old site (the spit). She eventually married one of the men who sometimes serves as mayor and continued to teach in the school. Her home became a favorite visiting place for children looking for a meal and she was a frequent counselor for people with problems. She was a motive force behind most school presentations and most of the community feasts. She was often typified by other community members as “bossy,” however, and was affected by the same process of “burnout” as other people in responsible positions in the village. At one point she did take a year off from teaching, and she took some breaks to live outside of Point

Lay. She did have the courage of her convictions, would tell people when they were acting inappropriately, and was in general much more **confrontative** than an **Inupiat**. On the other hand, such outbreaks were rare from a strictly **non-Inupiat** point of view. This woman was clearly a key mediator in the village.

She has recently divorced her husband and left Point Lay. This has had a devastating effect on certain village activities, at least apparently. Other factors are at work as well, of course. Her former husband has as many responsibilities as before and spends a great deal of his time out of the village. School presentations are far less prepared than before and school staff turnover has averaged over 50% the last two years (only the principal and his wife provide continuity). Yet there are indications that her presence, while missed, is being compensated for. Certain qualities of community relations are now different, but the framework remains as before.

Point Hope Leadership and Social Control

The situation in Point Hope is one that facilitates comparison and the exposition of **intraregional** contrasts. There are several formal political organizations in Point Hope, and a more diverse social and behavioral environment overall. Point Hope is incorporated under state law, and so has a different sort of governance. The two communities have different relationships with the federal government. Land banking is a new means by which to control the land owned by the local corporation, but it is a relatively new phenomena and the implications of this on the operation of the corporation and the use patterns of corporation land remain to be seen. Given the importance of the IRA in Point Lay, it is important to examine the role of the local IRA in Point Hope.

The Point Hope IRA council, since its revitalization, has concentrated primarily on issues related to its own reactivation, subsistence, and sovereignty. Depending upon who one asks, the IRA is either active or still in the stages of becoming active once again. Reactivation is not a simple process as the IRA council has not existed as an active entity in the village for well over twenty years, ever since the incorporation of the City of Point Hope and the formation of a city council in 1966. There are also issues of land status that apparently are tied to the legal status of 'the IRA. Since the move of the village from the site near the end of the spit, the community of Point Hope has not been on a Federal Townsite. In ways not widely understood in the village, this apparently influences the status of the IRA. (The BIA records do show an active IRA for Point Hope. Different staff members in the Fairbanks office of the BIA, however, have different interpretations of whether or not having an officially active IRA or a less bureaucratically formal Traditional Council influences the powers such councils have and the federal programs they are eligible for. These staff members work with Point Hope in various capacities, so it is entirely likely that Point Hope residents receive mixed messages as to the formal status of the IRA and what, precisely, having such a status means.) What is clear is that the IRA is a governmental entity in Point Hope that varies from the city government due to the fact that it specifically excludes non-Natives from its political processes.

No IRA meetings were held in Point Hope during any of the research periods for this project. In talking to people about the IRA, however, it is apparent that subsistence issues, and the related issues of control of the land and the sea, are a high priority of the IRA and one of the primary reasons for the interest in the reactivation of the IRA. Like the city council meetings, according to informants,

there are more people interested in the issues than in attending the actual meetings of the council, and it is typical **to** have perhaps eight to ten individuals at any one meeting. Individuals active in the IRA have expressed an interest in stronger **local** representation in issues related to migratory bird management in particular, and other species taken for subsistence in general, and see the **IRA** as a potential vehicle for doing this.

Another reason cited for the interest in the reactivation of the IRA was concern that lands owned by the Tigara Corporation may eventually move out of the hands of the **Inupiat** of Point Hope. To this end, one of the individuals active in both the IRA and the **Tigara** Corporation has expressed the opinion that **Tigara** Corporation lands should be turned over to the IRA. It remains to be seen whether **or** not this concern will endure in the long run, following the relatively recent (1988) passage of amendments to ANCSA designed to impede the alienation of Native-held lands. The individuals active in the IRA, in fact, are interested in controlling more than the Tigara Corporation lands. It is the expressed opinion **of the** IRA council that IRA should control the lands designated by the Point Hope reindeer lease from the early portion of this century, or a radius of fifty miles from the village. Although it may be argued that ANCSA extinguished all land claims that the IRA may have had to this area, it is the view in Point Hope that even if the lands cannot be “owned” by the IRA, then the IRA “should have jurisdiction over the land. Just as the state of Alaska has jurisdiction over privately held lands within its borders, it is argued, the Point Hope IRA should have regulatory control and jurisdiction over at least those lands designated in the reindeer lease.

The IRA is also seen by some as a vehicle for the representation of the village outside of the context of the North Slope Borough. Through an IRA, the community has a relationship with the federal government that bypasses both state and regional level governmental involvement. This level of sovereignty is seen as important, **in** that it implies a level of local control that is strongly desired by those active in the IRA.

Issues of Land Use and Social Control

There was no observed differentiation in land use patterns around the village of Point Hope as a result of ownership; however, there is an awareness of Native Allotments close to the town site itself. One family's beach camp is located on another individual's claimed allotment; concern was not expressed at the possibility of having to move the camp in the future should the claim be upheld -- the person that has filed **for** an allotment adjacent to the one in question has informed the head of the family that he would be welcome if he has to move.

Another set of disputes resulting from land ownership in Point Hope are disagreements over the desirability and placement of an access road to the community water source. This road would have to cross lands that are owned or have been filed for ownerships as Native Allotments. There are also land disagreements in the area of the town landfill site. Additionally, there is some concern in the community over the fact that the present town site overlaps with some archaeological sites, the status of which are unclear to many in the community.

Crimes in the “mischief” category are those that cause no direct harm to persons or property. Examples are: reckless driving, loitering, drunk disturbance, possession (of drugs or alcohol) for sale, public disturbance, and curfew violation. Crimes “against persons” include incidents that directly harm, or show intent to harm, another person. These **are**: misconduct with a weapon, contributing to the delinquency of a minor, assault, rape/sexual assault, harassment, juvenile harassment, fighting, family problems, family disputes, child abuse, and domestic violence. Crimes “against property” include incidents that directly harm or show intent to harm property. Examples of these are: breaking and entering, vandalism, criminal trespassing, and theft. The final category of “other” is composed of those calls that may not directly involve the breaking of the law or, if a law is technically broken, the persons involved are neither arrested nor charged. Examples of these are: an informational call, a medical call, a dog/animal control problem, unspecified assistance, unsecured building, fire, search and rescue, natural death, car accident, or false alarm. Obviously, these service calls may be categorized in a number of different ways. The categories used were selected due to the desire to examine the social dimension of the crime involved.

After categorizing all of the service calls between 1981-87 for Point Lay and Point Hope, totals of each type of incident were calculated for each year. In addition, the involvement of alcohol in each category was tabulated for each year as either “involving alcohol”, “not involving alcohol”, or “involvement of alcohol not specified.” In those cases where crimes involving either persons or property are combined with a drunk disturbance or other mischief, the incident is categorized in one of the two former categories -- that is, as the more serious type of crime. Any incident that involved both a crime against a person and crime against property is categorized as both. In Point Hope, this occurred eleven times in the seven-year period analyzed.

Discussion

When examining trends of change in the communities, it is important to note that the absolute number of calls and crimes in Point Lay is **quite** small. This has the effect of making year-to-year differences of only a few calls in any particular category show up as a large percentage difference. This should be borne in mind, together with the fact that reporting differences between officers in the community would be similarly magnified.

Public **Safety** Utilization in Point Lay

Service Calls in Point Lay by Call Type

In looking at the figure entitled “Service Calls in Point Lay, by Call Type” (Figure 30), one notices a general increase in all types of crime from 1981 to 1985, with a sharp decline thereafter. Throughout the entire time period mischief crimes occur most frequently, with the exception of the final year of the period when they occur only slightly less frequently than other types of crime. Crimes against persons are equal to, or outnumber, crimes against property four of the seven years for which data are available and are only slightly less numerous for two of the other years. It is also very important that the sharp drop-off in crimes reported in 1986 and the low volume of crimes reported in 1987 are coincident with a high turnover in PSOs in the village. During this time span, the community did not have a steady PSO, but rather a series of officers on “**TDY**” (Temporary Duty assignment) status. TDY

propensity to judge others (especially in public) and a lack of congruence between “outside” and **Inupiat** conceptions of law as it applies to the personal and private behavior of individuals.

Public Safety and Social Control

Concerns over public safety in the villages are quite prominent, and appear to vary considerably from village to village. During 1988 in Point Hope, there was considerable concern voiced over a series of breaking-and-entering incidents, assaults, and substance abuse-related disturbances. There is a tension in the village over local responsibility for controlling these behaviors as opposed to reliance on the borough Department of Public Safety. The issue of local versus outside formal social control is one that at times evokes strong emotion.

On the North Slope in general, the direction of formal social control has been in control of individuals and institutions from outside the individual villages for quite a while, but the changes that village residents in some of the smaller villages have noted is the obtrusiveness and perception of this authority. Not **long** ago, state troopers only came to outlying villages for really serious things, and then often only after-the-fact. The extent to which PSOS are viewed as “locally-based” seems to depend a good deal on the congruence of the perceived interests of Barrow and the NSB, and the outlying village.

Public Safety and Social Pathology

The service records from the Point Lay and Point Hope stations of the North Slope Borough Department of Public Safety have been analyzed for the years 1981-87. The purpose of this analysis is to facilitate a discussion **of** social control and social pathologies and, to this end, to compare these two communities in terms of (a) the types of crimes reported in the communities and (b) the frequency of alcohol involvement in the different categories of crimes. Also appearing on the graphics that accompany this discussion is a representation of service calls to the Department of Public Safety that may not involve crimes.

Description and Rationale for Categories

The service reports from the Department of Public Safety stations in both communities consist of brief descriptions of each service **call** made. The descriptions were written by the Public Safety Officer who was on duty at the time of the call and include information about what occurred and whether or not alcohol was involved in the incident. Unfortunately, inconsistent reporting of alcohol involvement by different officers may influence the overall findings and, based on discussions in the communities, it is most likely that this reporting bias may cause our findings to be slightly conservative in this respect.

In order to facilitate the interpretation of the data, the written descriptions of service calls were categorized in four ways: (i) mischief; (ii) crimes against persons; (iii) crimes against property; and (iv) other. This, or a similar categorization, is necessary if a picture of the functioning of the Department of Public Safety and issues of social control in the communities is to emerge.

difficulty either getting the ambulance to the scene or getting hold of a health aide. Due to the nature of their job, and their expectations of their responsibilities, there is normally no difficulty in reaching a PSO seven days a week, twenty-four hours a day. It is expected that PSOS should be involved in handling any sort of an “emergency” situation. Second, PSOS are often involved with arranging Medivac transportation of patients to Barrow when the patient’s condition warrants it. Third, any time medical calls involve other than accidental trauma, such as cases of self-inflicted injuries or injuries inflicted by another person, there is the possibility that the PSO is needed in an official capacity, either in a crisis intervention role or to file a criminal complaint.

Many of the service calls that Public Safety Officers respond to are alcohol-related. To examine the relationship between alcohol and social pathology in Point Lay, a series of four graphs were prepared that represent the level of alcohol involvement in various types of service calls. First, a graphic is presented that depicts, by **call** volume, the level of alcohol involvement in all types of service calls combined. The next three figures presented detail the relationship of alcohol to specific types of incidents. These figures represent, by service call volume, a breakdown by type of incident the reported involvement of alcohol, the reported non-involvement of alcohol, and incidents for which the use of alcohol was not indicated.

Service Calls in Point Lay, Reported Involvement of Alcohol

When examining the figure entitled “Service Calls in Point Lay, Reported Involvement of Alcohol” (Figure 31), it is apparent that for all years, with the exception of 1987, alcohol was involved in more crimes than not, and for some years more than twice as many crimes involved alcohol than did not. For some years, the number of reported alcohol-involved crimes approached the total number of crimes reported in the community. Overall, reported crime in Point Lay more than doubled between 1981 and 1985, before declining precipitously. At the close of the period, 1987, reported crimes were approximately one-quarter their 1981 level.

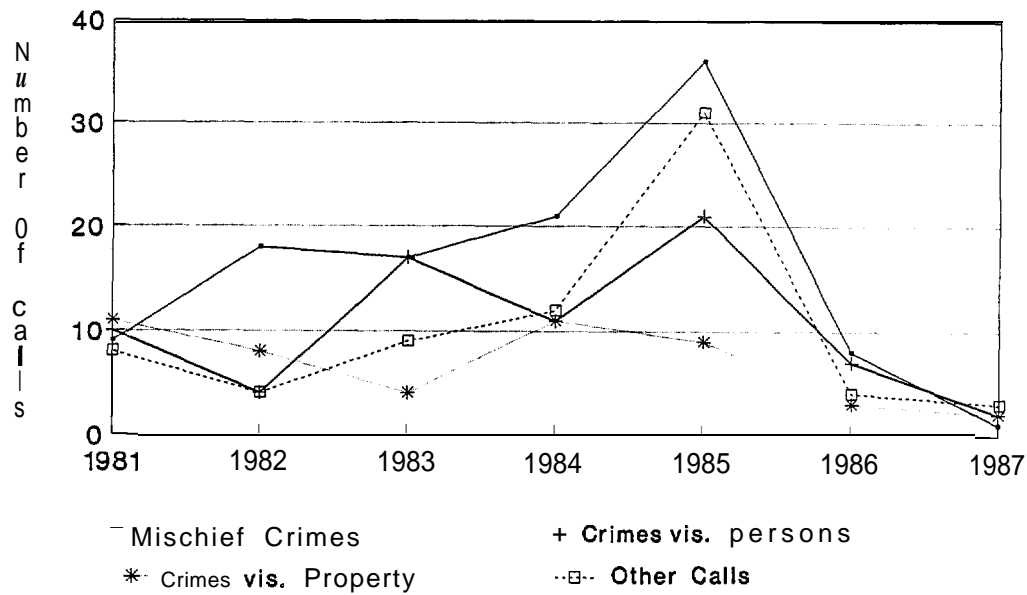
Service Calls in Point Lay Involving Alcohol/Service Calls in Point Lay Not Involving Alcohol

By comparing the figures entitled “Service Calls in Point Lay Involving Alcohol” (Figure 32) and “Service **Calls** in Point Lay Not Involving Alcohol” (Figure 33), one can see the breakdown, by type of crime, of those incidents that were recorded as involving or not involving alcohol. These figures allow for the comparison of specific types of crime. For example, one can see that in the category of mischief, virtually all crimes are alcohol-related. Crimes against persons are virtually all alcohol-related. Crimes against property are not strongly related either way to alcohol use. Incidents categorized as “other” are split between calls that were alcohol and not alcohol-related.

Service Calls in Point Lay, Involvement of Alcohol Not Specified

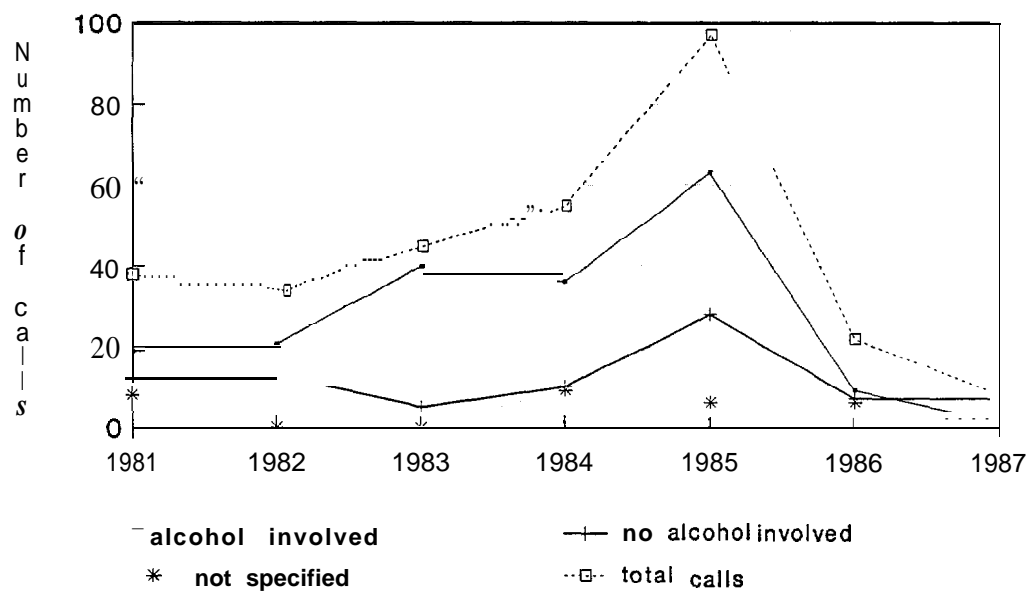
Examining the figure entitled “Service Calls in Point Lay, Involvement of Alcohol Not Specified” (Figure 34) allows the determination of that portion of incidents where the involved officer did not specify the involvement or non-involvement of alcohol in the incident. For three of the years, it can be seen that **all** incidents were

SERVICE CALLS IN POINT LAY BY CALL TYPE



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety 1989)

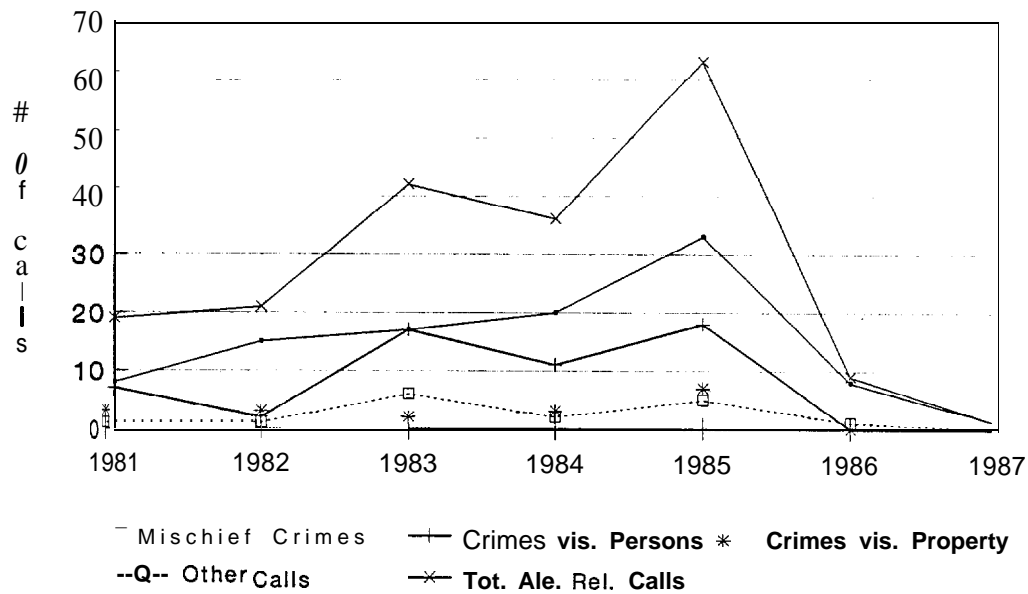
SERVICE CALLS IN POINT LAY REPORTED INVOLVEMENT OF ALCOHOL



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety)

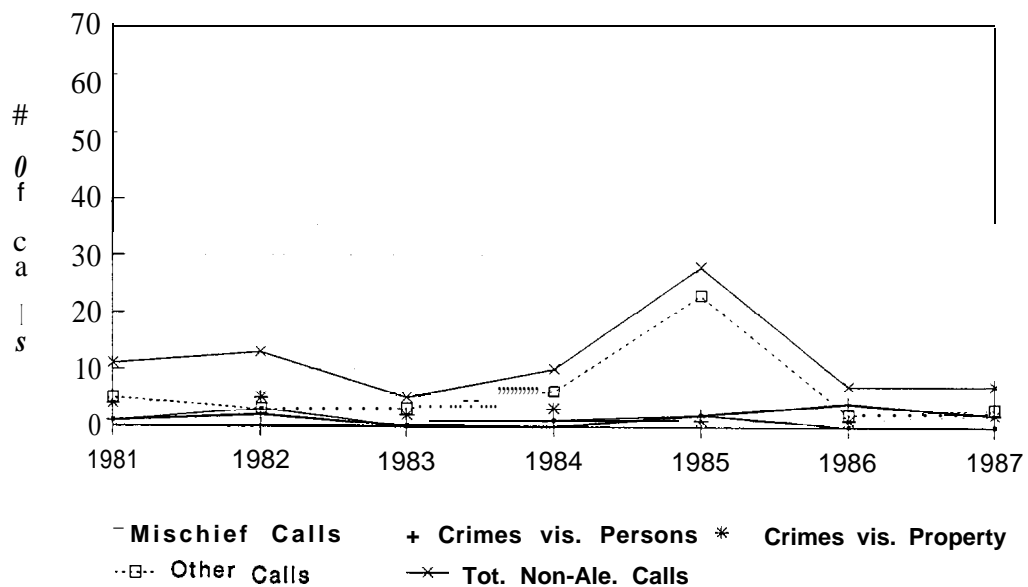
Figures 30 and 31

SERVICE CALLS IN POINT LAY INVOLVING ALCOHOL



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety 1989)

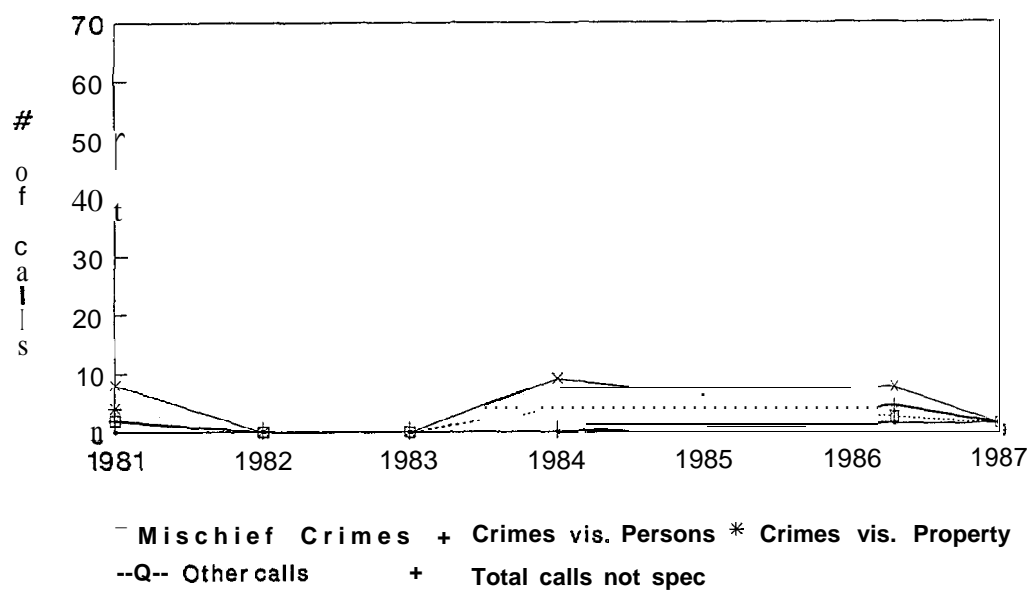
SERVICE CALLS IN POINT LAY NOT INVOLVING ALCOHOL



Figures 32 and 33

(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety 1989)

SERVICE CALLS IN POINT LAY **INVOLVEMENT OF ALCOHOL NOT SPECIFIED**



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety 1989)

Figure 34

categorized one way or another as to whether or not alcohol was involved. For the other years, there are very few cases where the involvement of alcohol was not specified. In those years, nearly **all** crimes against persons and crimes of mischief were classified; in a few cases of crimes against property and “other” incidents, the involvement of alcohol was not specified.

Public Safety Utilization in Point Hope

The following five figures (Figures 35-39) present data on service calls in Point Hope. These data are compiled from Public Safety records in Barrow, and were coded in the same manner as the data from Point Lay. Unfortunately, the turnover in PSO personnel in Point Hope has been so great that interpretations of data trends across the years in question are not possible. It is likely, however, that large differences in reporting practices by PSOS over the years in question have a large influence on the data.

Service Calls in Point Hope, by Call Type

In looking at the figure entitled “Service Calls in Point Hope, by Call Type” (Figure 35), one notices that mischief crimes decline well over 50% over the period 1981 through 1987. Crimes against persons declined from 1981 through 1985, before rising and surpassing their 1981 levels in both 1986 and 1987. Crimes against property fluctuated during the period, and ended near their beginning levels.

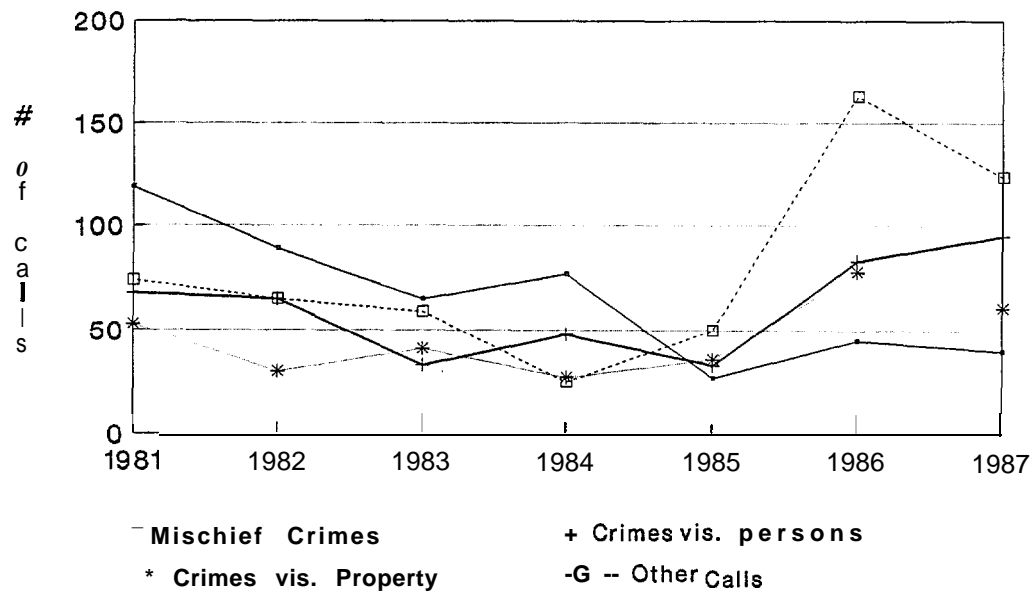
Service Calls in Point Hope, Reported Involvement of Alcohol

Turning to the figure entitled “Service Calls in Point Hope, Reported Involvement of Alcohol” (Figure 36), incidents that did not involve alcohol **outpaced** those that did, and in the years 1985 through 1987 incidents that did not involve alcohol approached the level of total incidents reported. Crimes that did involve alcohol declined more-or-less steadily over the years, and in 1987 were at approximately one-third of their 1981 levels. Incidents for which alcohol information was not recorded declined substantially over this period. Overall, public safety incidents declined steadily from 1981 to 1985. Reported incidents fell by approximately one-half during this period, before rising to end the period (1987) very near their 1981 level.

Service Calls in Point Hope Involving Alcohol/Service Calls in Point Hope Not Involving Alcohol

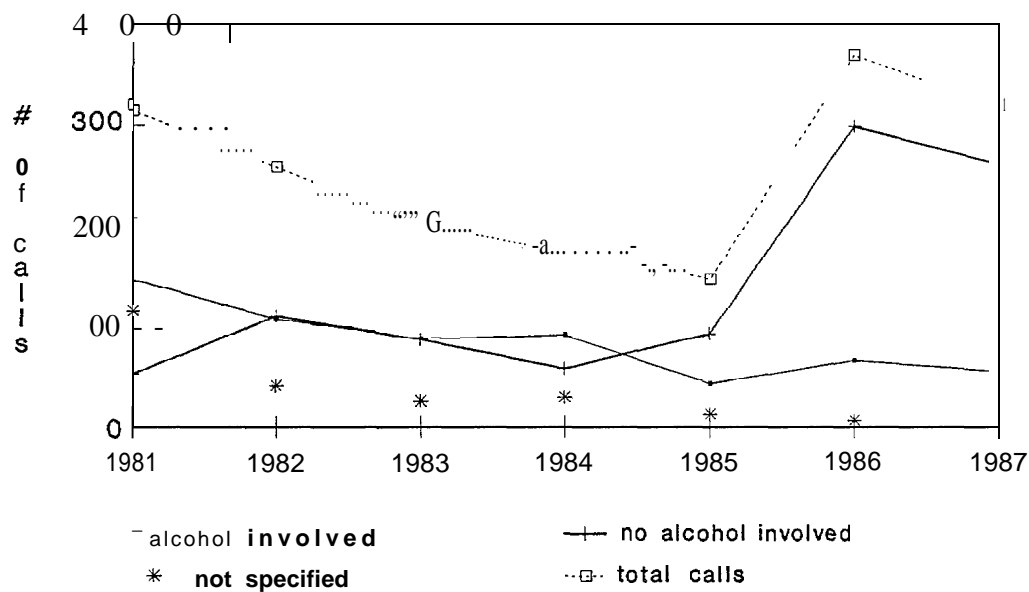
Turning to the figures entitled “Service Calls in Point Hope Involving Alcohol” (Figure 37) and “Service Calls in Point Hope Not Involving Alcohol” (Figure Figure 38), one can see that mischief crimes nearly always involved alcohol. Crimes against persons were nearly evenly split between alcohol-involved and not involving alcohol incidents, at least from the years 1981 through 1985. From 1985 to 1987 crimes against persons not involving alcohol approximately tripled, while the rate of this same type of crime, when alcohol was involved, remained steady. Relatively few crimes against property were reported over the period for which we have data, and those that were reported tended to not be alcohol-related.

SERVICE CALLS IN POINT HOPE BY CALL TYPE



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety 1989)

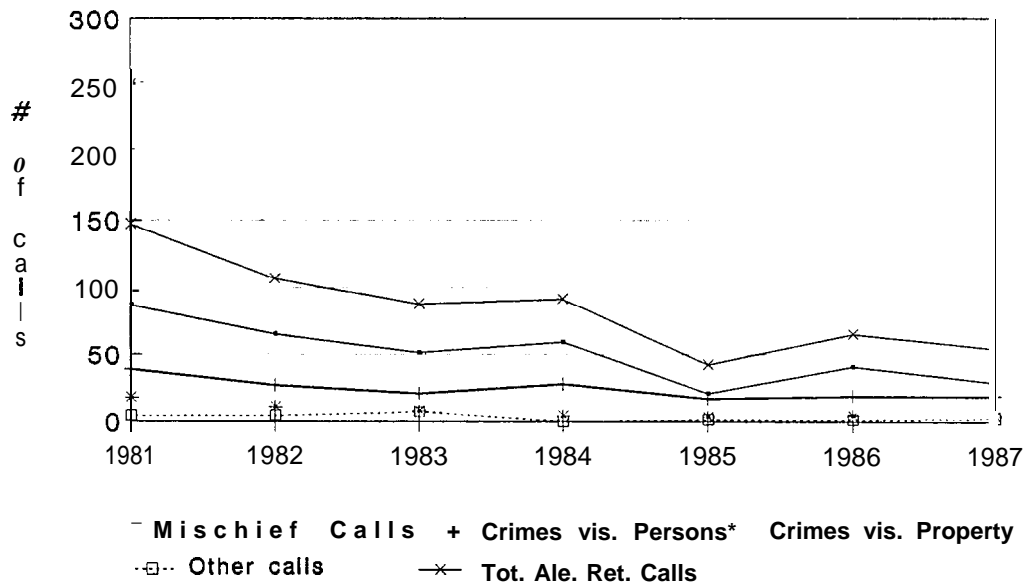
SERVICE CALLS IN POINT HOPE REPORTED INVOLVEMENT OF ALCOHOL



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety)

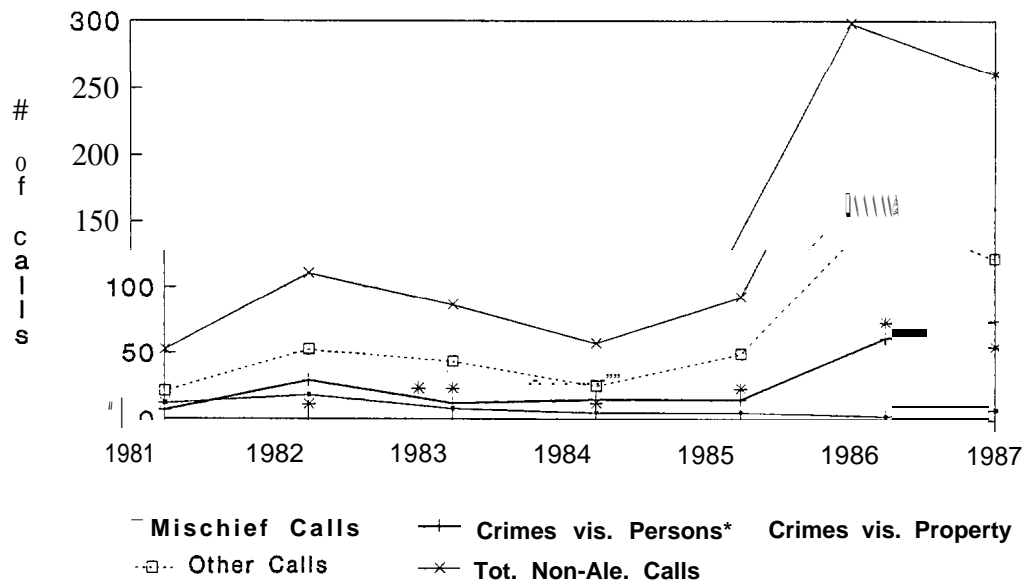
Figures 35 and 36

SERVICE CALLS IN POINT HOPE INVOLVING ALCOHOL



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety 1989)

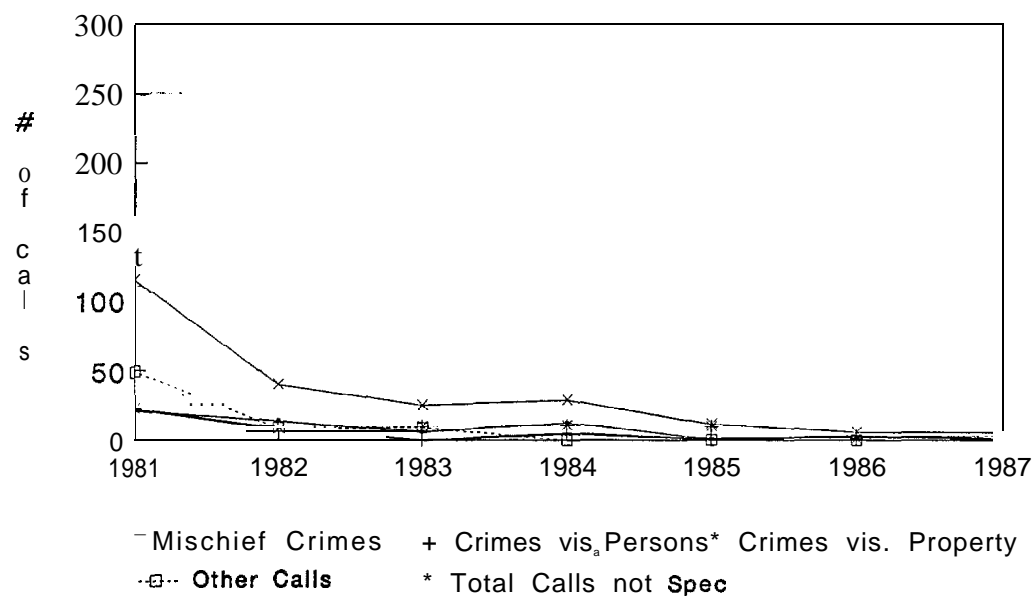
SERVICE CALLS IN POINT HOPE NOT INVOLVING ALCOHOL



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety 1989)

Figures 37 and 38

SERVICE CALLS IN POINT HOPE INVOLVEMENT OF ALCOHOL NOT SPECIFIED



(IAI, NSB, Dept. of Public Safety 1989)

Figure 39

The total number of crimes involving and not involving alcohol were nearly equal in 1983 and varied only slightly in 1984. The difference in their levels from 1981 to 1984 could be accounted for by the relatively large number of incidents for which alcohol involvement was not recorded (see Figure 39). Beginning in 1985, and continuing through 1987, incidents not involving alcohol far outpace those involving alcohol. In 1987, the period end, well over four times as many incidents not involving alcohol were reported as incidents that did involve alcohol.

Service Calls in Point Hope, Involvement of Alcohol Not Specified

The figure entitled “Service Calls in Point Hope, Involvement of Alcohol Not Specified” (Figure 39) shows that during the early years of the period, a very substantial number of incidents addressed by Public Safety Officers in Point Hope were not recorded as involving alcohol or not involving alcohol. From the period 1983 through 1987, relatively few incidents were not coded for alcohol involvement, increasing the interpretability of the incidents that were coded.

Service Calls and Levels of Reporting Alcohol Involvement

Almost universally, NSB PSOS state that 90- 95% of all serious incidents that occur on the North Slope are alcohol-related. The statistics reported here, based on the service call records of the NSB Department of Public Safety, do not support this contention, even after non-criminal service calls are factored out. There are several possible explanations. One is that alcohol involvement is formally underreported but privately acknowledged. Another is that alcohol that leads to a public safety problem, either as a precursor or a contributory factor, but is not directly involved in the incident itself, may not be recorded. For example, a PSO may be aware that alcohol is a difficulty with a particular family and is involved on several levels with dysfunctional behaviors within a household. If the officer receives a call to that house, but the particular incident that precipitated the call does not involve alcohol, then the call is not logged as alcohol-related. The officer clearly understands, however, that alcohol has contributed in large measure to the deterioration of relationships that lead to the call in question. Yet another reason for the seeming difference between perception and formal call recording is that the vast majority of service calls do not result in prosecutions, but those serious ones that do almost always involve alcohol. Certainly the statistics would seem to indicate that alcohol is less of a problem than it was in the recent past, relatively speaking. There is no denying, however, that alcohol is still a massive problem.

A third possibility is based on our personal experience of the life on the North Slope and our awareness of the frequency of violent behavior on the North Slope. Such behavior is highly episodic and not necessarily frequent, but is quite widespread. One informant has estimated that all **Inupiat** households in Point Lay have been the scene of spouse abuse at **one** time or another (1988 fieldnotes). Even making allowances for hyperbole, this estimate seems reasonably accurate, with the qualification that this does not mean that abuse is frequent in most households. We have no good information on frequency, but clearly in some households abuse is an extremely rare occurrence.

It would be misleading not to point out that as researchers we felt perfectly safe in both Point Lay and Point Hope, even after noting the level of violence that was occasionally evident. What is remarkable is that violence in the villages in

virtually all cases is not directed against people on the street or neighbors, but is family violence directed at spouses, children, and parents. It is thus possible that many incidents are never reported even as service calls, and there is no reason to believe that these may not be the most serious. PSOS would have indications of such events but in most cases would not be able to develop the data sufficiently for a legal case. Perhaps more important than what this implies about the validity of **PSO** records on the North Slope, however, is the implications that this has for the socialization of the young. If children in Point Lay are almost universally witness to and possible targets of family violence, it is clear that the level of social services in the community is dramatically inadequate. Our information is suggestive at best, but serious in its implications. At least one Point Lay informant has volunteered the explanation that the reason so many of the parents in the Point Lay of today are such poor parents (in the informants opinion) is that they themselves were neglected and/or abused as children and she blamed this on the inability of their parents to control their use of alcohol.

Perhaps the most well known example of a community changing widespread abuse of alcohol has been Alkali Lake. One of the lessons of the Alkali Lake program is that community support is essential for any attack on this problem. This is what apparently is very difficult to mobilize on the North Slope, or at least in Point Lay. When professionals from the NSB Community Mental Health Center (**CMHC**) in Barrow came to Point Lay to discuss the sort of programs that would benefit the village, mention was made of forming a local chapter of Alcoholics Anonymous (**AA**). However, this was only a mention as several people immediately said that maybe that would work elsewhere, but not in a village as small as Point Lay where everyone knew everyone else (even though the Alkali Lake case was known to the locals who expressed this view). In **Nuqsut** there is a local chapter of **AA**. but it had not met recently when fieldwork was done in **1989** for the NIPA report (in draft). One informant did make a comment on the alcohol section of the **Nuqsut Case Study**, however, which revealed how defensive most North Slope **Inupiat** are to the perception that alcohol abuse is all too common on the North Slope. He objected to the high estimate of the amount spent in 1982-83 on alcohol in **Nuqsut**. He said it made the village look like a bunch of drunks, which clearly is not the case and was not the intent of that section. The **Nuqsut** of that time did experience periodic and regular episodes of extremely widespread binge drinking, however, which does seem to have decreased significantly. Insufficient time and resources were available to investigate the cause of this decrease, but **AA** is not thought to have been a significant factor. Rather, the imposition of a strong local option law (possession is illegal) which is enforced fairly stringently, combined with the removal (at least for short periods of time) of some of the more troublesome residents of the village and the coincidental departure of one of the well known **non-Inupiat** bootleggers appear to have had more effect. Support for a change in alcohol use (and abuse) patterns is not strong enough to hold a local option law election as yet. In the absence of such community support it is not likely that a local support group such as **AA** would be successful either. Locals have asked for NSB money and staff to help with this problem, and to help develop a program, but lack of local involvement dooms such efforts. The reasons villagers prefer non-locals to handle these problems are understandable and all-too-human, and are directly related to the small size and kinship-related nature of Point Lay. The same community characteristics dictate that non-locals will be unable to make any headway in these problems without strong and widespread community support.

Social Services and Social Pathology

Another way to gauge perception of social pathologies is through an examination of the social service programs available in the villages of Point Lay and Point Hope. Worl and **Smythe** (1986:331-70) discuss the development of social services in Barrow as well as their use by that community. To a great extent, this is also the history of the development of social services on the North Slope. Social services are covered under the Department of Health and Social Services (HSS) of the North Slope Borough. Unfortunately for analysis at the village level, because of confidentiality problems, data for individual villages are not provided by the borough. Aggregated data for the North Slope as a region are not useful as a gauge of levels of program utilization in the villages because of the disproportionate influence of Barrow on the statistics due to simple numeric dominance and ease of access to services.

There are four main programs offered by HSS. These are Senior Home Health Services, Substance Abuse Treatment Services, Arctic Women-In-Crisis, and Children and Youth Services.

Senior Home Health Services is an active program in both Point Lay and Point Hope. The services consist of: Utuqqanaanagvik -- a 38-unit residential facility located in Barrow and available for people aged 55 and over; Village Homemaker Program -- a service to interested elders in which housecleaning and shopping needs are provided by local homemakers (discussed in the section on the status of elders); and Village Based Senior Programs -- includes hot lunch and transportation programs (also discussed in the section on the status of elders). There are no residential facility programs for Elders in any of the outlying villages, including Point Lay and Point Hope. The Senior Home Health Services program borough-wide is funded at **\$1.7** million.

Substance Abuse Treatment Services consists of an Alcohol Safety Action Program -- a screening and monitoring service for court-referred clients. This program is available in neither Point Lay or Point Hope, except via telephone contact with Barrow. There are safe houses in both villages for the shelter of relatives of alcohol abusers (discussed below) but there are no ongoing programs for the counseling of substance abusers themselves. The Substance Abuse Treatment Services program borough-wide is funded at \$1.5 million.

Even though such programs are not available in the outer villages, treatment in such centers is often mandated by the court system if an individual wishes to avoid a jail term. This requires that he or she leave the village for one of the centers which has available space. Individuals from Point Lay have gone to Barrow, **Kotzebue**, Anchorage, and Fairbanks for such treatment. The **Kotzebue** center has received the most recommendations. All of the programs are said to be beneficial. The lack of such programs in the village is considered to be unfortunate. However, the service that most people considered absolutely essential that does not exist in the villages is a support program to help those who have gone through such a substance abuse program maintain their sobriety.

Arctic Women-In-Crisis is a program that provides services to victims of domestic violence, sexual assault, and child abuse. The eight staff and twelve safe home volunteers provide an eight-bed shelter and twelve village safe homes, crisis intervention, counseling, legal advocacy, education, and village outreach. The shelter is located in Barrow, as are intervention, counseling, and legal advocacy

services. In Point Hope and Point Lay, there is little in the way of education or crisis intervention, although the safe home program is operating. The Arctic Women-In-Crisis program borough-wide is funded at \$591,604.

Again, there is a great felt need in Point Lay for such a program. The safe house program operates to an extent, but some women do not feel comfortable with the people who serve as the safe house. Also, not **all** women in Point Lay believe that they are really safe from an abusive spouse in a village safe house. While statistics are not available for Point Lay due to confidentiality reasons, it is known that several women had to spend several weeks in Barrow to receive treatment and counseling for an abusive situation. At least one of these situations resulted in a criminal prosecution. All involved alcohol and again stress the need, in villagers' minds, for the availability of local counselors and preventive programs.

Children and Youth Services offer several services in Barrow. These are available to children and youth from Point Lay and Point Hope, but not in their home villages. The services include: Children's Receiving Home -- housing and care for children **in** the custody of the state of Alaska; **Ukpiksuu** Summer Camp -- a culturally-enriched camping experience which focuses on arctic survival, hunting, and fishing skills; Parenting Program -- counseling and crisis intervention for families at high risk; and Non-secured Attendant Care Shelter -- temporary replacement for intoxicated youths who cannot be returned, for whatever reason, to their homes. The Children and Youth Services program borough-wide is funded at \$902,000.

Again, actual use statistics are not available, and there is clearly a felt village need that perhaps is best served by a facility in Barrow. For children in need, this **is** especially the case. Point Lay has had at **least** one recent case of child sex abuse which both incensed and divided the community. Child neglect and child abuse are also concerns of social services, especially in those cases where alcohol is involved. Several families in Point Lay are known to have problems with drinking and the care of their children periodically. Again, the service that people would like to see in the village are counseling and preventive programs to help these people, rather than institutions in Barrow that serve more to punish them.

By combining health and social service programs on the North Slope under the umbrella of a single department, there is the possibility of an efficiency of administration and a more comprehensive approach to the provision of services than would be likely under two separate departments. The drawback to having a combined department is that funding has to be prioritized over a wide set of needs, without a separate advocacy for health and social service needs. For example, as can be seen below, for the fiscal year 1989-90, health care issues related to cancer took priority over any social service provision.

The priorities of HSS are established by the NSB Regional Board of Health. This board, which meets quarterly, is composed of nine members representing all eight villages of the North Slope Borough. Members are appointed by their respective city councils and confirmed by the NSB mayor and the NSB assembly. That the abuse of alcohol is recognized as a continuing problem in the villages is reflected in the fact that priorities four through seven are alcohol-related.

For the fiscal year 1989-90, department priorities are as **follows**:

1. Increase cancer awareness and educational programs.
2. Develop and implement formal cancer screening programs and provide for appropriate follow-up.
3. Support the construction and programmatic development of the Juvenile Detention/Group Home complex.
4. Increase the number of Substance Abuse Treatment Services Counselors in the villages.
5. Establish support groups in each village for those individuals returning from alcohol and drug treatment programs.
6. Establish an outreach program for family members of those who are involved in alcohol and drug treatment, especially on the village level.
7. Increase lobbying efforts on the local level (city councils, village councils, assembly, and tribal organizations) to better address the enforcement of alcohol and drug laws.
8. Establish a "halfway" or transitional living program for the mentally disabled.
9. Improve relationship and communications between the regional board of health, village health boards, city councils, and the service providers.
10. Increase program development and community interest in developing alternatives for youth.
11. Continue to improve outpatient services at the Barrow PHS Hospital.

(NSB HSS 1989)

As noted, Barrow is the only community where the several social service agencies operative in the region have offices. Because of the distances and transportation difficulties, services to the outlying villages understandably are not as good as those provided for Barrow itself. Consequently, people may travel to Barrow to receive services. In the village, service provision is necessarily on a hit-and-miss basis -- there are insufficient resources for a high level of service to all the communities, nor is there the continuous level of demand for services in the smaller villages that there is in Barrow. This is a well-recognized problem within the borough government, but it is a problem for which there appears to be no practical solution.

There are many practical examples of this in Point Lay. The clinic is recognized as an excellent facility, and health aides are for the most part considered to be quite

capable. Point Lay residents, however, are quite displeased with the level of medical care they receive. A doctor is supposed to visit at least four times a year but seldom makes it that often because of staffing problems and weather. When he does come his time is short and he often will not see everyone who wants to **see** him. Because of high turnover it seems that patients in Point Lay never see the same doctor twice. They feel uncomfortable always dealing with a stranger and are insulted that no doctor ever gets to know them as people. Many problems cannot be handled in the village even if the doctor does happen to be there. The time and expense involved in getting to Barrow, added to the potential trauma of being separated from the immediate family, are also voiced concerns. The delay in the treatment of emergency cases is a critical concern that needs to be addressed **in** the minds of most local residents.

Similarly, dental care is claimed to be extremely poor in the villages. The NSB pays for a dentist to visit all the villages, but again staffing level, turnover, and weather all combine to make such visits **less** than predictable. Even people with known problems, who schedule appointments with the dentist when he is expected to be **in** Point Lay, often are not treated. The dentist may actually come at a different time when the patient is unavailable, may cancel altogether, or simply be unable to do the required procedure in the village once the extent of the problem is diagnosed. Yet the NSB will not pay for village people to fly to Barrow to see the dentist if it is for a routine checkup or for a known problem that is not an emergency. Even for emergency dental problems individuals often have to provide their own funds and hope to be reimbursed later.

An eye doctor comes no more frequently than the doctor or dentist, but his **level** of service is perceived as adequate. Glasses do take too long to arrive once they are ordered, **but** there are few emergencies for the eye doctor **to handle** and people **in** general think he does a good job. **He** is very busy when he comes to Point Lay, as many people wear glasses and frequently need replacements for broken pairs. All school children are also examined.

Mental health and counseling services are perceived as grossly inadequate. The Community Mental Health Center periodically sends two individuals to each of the villages to talk about the programs offered in Barrow. While in the village they also say that they will talk with anyone who has a problem or wishes counseling, or wants to just talk. They offer a follow-up program of telephone counseling. So far this has been a total failure and Community Mental Health Center personnel admit that they are in no position to provide services in the outer villages at all comparable to those provided in Barrow. Point Lay residents remark that they are not willing to confide in a counselor they can only see two or three times a year. At the same time, people in Point Lay recognize the need for a resident counselor. The health aides say that at present that is one of the duties people apparently expect of them, but that they feel untrained in this capacity. It also is emotionally draining and takes a great deal of their time, both paid and unpaid. There is a real question as to who or what an effective village counseling program would consist of as a constant concern in the village is that personal problems should not be made public. Thus, a common opinion was that Alcoholics Anonymous was a good organization and has even been helpful to Point Lay people while they were in other (larger) cities, but that Point Lay was too small to support such a group as everyone knew what everyone else was doing. This seems to ignore the central tenant of AA that to control your drinking you have to admit to the community that you are a problem drinker, but it points out the very real problems in trying to design a counseling service for a North Slope village.

The health aides also consider themselves overworked by the need to assist individuals in applying for various government benefit programs. The health aides are the contact people for Family Assistance, Women-Infant-Child program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Supplemental Security Income, and numerous other programs. Anyone applying for them or having a problem with eligibility or benefits once they are on the program usually goes to the health aide first. The village coordinator now helps with this to some extent, but in all truth Point Lay seldom receives a visit from a Barrow representative of these programs. For this reason they appear to be underutilized in Point Lay. Only recently have women started to take advantage of the Arctic Women-In-Crisis program, with perhaps twelve beneficiaries becoming eligible in April or May 1989.

Certain other services are provided out of Barrow as the necessary expertise does not exist in the villages. Thus, the Fire Department periodically sends out men to check the fire halls in each of the villages, make necessary repairs to the buildings, trucks, and equipment, and provide some training to the volunteers. The clinic is maintained by a roving plant manager who handles **all** routine maintenance as well as major repairs. Only housekeeping is a **local** responsibility. Similarly, generator installation and major overhauls are usually handled by NSB mechanics out of Barrow. Most large equipment repair in Public Works is handled by NSB mechanics out of Barrow. There are people in the villages who may be able to do such repairs, but they are not certified to do them and certainly the spare parts are not kept in inventory in the villages. The school district has a roving reading teacher and special programs to bring residential artists to each school for a period of two weeks twice a year.

While not directly a social service, the village coordinator discussion is pertinent here. Relations with the NSB flow formally through the village coordinator. The only person who is formally more important in terms of **village-NSB** relations is the village mayor. These issues are better discussed elsewhere (see the section on leadership and local control), but the general effect on village services is germane here.

TRADITIONAL VALUES, BELIEFS, AND CEREMONIES

History of Traditional Values, Beliefs, and Ceremonies

In the historical discussion found at the beginning of this document, we approached the organization of Eskimo society from the **macrolevel** of the structural organization of group membership and alliance, and the economic ramifications implicated by these patterns. An alternative means of approaching social organization is by an analysis of the stereotypical events and changing relationships through which each individual passes in the course of his lifetime.

Oswalt (1967:191-208) provides a cogent summary of life-cycle materials for the traditional north Alaska Eskimo which serves admirably as a general model for the area. Life-cycle materials are an essential part of any ethnographic account, and there are many references with relevant materials. Other important sources for life-cycle materials for the traditional north Alaska Eskimo include VanStone (1960), **Burch** (1975a), Chance (1966) and **Neakok** et al. (1985).

Oswalt subdivides Eskimo family life into three stages defined by the level of economic contribution of the individual to the family at his various life stages. The first stage is the person's birth and youth, when he is a member of a family of

orientation. At this stage, the individual is fundamentally a non-productive member of the group and is therefore dependent on them. This dependency will decrease rapidly during the period of his adolescence. **Oswalt** states that the high mortality rate for both children and adults, coupled with the instability of the nuclear family because of the transience and ephemerality of its membership, created a situation in which "[e]motional ties within the family were not well developed . . ." (**Oswalt 1967:192**). Although there is much that might indicate such a conclusion in the public behavior of the Eskimo, psychological research since that time on the nature of grief and family bonding tends not to support such a conclusion. It is likely, despite the mortality rate, that emotional ties are present and as **conflictual** in Eskimo families as in those of other cultures. In traditional Eskimo practice, ideally children are treated leniently and with **what** may seem to be a great deal of permissiveness. While it does seem that there is little harshness towards Eskimo children, especially physical harshness, we cannot forget that the patterns of acceptance, rejection, and ostracism that characterize Eskimo child-raising practices, for all their subtlety, can carry great psychological weight, a weight that is not necessarily visible to an observer used to American patterns of child discipline (**Lantis 1960:167**; Burch 1975a; **Briggs** 1970). It should be noted there are clear discrepancies between the ethnographic depictions of the ethos of child-raising in traditional Eskimo society and current practice, and that physical discipline is observable, even if not consistent. It is likely that reported normative practice and actual behavior were also different in the past.

There were many taboos and proscriptions governing pregnancy and childbirth that affected the behavior of the prospective parents, but there was only minimal ceremonialism for others. Infanticide was practiced **if** the child was **ill** or deformed, and thus unlikely to survive, or if there were no ways to feed it or have it adopted. **Oswalt (1967:194)** suggests that infanticide may have increased after the introduction of white diseases, because of the increased morbidity rate. A child was often named after a deceased relative, which created a namesake relationship between the two that both provided the child supernatural protection and gave the deceased relative a reentry into the continuing world of the living.

Children played at adult activities or at games which gave them practice in those skills that would be survival-oriented and that would sharpen their physical prowess. Game-playing was ubiquitous and joined in by everyone. Most traditional games emphasized luck or personal mastery of a task -- often a virtually frivolous task -- rather than rewarding competitiveness aimed at the defeat or at the expense of others. The avoidance of discernible competitiveness found in Eskimo gaming evidenced one of the most important of Eskimo **values**: modesty. A person must disparage himself, or at least avoid boasting about his own abilities and achievements. Today, many Eskimo games are overtly competitive.

As adolescence approached and progressed, the individual began to form stronger and stronger bonds with other members of his peer group, bonds which would form the basis for his later partnerships, etc. There were no strong overt proscriptions against heterosexual experimentation, but there were cultural standards that could be observed when transgressed, especially for **girls**. Sexual intercourse by unmarried adolescents or adults was not considered a matter of import, and extramarital sexual relations were accepted unless they led to the disruption of a family (**Oswalt 1967:202**). A girl could be sexually active and even married before puberty. Couples coalesced out of the pattern of sexual interaction, and usually became more permanent upon the occasion of the pregnancy of the woman. Even so, it was mutual compatibility, not biological paternity, that was the reason for the solidification of the union. A woman who found herself pregnant might go to live with another man

if she did not wish to marry the biological father of her child. There was little or no ceremony involved in formalizing a marital bond. The wife simply became more and more a part of the husband's family residence group. The marriage was not recognized ceremonially, although occasionally there might have been an exchange of gifts or food between families. **Affinal** relations had their own set of responsibilities, and as a couple became increasingly involved with one another, they fulfilled their responsibilities to their spouses and their respective families.

The birth of children to a couple brings further mutuality and shared responsibility to the pair-bond, and is an important factor in validating it. Children are widely adopted and shared. There are special terms for relationships between adults based on their mutual sharing of or caring for each other's children, and children refer to all parents, natural and adoptive, by the same kin terminology. **Oswalt** says that orphans had no kin network, and although they might be accepted into a family as laborers, they were not integrated into the family as kinsmen (1967:201). VanStone (1960:83) states that adopted children were treated equally with natural children. These contrary assertions typify much of the Eskimo literature and serve as examples of the danger of generalization. VanStone was speaking mainly from his observations (and informant accounts) in Point Hope in the 1950s. **Oswalt** was trying to make a general statement about some unspecified period in the past. As such, **Oswalt** was dealing with normative behavior, which is problematic in any event. However, that is not to say that both positions do not contain some truth (but are not altogether accurate representations in themselves either). In the Point Hope of today, most adopted children are treated as family members. Indeed, it is nearly impossible to trace biological ancestry because of the ubiquitous nature of adoption in Point Hope. At the same time, there are a few cases where adopted individuals are indeed treated more as servants than as family. A similar discussion could be held about discipline. The norm was and still is that parents are not directive or judgmental. Physical coercion was and is normatively unacceptable, and verbal direction or coercion is most often normatively avoided as well. In fact, verbal directions are given quite often and physical discipline is a frequent occurrence. Physical violence was an unavoidable aspect of aboriginal **Inupiat** life and remains so today (both with and without the influence of alcohol).

Among all Eskimo groups, there was some ceremonial recognition of a child's reaching stages in development towards adulthood, but these ceremonies were not as highly developed among the north Alaska Eskimo as among other Eskimo groups, and the specific occasions selected to mark the path to adulthood differed from group to group. Minor feasts might be held when a male child killed his first bird, seal, or caribou, or when a female child butchered her first animal, picked her first berries, or sewed a complete parka by herself for the first time.

The second, adult stage of the traditional life cycle is the one which we have been describing in such detail throughout the preceding sections of this account. There was no sharp dividing line between the first stage of the life cycle and the second, when a person became a productive member of a family of procreation and when **his** or her labor made an active and substantial contribution to the support of other people. The period of adolescence and young adulthood was one in which a person gradually perfected his or her gender-specific skills. A man spent much time planning his strategies for hunting and fishing and trying to be an innovative, adaptable, and capable hunter. This was also a period when he began to fashion his first adult partnerships and to define his place in the network of adult sociopolitical relations. A woman learned to master the many difficult and demanding tasks that comprise women's work.

Postmarital residence patterns for the **Tareumiut** were **bilocal**. As many couples **chose** to live near bride's family as near groom's (**Oswalt** 1967:203). Often a man's wife was from the same band or village as he was, since marriages tended to develop out of love affairs, which were more likely to occur and persist between people who lived near one another, while in some areas the preferred marriage form was cousin marriage, either parallel-cousin and/or cross-cousin marriage. In others, cousin marriage was prohibited: the peoples at Point Hope, **Wainwright**, and Kaktovik all had preferred first-cousin (cross or parallel) marriages, but this preference was less important at Point Barrow.

Physical and emotional separation between males and females was one of the essential and most pervasive features of traditional Eskimo life, manifested in many different areas of culture. Even though young children of both sexes could play together, there was a tendency for single-sex activities as well as a tendency for children to be instructed primarily by the same sex parent. Gender separation became more pronounced during late childhood/early adolescence, and was formalized in patterns of economic activity and in the gradual commitment of men to their **qalgi** group. It is quite possible that the freedom in sexual activity and sexual intimacy did not extrapolate to a psychological closeness between the genders, but instead masked real issues in intergender intimacy and communication. Little information exists on this topic for the past, understandably enough, as few early **ethnographers** recorded much, if anything, about relations between spouses. Sparse information from **Nuiqsut** (**Galginaitis et al.** 1985) indicates that there are very real problems in male-female **Inupiat** relationships, but whether this is a continuation from the past, a development in conjunction with social change, or simply a reflection of larger American society is unclear. The data are insufficient to even guess.

Various religious proscriptions on the separation of the sexes also existed. The two best known examples are that members of whaling crews had to be sexually celibate during the entire whaling season and that women had to be isolated from men during childbirth. Many personal spiritual rituals (charms) also involved the physical or mental isolation of the male from women for varying amounts of time. In his long discussion of Eskimo social forms in Barrow, Chance (1966) notes that the patterns of sexual separation characteristic of traditional Eskimo society still continue. For example, men and women tend to visit their friends on separate schedules (Chance 1966:52). Gender relations issues **lie** at the very heart of changing social patterns in Eskimo society. Regrettably, this topic is not well represented in the Eskimo literature until the modern period. Since published ethnographic accounts of **Inupiat** life prior to World War II tend to present summaries of general cultural precepts rather than detailed examples of behavior, only **re-analysis** of primary field data (original field accounts - Rasmussen, **Stefansson**, and so on) might possibly shed light on this area. Such detailed analysis of the literature was clearly beyond the scope of this research.

The third stage of the life cycle commenced when an elderly person, no longer able to contribute significantly to the economic well-being of a family, became dependent on his or her children for survival. Again, there is no abrupt transition to this stage. **Oswalt** describes this as a time of decreasing activity and increasing **self-reflection**. VanStone (1960:93) notes that elderly people were supposed to have a special connection to supernatural power and were feared for this power and the foreknowledge it gave them. Again VanStone and **Oswalt** have an apparent disagreement that is probably rooted in the ideal past of **Oswalt** and the Point Hope of the 1950s of VanStone. In contemporary NSB villages some **Elders** are respected and perhaps even

feared because of their reputed knowledge of supernatural and shamanistic practices, but it is impossible to prove or disprove the actuality of such knowledge because of the religious sanctions imposed on such knowledge.

Funerary rituals seem to have been relatively simple. The body of a dead person was removed from the house through a special exit hole or the skylight. Some grave goods were left with the body, which was placed on the surface or in a shallow grave, or sometimes on an elevated platform. It seems no attempt was made to prevent animals from eating the corpse. A similar use of exposure coffins among the Indians of coastal British Columbia had critical implications for their philosophy of reincarnation and of the mutual dependencies between the human and animal worlds (**Walens** 1981), which feed off of each other's flesh. It is possible the peoples of the north arctic held similar ideas.

Associated Eskimo **funerary** rituals were also relatively simple. In the arctic, it would have been dangerous to require mourners to suspend activity for more than a few days, but this should not be viewed as the absence of strong feelings of loss and mourning. Mourning was primarily a restrained, private, and personal affair. Each individual chose his own way to memorialize his relationship with the deceased (**VanStone** 1960:95).

There was some idea of reincarnation, but the shape of those beliefs are difficult to discern. There was some belief in ghosts, but for the most part ghosts were not considered particularly dangerous, although sometimes areas were thought to be uninhabitable because they were haunted by ghosts or bad spirits. The spirit of a dead person was brought back into the world through the act of naming a child after him. The spirit acted to protect the child, and the child to embody the spirit, though there was no sense of the child being possessed by the spirit. In this way, the present always involved a recapitulation of relationships in the past. The set of human names in one generation continued on to the next generation.

In some areas, primarily among the Yuit (Siberian Eskimo), minor memorial ceremonies were held several times a year, and a communal **funerary** ritual was held every several years. During this time the souls of the dead were invited to visit the **qalgi** and to reside temporarily in the bodies of their namesakes. The souls of the dead were ritually honored, given food and drink, and then returned to the spirit world. Yearly offerings might be made to a family's ancestral dead, but this practice was more likely at communities that had a reliably large population and thus some persistence. At Point Hope, for example, each deceased person had a piece of whale blubber placed on his grave at the start of the whaling season (**Rainey** 1947:262-63).

In a culture such as the Eskimo's, where the force of moral custom was critical in maintaining social order, the intellectual-emotive system of symbols, values, and cultural postulates that we refer to as religion played a central role in defining and maintaining human actions and interactions. Social life and **mystico-religious** thought are inextricably intertwined; religious beliefs are tied strongly into everyday concerns, especially economic and ecological concerns. Religious thought and its representation in human action (ceremony) are at the heart of Eskimo life, and are an important part of the way in which the Eskimo delineate the fundamental nature of the world, the fundamental issues of life, and the fundamental responsibilities humans have towards one another and towards the other inhabitants of the world.

Unfortunately, not only are religious and mystical aspects of culture the most difficult to describe and to evaluate, and the most vulnerable to linguistic misreading and translational difficulties, but Eskimo religious ideas were directly contradicted and eradicated by the proselytizing influence of Christian sailors on the whaling ships, as well as by dedicated and determined missionary influence starting in the 1890s. Traditional beliefs either disappeared, went underground, or combined with Euro-American beliefs until they were no longer recognizable. Many Eskimo beliefs and practices have been integrated or **syncretized** with Christian beliefs. For example, prayer and confession were both important parts of aboriginal religion as they are in the modern Christian church, and a Native belief in spirit beings has been transmuted into a Christian idea of devils. Indeed, the church has taken over many of the religious and social aspects of traditional Eskimo life.

Even today, with our increasing awareness of, and sophistication of understanding for, the religious beliefs of other cultures, it is difficult to get **an** idea of just how persistent traditional religious ideas are across a variety of intellectual domains. We can have no safe knowledge of what Eskimo religion was prior to contact. Data on Eskimo religion of the nineteenth century is extremely sparse and of only questionable reliability. The earliest **ethnographies** were heavily technological in focus; later **ethnographies** for the most part focused on issues in social organization. Eskimo intellectual culture is, of necessity, the most poorly represented aspect of Eskimo life in the literature. At the same time, it is in these aspects of intellectual culture, the set of symbols, precepts, and values that informs social practice, that the true core of Eskimo culture lies. Any analysis of the history of Eskimo social forms must document the contrast in belief systems between traditional Eskimo religion (insofar as just what that consisted of can be determined) and contemporary Eskimo belief systems.

Traditional Eskimo religion is founded on two primary concepts, one ideational, one institutional. First, a special relationship of the world of animals to the **world of** men; and second, the shamans who act as intermediaries to the spirit **world**, and who provide the necessary links to the hidden world of spiritual force and knowledge. As Chance says (1966:58):

The Eskimo perception of the universe was one of internal harmony of the elements in which the various natural and supernatural forces were neutrally disposed toward man. By means of ritual and magic, however, the Eskimo could influence the supernatural forces towards a desired end, be it controlling the weather and food supply, ensuring protection against illness, or curing illness when it struck. The power to "influence these events came from the use of charms, amulets, and magical formulas, observance of taboos, and the practice of sorcery.

Few, if any, **Inupiat** informants will present their belief system (or that of their ancestors) in any rigidly coherent or complete manner. Scholarly analysts contend that the structural logic of Alaskan Eskimo religion was based on a set of dualities that stood in opposition to one another but that came together and were mediated in certain spiritual, ritual contexts. Each of these dualities (human/animal, male/female, land/water, light/dark, etc.) had social and economic dimensions to it as well as spiritual dimensions. This, of course, is a standard **structuralist** formulation and is not meant to imply that all **Inupiat** (and maybe not necessarily even any **Inupiat**) were consciously aware of this as their world view. Rather,

religious symbolism formed an intellectual system that helped to order and organize the world in a format that patterned human action and strategies for survival, that gave a philosophical direction to Eskimo thought, and that embodied a set of principles which governed human behavior towards one another and towards the other inhabitants of the world. It entailed many of the rules, or “traditions,” of everyday life that most people gave and give little thought to. It was in religion that the deepest, most subtle, and most secret thoughts and feelings of the **Inupiat** were located. Individuals may apparently lack subtlety, but that is not to say that the basis of their actions or fundamental belief systems are quite as simple and direct (or even consistent).

One of the most important oppositions in Eskimo symbolism was that between creatures of the sea and creatures of the land. The ineffable spirits of marine and terrestrial creatures were thought to be inimical to one another. There were many proscriptions, differing from one group to another, about how human activity that involved animals from one category could not also be involved with animals from the other category. For example, a woman working on caribou skin clothing might be prohibited from touching seals (**Oswalt 1967:209**); among some whaling groups, the bones of land animals had to be burned before the start of whaling season; in many groups, marine and terrestrial mammals could not be eaten at the same meal or on the same day; and hunters who had prepared themselves to hunt animals from one category could not kill an animal from the other category.

Animals were thought to be spiritually, intellectually, and morally superior to humans, and were to be treated with respect. Human success was always thought to be “divinely-inspired” by animal power, the source of **all** power in the world and given only to humans who displayed the proper respect towards the animals. Animals which were to be hunted had to be placated, cajoled, or coerced into giving up their lives; sometimes magical imputations could coerce them into self-sacrifice. If the animals were offended by human actions, they would refuse to be sacrificial victims to human hunters, their spirits would inform the other animals of their species of the humans’ iniquities, and food would become unavailable. The ethos of hunting was based on intention. A hunter had to intend to kill an animal, and the animal had to intend to die; hunter and hunted existed in an ineluctable partnership, a mutual destiny.

The sets of constraints placed upon human behavior and that are associated with the hunting of any given animal species are called “taboos” by anthropologists. Each species had a set of general requirements or culture-wide taboos that every hunter followed, but each individual hunter could also have his own set of taboos that governed only his individual hunting behavior. Many taboos related to some form of self-denial of pleasure. For example, there were many taboos on eating food, on sexual activity prior to hunting, and even on friendly socializing and laughing. The hunter had to establish a special, solemnized relationship between himself and his animal prey, accomplished by alienating himself intellectually from human companionship and concentrating on the exigencies of the hunt. Failure to observe one’s taboos was considered to one of the primary causes of illness.

Anthropologists have often argued that taboo systems, such as those found among the Eskimo, provide a high degree of motivation in systems where individual initiative is important, giving a sense of order and direction to a person’s activities. Some anthropologists have argued that taboo systems operate to prevent overutilization of a resource and reduce competition over scarce resources. That is obvious at least in some Eskimo cases, such as in proscriptions that prevent a man from putting out too many traps for wolves, foxes, and wolverines (**Spencer 1977:91 -92**). Other anthropologists point out that caribou and musk ox have been severely depleted at

times on the North Slope (especially musk ox). While it could be argued that Western contact had something to do with this, and that caribou populations especially are subject to as yet unknown periodic biological cycles, taboo systems also have little explanatory power in these cases. It is most likely that **in** aboriginal times technology limited the take of subsistence resources. When **Inupiat** could harvest a large number of animals (caribou drives, **beluga, bowhead**), they did so. Certainly the aboriginal belief systems surrounding the harvest of animals integrated that harvest into daily life. Subsistence ideology is no longer the same as it was **aboriginally**, but is still quite important, and for precisely the same reasons. Subsistence remains at the core of **Inupiat** life, and if the mystical relationship between humans and animals are lessened, as they are at least explicitly by Christianity and the adoption of the “modern” world, then subsistence ideology must adopt the conservationist ethic of that modern world.

An important part **of** the taboo system centered **around** the ritualized handling of animal carcasses and food. Much care was taken over the handling of food and of the uneaten portions of animals. The extensive **ritualization** of food and food-related tasks also served to reduce human competition for food by placing a set of cultural regulations over food-related behavior. Such regulations worked to counteract any divisive feelings. Among some Eskimo groups, the killing of an animal or the disposal of its bones might involve some form of mourning or funerary ritual for the hunter and/or his family, in which masked dancers would impersonate the spirits of the animals. Many other festivals, dances, and feasts involved singing, dancing, and the impersonation of animals.

The most noteworthy of such festivals was associated with the primary food animal (caribou in the interior and whale along the coast). The rituals involved in whale hunting provided a form of world-renewal rite, a time of social and spiritual reaffirmation. The whaling festival was a major festival with many component parts, many of them individualized. Some activities involved merrymaking. One of the critical postulates of the human/animal bond was that hunting is not just a solemn activity, but a time of happiness, and it was believed important that humans express the joy that an animal’s death brings to them through song and dance and laughter.

The primary medium of spiritual expression was the song. The English term “song” does not adequately convey the social and spiritual importance, or the variety of forms, of sung speech in Eskimo culture. Eskimo songs might perhaps be better thought of as hymns, sung prayers, or sanctifying blessings, as well as magically efficacious charms. **Songs** existed for all hunting situations, and were used to bring power and efficacy to **one’s** weapons, tools, and actions. Songs were owned individually, could be bought, sold, and traded, and were embedded in a context of **ritualization** that usually involved food taboos and other ritual behaviors.

Also important were the hunting charms, each with its associated songs and rituals. **Umialiks** would have their own set of charms associated with the whale or caribou, but individuals also had their own sets of charms. Charms represented a gift of power and insight from the animals to humans, and were manifested in the world in the form of amulets, names, and songs. The power of a person’s charms was demonstrated a priori by a man’s success at hunting and with women.

Nearly all analysts of Eskimo religion emphasize that the cornerstone of Eskimo religion was the use of individual charms -- primarily material objects that had become imbued with some of the essence or power of the world and which had come into the possession of a person. Every charm had power, but it also demanded a ritual obligation if it were to be effective, so that one can correctly describe a charm

only as both the object and its associated ritual, much of which might be secret. A charm could be acquired through purchase, inheritance, transfer, or a personal supernatural contact (**Oswalt** 1967:218). At Point Hope, charms were divided into two classes, those associated with spirits of the dead and those associated with childbirth and menstruation. Individuals associated themselves with charms from one or the other class (**Rainey** 1947:272-74), connecting themselves spiritually to one or the other of the world's fundamental forces. Charms were shared or transferred within kin groups in a way that reinforced social bonds and obligations. The transfer would also involve the transfer of some name of the donor, so that the souls of the donor and recipient were seen as co-destined because of their namesake relationship. Such transfer also set up a tutorial relationship, where the donor had to instruct the recipient on the rituals and, thus, on the philosophical basis of **Eskimo** religious practice.

The second cornerstone of Eskimo religious ideology was the philosophy of **inua**, the idea of the ineffable, indestructible, abstract, and yet personified spirit essence of a person, species, or object. **Inua** define the qualities and motile power of things in the world; **inuas** were also organized in a very large set of structural oppositions, so that the set of inua beliefs forms a basis for many different Eskimo religious practices. As such, essences are combined or separated on a spiritual level to effect or affect an event on a material level.

The rhetoric of inua beliefs involves talking of honoring the special identity and essence of a creature's inua -- in English, of "respecting" the inua and its exigencies. A general idea of the necessity of respecting **inuas** still remains a dominant focus of traditionalist Eskimo ideology today, even though for the most part the particular content of those specific rituals has been lost.

Another important postulate of Eskimo religion was that of the "soul," but soul beliefs are difficult to understand. **Oswalt** (1967:220-21) tries to mediate the many different approaches to Eskimo soul beliefs by dividing the soul into three general components: one form of which corresponds to the present life of an individual; another which is immortal and that after a person's death either remains associated with the place of death or travels to the moon until such time as it is reborn in another person; and a third part, the name-soul, which is inherent in each of the names the person has. As discussed earlier, people who share names are thought to have a very close spiritual relationship to one another.

As mentioned before, Eskimo religion operates through a set of structural oppositions and their mediation in various ritual contexts and formats. Eskimo origin myths are one such format, and seem to follow a general pattern. That pattern is one in which certain key symbolic oppositions are created by a giant or non-omnipotent, **non-**omniscient creator figure, and in which certain moral and behavioral rules that must be acted upon by humans are set up. These rules serve to mediate between those oppositions in a context of human action (ritual), and the ritual functions to validate the essential opposition which stands as the basis for the ritual's origin (thus, an origin myth does not talk so much about the origin of the world as about the origin of the rituals humans must perform). For example, a myth may talk of the origin of both a land group and a whaling group, and then set up an image of feasts and trade between them. Eskimo myths, like those of other peoples, have both a mystical and a pragmatic aspect to them, with the mystical reinforcing the pragmatic and vice versa.

It is possible that the north Alaskan Eskimo thought of Raven as a type of creator figure. In central and southern Alaska, where Northwest Coast and Athapaskan Indian

culture were more integrated into Eskimo culture, Raven was thought of as the primary creator figure, or at least as a figure during whose exploits he and other beings brought into existence the features of the world. In these southern areas, there is obviously a blending of Indian and **Eskimo** ideas. The Eskimo, like the Indians, seem less interested in how the world was created as a physical entity than in how it was created as a social and moral entity (at least, that is a conclusion that may be drawn from an analysis of creation myths).

Eskimo myths are often narratively motivated by a character who exhibits a personality feature that is not as controlled as it **should** be in a real person: a man whose jealousy is too strong, a woman who is too vain, a man who is too boastful, etc. The myth then details the cosmic consequences of this imbalance self. Thus, the mythic narratives also become a charter for personal, emotional, and social definition and evaluation. For example, Eskimo myths of the origin of sun and moon, such as the **Nunamiut** myth summarized by **Oswalt** (1967:213) involve male/female conflicts, as well as **overpossessiveness** by a male coupled with a woman who is not willing to leave her father's household. Sometimes the emotional inappropriateness of the character in a myth is **metaphorized** as a social impropriety, as in the myth of the origin of the sun and moon that involves brother/sister incest (summarized in **Oswalt 1967:214**).

Eskimo cosmogony is not well known. The moon was thought of as the place where the souls of men and animals were kept (**Oswalt 1967:214**) but there seems to be only a vague idea of the land of the dead. The earth was created by Raven, who brought it up from the depths of the ocean. The earth was seen as flat, and the vault of the sky as a revolving hemisphere supported on four posts.

Many non-human creatures were thought to be present in the environment. There were widespread ideas of giants and dwarfs, but the character of those varied from area to area and such creatures might be either benevolent or malevolent. Supernatural dwarfs of various types had important roles as a shaman's helping spirits, but were thought to be dangerous to ordinary people. The world was also filled with monstrous part-human, part-animal beings and other animalistic monsters, such as ten-legged polar bears and a creature that was part-walrus, part-dog. There were many types of beings, called "**tunerak**," who looked human but who were really the manifestation of some other animal or natural force. These **tunerak** were very dangerous, could cause illness and death, and could possess a person or steal his soul.

There were a small number of people, called "shamans" (**angakok**), with a special and intense relation to animal power. They could act as mediums between the human and spiritual worlds, foresee the future, decipher the intentions of the animals, and understand the spiritual causes of illness and disaster. Eskimo shamanism involved entering an ecstatic state **in** which the human's speech, movements and behavior were controlled by spiritual forces outside himself (Chance **1968:58-60**). **Shamanic** performances were an important part of the rituals of the **qalgi**, where animal and spirit power are brought together. The shaman also had an important role as medical practitioner: illness, although occasionally attributed to **ensorcellment**, was usually attributed to soul loss following the conscious or unconscious breaking of a taboo.

Shamans were important leaders whose powers could counterbalance or reinforce those of the **umialiks** since they transcended kin lines and group boundaries. This role for the shamans becomes less important once whalers arrived.

While all people had some ties to the world of the supernatural powers through their names, souls, and charms, shamans had more of this connection, more access to the

world of secret power, were better versed in, and had more inclination for religious matters. Shamans participated in group rituals and also performed alone. They were used to cure the sick, presage and/or influence the weather, predict the future, and to spiritually satisfy the souls of prey animals to make them amenable to capture. A **shamanic** performance, which was very dramatic, centered around singing songs to the accompaniment of a tambourine-like skin drum. Since the drum was strung with the bladder of a seal or walrus, and the bladder was the site of the soul, a shaman playing a drum was also playing on the soul of a sea mammal and thus making the sea mammal soul sound and speak. Some songs were in **Inupiaq** and some were in strange syllables that purportedly represented the language of spirits. Like other charms, these songs could be obtained by transfer or purchase from another shaman, or in a personal dream or visionary experience.

While dancing a shaman might wear a mask covering his face both as part of the ritual of impersonation and as a step in the mediation between the human and supernatural worlds. The mask might be seen as the charm -- the tangible realization of world power -- that accompanied the shaman's ritual. During a performance, the shaman might go into a trance or become frenzied and then exhausted. Sometimes his soul was thought to have flown elsewhere in the world (to the moon, the land of the dead, an enemy camp, etc.) even though his body was still present in the room. Various acts of legerdemain, ventriloquism, and stage magic served both to amaze the audience and to act out the play of forces in the supernatural realm in a symbolic structure.

All performers, shaman and non-shaman alike, used face masks as part of their rituals. Masks were carved from wood, or sometimes from bone, and then decorated and painted; some masks were made from the skins and stuffed heads of animals. Some had social implications only, some spiritual, and some both. The images on a wooden mask were revealed to the shaman in a visionary trance, and **shamanic** masks had designs which implicated and mediated between both the inua of the shaman and that of the animal or supernatural spirit with whom the shaman was in contact.

A shaman was thought to serve his community, and shamans who were believed to be using their abilities to harm their community could be ostracized or murdered by common consent. It was thought that a shaman could bring about the death of a person by stealing his soul or by using a spirit familiar over which he had control, but the proper shaman used these powers only to protect the fellow members of his community. A shaman had the right to define the nature of and to demand his own fee for performing, and could collect either goods or services for his fee. Thus, in **pre-commercial** whaling times, shamans had access to wealth and social power that others did not, and a tie to the supernatural powers that gave him real authority.

While the core of Eskimo religion was the individualized charms and rituals held by each person, and while many of those rituals were secret, there were a number of widespread religious practices and rites that linked people within a community. For example, hunters had their own rites to commemorate the killing of the first animal of each of certain species each year.

Contemporary "Traditional" Values, Beliefs, and Ceremonies

Few differences between contemporary Point Lay and Point Hope in terms of traditional values expressed, or behavioral manifestations indicative of traditional values, have been found, with three major exceptions. The first of these is the whaling complex

in Point Hope, second is in the area of traditional healing in Point Hope, and third is the existence of Eskimo dancing in Point Hope. The whaling **will** be addressed in this section, healing and dancing in other sections.

Whaling in Point Lay and Point Hope. 1988

This report will document only limited aspects of the activities associated with whaling in Point Hope and Point Lay. The general nature of contemporary whaling has been described at length elsewhere (**Lowenstein** 1981). For our purposes it is most important to highlight those features which best exemplify and characterize the differences **of** the context of life in the study communities. Point Hope is a whaling community and Point Lay, in most senses of the phrase, is not. As much **as** the residents of Point Lay may participate in whaling in other villages, and as much as that participation brings the influence of whaling to Point Lay, the contrast **of** the influence of whaling on Point Hope and Point Lay is striking.

The fundamental character of Point Hope as a community revolves around whaling. Whaling organizes the yearly calendar, to a large extent, dictating the schedule for holidays and feasts (in combination with Christianity). The school's teams are known as the "Harpooners." The statuses associated with whaling influence the social organization of the village, structure activities of the village for a significant portion of the year, provide a means to gain prestige, and contribute substantially to the identity of the village. Whaling permeates many aspects of life in the village and is marked at various points of the year in a variety of contexts.

No whaling activity at **all** occurs in the Point Lay area (other than for **beluga** in **July**, well after the bowhead hunt in other villages is **over**). A significant number of men from Point Lay are members of whaling crews in other villages, and Point Lay residents participate in whaling activities through participation **in** whaling festivals and as members of subsistence distribution networks. Indeed, this involvement is important to the village of Point Lay, and varies in its character with the individuals involved, and the village of their involvement. The ideological orientation of Point Lay, however, is the land. The school's teams are the "**Qavviks**" (wolverines) and most village talk is about caribou, trapping and hunting furbearers, and inland fishing.

Historically (and it can be presumed prehistorically) this difference was also central. Point Hope was a large and settled community, and attracted European and American whalers precisely because it was a reliable place to whale from. Point Lay was a site occupied only seasonally by very mobile people more oriented to land subsistence resources than the people of Point Hope, and had more contact in the Point Lay area with traders than with whalers, at least partially because the marine subsistence resources in the Point Lay area were nowhere near as reliable as in the Point Hope area. The importance of this difference between the two communities may well be diminishing with the development of an ideological North Slope Borough **Inupiaq** culture (traceable to a number of factors -- formation of the NSB with central powers, ease of transportation, mixture of population, and so on), but remains strong in the present day.

Whaling in Point Lay

There has been no whaling activity in the Point Lay area since about 1938 (D. **Neakok** 1988, **Neakok** et al. 1985). At least, that is the latest whaling effort in the memories of the people presently living in Point Lay, Braund et al. cite references to Point Lay whaling efforts in 1939-41 that were not mentioned by informants in Point Lay. In any event, no whale was landed in the immediate Point Lay area after 1940. The same is true of Icy Cape, although it is said to have been a more productive whaling location. Our intent is not to discuss the historical whaling out of Point Lay, but rather to examine the degree to which residents of Point Lay currently participate in whaling and how this affects, life in Point Lay and connects them with other localities of the North Slope.

A significant number of Point Lay's males participate directly in whaling. This varies from year to year, and in 1988 26% took part. (This is based on the participation of 9 out of 34 males ages 20-64. Not included in this figure is one twelve-year-old male who went to Point Hope as a **boyer**.) Point Lay females evidently participate much less in the whaling. Given the support role of women, and that the position of Point Lay women as visitors would make this role difficult to perform, this difference is understandable. This pattern, however, does not hold for whaling related events after the crews come in off of the ice. As many or more Point Lay women as men visit other villages for **Nalukataq**. The three communities that people report traveling to so that they can participate in whaling are Barrow, Wainwright, and Point Hope. The last two are clearly more important in this regard than Barrow.

Only one individual is known to have gone to Barrow in 1988 for whaling, and he went in March reportedly to help the captain (his relative) to prepare for the season. The year before, he and another Point Lay adolescent/young adult had been on this captain's crew, one as a **snowmachine** operator and the other in the boat. The crew was successful last year. This year the **snowmachine** operator was otherwise engaged so the other fellow went by himself. He returned to Point Lay well before whaling actually started in Barrow, however, and did not return even when his crews went out. Others in the village said that he had not actually helped with whaling preparations so much as he had "partied" and otherwise enjoyed the benefits of Barrow. In any event, he did not actually whale this year, although he has in the past.

Five males, ranging in age from 23 to 44, went to Wainwright to whale. All were members of the same crew. As Wainwright uses motorized aluminum boats to whale, they usually have only three or four men in each boat. Thus, it appears that this crew is predominantly from outside of Wainwright, and perhaps mostly from Point Lay. The whaling captain is the nephew of the oldest man in Point Lay, and it could be that this is actually very close to being a Point Lay whaling crew. In this regard, it is also interesting to note that the five individuals in question traveled to Wainwright by snowmachine, and took sleds with supplies and equipment. The **snowmachines**, sleds, and supplies were used in the whaling effort in Wainwright. One of the men reported that this is the roughest use his machine receives all year and as a result buys a new one every other year. The sled he took was one that he had made just before he left for whaling in Wainwright. One of the other men did have his machine "die" while in Wainwright. It is also necessary to note that one of these men later moved to Wainwright with his girlfriend, and that another is a non-Native resident of Point Lay (he of course does not go in the boat, but serves as the chief mechanic for motors, snowmachines, and so on). All are related to one degree or another. The 44-year-old is related by blood to the other three **Inupiat** (the closest is a first cousin once removed, the most distant is not easily traceable) and to the **non-Inupiat** by marriage (his older brother was married to the other's mother). All stayed for

the two- to three-week long whaling period and then returned to Point Lay. They did not all travel together, as a funeral in **Wainwright** and a meeting of the Alaskan Eskimo Whaling Commission in Barrow, attended by the 44-year-old, caused some complications. None stayed in **Wainwright** for any prolonged period after whaling stopped, however, and all arrived in **Wainwright** just before or just after the crews went out onto the ice.

Four males, ranging in age from 12 to 33, went to Point Hope to whale. The **12-year-old** went and served as a **boyer**. The other three were all 21-years-old or older and were full crew members. As far as is known, they served on different crews made up primarily of Point Hope residents. All, in fact, have close relations in Point Hope and two of the adults served under captains who were parents or uncles. Information is lacking for the other two cases. These individuals did not coordinate their activities and were in Point Hope for various lengths of time. The **boyer** went to Point Hope for the entire whaling period and stayed somewhat longer. The 21-year-old went for a very short period after the crews were already out. The other two were in Point Hope for an extended period of time and seemed to use it as a chance to both visit many of their close relatives and go whaling. They returned to Point Lay several weeks after **all** the crews came in off the ice. All of these individuals traveled to Point Hope by plane and thus did not contribute any equipment and minimal supplies to the whaling effort.

The young man who went to Barrow has not been regularly employed. Since returning to the village he has started to work at a seasonal construction job. Four of the five men who went to **Wainwright** have full-time, permanent NSB jobs in Point Lay. They took subsistence leave and, in some cases, vacation leave to go whaling. Of the four males who went to Point Hope, three are old enough to work and two have full-time, permanent NSB jobs in Point Lay. The third, who is the one who stayed the shortest period of time, was working on seasonal construction jobs and returned to Point Lay for the stated purpose of continuing to work. While he was in Point Hope the weather had temporarily restricted whaling activities, and he could not afford to stay away from work for too long.

The Point Lay men who went to Wainwright served on a crew that caught a whale. At least one of the men who went to Point Hope was a member of a successful crew. In any event, when these men returned to Point Lay they brought a large amount of **maktaq** and whale meat with them which they shared with the entire village. Thus, the village of Point Lay had a rather abundant supply of whale meat. The relationship of participation in whaling and established sharing networks differ significantly between the village of Point Lay and the two whaling sites of Point Hope and Wainwright.

The men who go to **Wainwright** go as a unit to participate as members of the same crew. They perceive themselves as having a relationship based on this crew membership. At least one of them was asked to whale in Point Hope but decided to go to **Wainwright** instead. It is clear that most if not all of the people of Point Lay are related to people in Wainwright and especially to the captains of the whaling crews. Point Lay has much of the atmosphere of an extended kin network in any event, especially in terms of the sharing of harvested subsistence resources. In terms of the whaling effort, these five men demonstrated the great degree to which the people of Point Lay share the same ancestry and immediate history as at least a significant portion of the people of **Wainwright**. Point Lay and **Wainwright** seem to be, in terms of whaling at least, **subpopulations** of a more all-inclusive population. Placed within the context of population movement and resettlement patterns, this is clearly the case. Icy Cape was, in traditional and contact times, an area used by both "communities."

More recently, people from both places congregated in Barrow and then moved out onto the land in similar patterns. When Point Lay was refounded, many of the people moving in were from Wainwright and Barrow. These connections clearly come out in the life histories of Point Lay residents (**Tazruk** 1988, Peterson 1988, **Neakok** et al. 1985).

The men who go to Point Hope, however, do so as individuals and participate on crews to which they have an individual kinship tie. There is little in the way of a perceived **community** relationship between Point Lay and Point Hope. It is recognized that some very central Point Lay residents have close relatives in Point Hope, but these are not as community pervasive as those with Wainwright. The nature of the participation in whaling is also clearly different. The people from Point Lay do not provide the use of their own equipment or bring any significant amount of supplies. They do provide their physical presence and labor, but do not seem to make a commitment to stay for the entire "whaling season." The general impression is that their trip to Point Hope is as much a visit to their relatives as it is an expedition to harvest subsistence resources.

It should be noted that whaling in Point Hope is marked by a general inability of crew members to be available at all times, due to wage labor or other activities. It could be that that is one reason why crew members from outside the village are seen as advantageous -- there are few constraints on their availability for whaling as long as they are in town. Whether this is true for Wainwright is not clear at this point. It is remarkable that all crews in Point Hope for which we have information have at least one member from outside of Point Hope. Most of these people come from the south (**Kivalina, Kotzebue**). Reasons given by Point Hope informants for this pattern is that they are relatives, and that this is a way to formalize networks for the sharing of harvested subsistence resources. They specifically mentioned that fish was sent to Point Hope from the south and that whale was sent from Point Hope to the south.

Whaling in Point Hope, 1988

The researchers were able to observe some of the whaling activities that took place in Point Hope in the spring of 1988. The field period was not long enough to encompass the entire period from beginnings of the preparations for whaling to the whaling festivities following the taking of the whales, but a number of activities in the chain of events were observed,

Preparations for Whaling in Point Hope, 1988

Different whaling crews prepare for the season at different rates, and at times use a slightly different sequence of events. The account that follows is based upon the sequence of events that one crew followed. While not shared in its details by all of the crews, it is not atypical.

The researcher arrived in the community of Point Hope near the end of the month of March. There was a good deal of talk in the village about the upcoming whaling, but preparations by the crew for the season were not immediately evident. It soon became clear, however, that subtle preparations were under way, and had been for some time. For example, one of the men had been working on a new shaft for a darting gun. The darting gun is a composite tool. Thrown by hand from the bow of an **umiak**, it combines a harpoon, which is itself attached to a line and a float, with a barrel and

firing mechanism that propels an explosive projectile -- the whale bomb -- into the whale. The shaft being worked on by hand was approximately six feet **long**.

Individuals in the crew were looking forward to what promised to be a successful whaling season. No date was fixed for the beginning of whaling. There is no open or closed season as such. Rather, subsistence whaling is regulated by a quota system that divides the overall Alaskan whaling quota among the eligible whaling villages. Quotas are defined by the number of whales struck, so that if a village is given a **quota** of two whales, crews from that village are allowed to strike two whales, whether or not they "are subsequently able to land the whales. Needless to say, there is great importance placed on landing whales struck, and on not striking whales there is little chance of landing so as not to use up the quota. In 1987 Point Hope landed its full quota of five whales, although only four of the five proved usable. The fifth whale was discovered after landing to be 'ill and not suitable for consumption -- the meat was green and the skin cracked. In 1988, Point Hope again landed five whales out of a quota of five, but also struck and lost another (actually the first struck whale of the season). The last two whales (whales "five" and "six") were struck simultaneously without the respective crews aware of the other's strike. Given that the whales were struck at the same time, it was considered that this situation was not a violation of the regulations permitting only five strikes. Point Hope was later "passed" an unused strike from further south which, because of deteriorating ice conditions, it turned out that Point Hope crews could not use either. Unused strikes do not carry over from year to year, although they may be transferred between villages during the same year. This means that this unused strike can be transferred to another village, either one further north for the same season (e.g., **Wainwright**) or to a fall whaling village (**Nuiqsut** or Kaktovik, and in rare years Barrow) for use in the fall season of that same calendar year. Received after Point Hope whaling was otherwise finished, the passed strike was not used to 'make up' for the village's "extra" (sixth whale) strike; there was simply no need to retroactively offset it because the extra strike was made in good faith. Thus, when the strike was passed it could have been acted upon; if it **could** not have been, it would have simply been given to another village.

Whaling begins when open leads, ice conditions, and weather conditions combine to allow the whales to pass close to the village on their northerly spring migration and to allow the whalers to safely move out onto the ice to seek them. Invariably, word passes from St. Lawrence Islanders that the whales are coming toward Point Hope. What typically precipitates whaling season in Point Hope is one crew moving out onto the ice to set up camp, which leads others to **follow** out. One captain explained the sequence by saying, "Usually there is one guy who can't wait to get out there, and the rest will be close behind."

Whaling preparations are usually done within the context of a crew, and knowledge of whaling techniques passes from experienced to inexperienced individuals informally during the whaling preparation time and in the context of whaling itself. In a notable exception to this generality, whaling workshops were held in Point Hope on March 19 and March 24, 1988 in the **Qalgi** Center. In these workshops whaling weaponry was presented and explained, and safety issues were discussed. Signs were posted in the village stating time and place and "all whalers welcome" but turnout for the workshops was light. When one relatively inexperienced man was asked if he attended the workshop, he replied, "You don't need a workshop to know how to whale." Clearly, there are a wide variety of reasons why seemingly desirable events that are publicly advertised are lightly attended, but the comment is interesting in that it particularly addressed the form or context of the learning situation.

Toward the end of the month of March, work on **umiak** frames increased noticeably. At least one new frame was constructed for the 1988 season. Rough work on frames was typically performed outdoors, but finish work and the skinning of the boats was performed indoors, preferably in the fire station. The fire station offers the advantage of good lighting, heat, and ventilation and is usually available since it is not used for official functions very often. There were never more than two **umiaks** observed in the fire hall at any one time.

Preparation of equipment was not limited to gear exclusively associated with whaling, but also included things such as **snowmachines** and other general support equipment. Several problems were observed with getting snowmachines in shape for the season. When parts are needed for machines in Point Hope, it is often a difficult and expensive process to get hold of them. If anything on a snowmachine breaks, chances are very good that there are no parts in town. If it is a part that needs to be replaced frequently on a popular brand and model of machine, there are probably no replacements in town because other people will have bought out the supply. If it is not a popular item, chances are remote that the part will have ever been in town in the first place. The most efficient way, in terms of time, to get a replacement part, is to order it via phone COD from a city. Obviously, this an expensive way as well, in that there is only a limited amount of comparison shopping that can be done over the phone and the fact that long distance telephone and COD charges add up. An additional problem is that parts lists are often hard to find in the community, and when ordering parts by phone they are often ordered by means of verbal description and not part number, which at times leads to getting the wrong part. It is clearly not like getting parts in an urban area where one can take the part to a number of local stores and compare it to a number of potential replacements. The potentially quick and easy method of scavenging a used part from a machine disabled for a different reason is not as generally useful as may be expected, given the number of such "dead" machines in the village. First, commonly needed parts are most often already gone (people scavenge before they buy) and second, models change from year to year. Parts from different manufacturers are almost always not interchangeable, but even for the same manufacturer machines from different years often use different parts. As an aside, the same situation is now developing in Point Lay, which for a long time was a "Polaris town." Everyone bought Polaris **snowmachines** so that they could share parts inventories and use parts from old machines. With the recent design innovations, however (long tracks, new suspension systems), this is breaking down even within the Polaris brand and several of the newer machines are non-Polaris.

On March 27 the wooden umiak (whale boat) frame was retrieved from the frame where it had been stored since the last whaling season. Umiak frames are typically stored on large rectangular racks constructed from driftwood. The racks are large enough to raise the boat between five and six feet off the ground and are often used to dry caribou or polar bear skins as well. Racks still in use are found in the old town site near the point as well as in the new town site and in the camps that stretch along the south beach.

The first task of the day was to dig the sled that would be used to haul the umiak out of the snowdrift adjacent to the house. Once the sled was freed, five men headed out to the old town site where this particular umiak was stored. The **umiak** frame is stored inverted and lashed to the storage rack. This rack is located adjacent to where the family house used to be at the old site before the house itself was moved to the new site. (The family has since moved into a new house at the new site, and the old house, like a number of others that were moved to the new site, now stands unused.) The remains of the house of the whaling captain's father still stand across a path from the storage rack.

The boat frame was easily handled by the five men. Taken down and inspected **before** being placed on the sled, the frame proved to be in need of some substantial repair ·· the main 2x4s that run the length of the bottom of the vessel were cracked in several places. After quite a bit of inspection and discussion about how much work it would take to put it back into shape, the frame was lashed to the **sled** for the trip back to the village. Driving slowly to retain a measure of control over the ungainly load, the boat was towed back into town. The boat was left on the sled which was placed in the lee of the captain's house. While winds do shift in Point Hope, in the early spring the lee is most often found on the south side of the house.

In the following days the **umiak** was worked on daily. The first task was to brace the frame where it was weakened by the cracking of some of the larger members. The bracing consisted of drilling holes at appropriate points in the frame, shaping and fitting brace pieces, and bolting the pieces into **place**. The braces were designed as the repairs progressed, not during **a** period of planning prior to the repairs. Care had to be taken not to structurally weaken the frame and **to** avoid adding features that would create new stress points on the skins when they were put on. The whaling captain was himself out of the village during the time this work was done. One of his sons was left with the task and was extremely careful in his approach.

This work went relatively slowly due to the fact that the days of this period were quite cold and windy, and the cold was hard on both men and machines. The electric drill, for example, would only work well for a couple of minutes after it was brought out of a warm house. After a few minutes use, the drill was virtually useless, at which time it had to be rewarmed before further use. The cold also made standing in one place and doing fine work difficult.

During this period, there was a general buzz of excitement in Point **Hope**. Preparatory work was at various stages for the different crews. Some crews apparently had not yet started work, while others were taking skinned **umiaks** ready for use back to the racks on the beach. Seemingly everyone in town was excited about the whaling, "and it dominated conversation.

In 1988, there were a total of twenty whaling captains in Point Hope. Crew size varied, with some crews still seeking members until the **very** day they moved out onto the ice, while others appeared to have more than enough people early on in the preparations. The degree of involvement of the captain in the day-to-day affairs of the whaling varied from crew to crew as well. There are captains who are relatively elderly and who do not go out onto the ice, but who are still considered captains out of recognition of past accomplishments and respect. There are also two women who hold the title of captain. Typically this comes about by having been the wife of a captain who has passed away, and the title of captain remains bestowed on the woman as a matter of respect and recognition of her importance to the family and crew. In these instances, there is often a son or even a grandson who acts in ways similar to young captains in overseeing the day-to-day affairs of running the crew, while not holding the title of captain. It should be noted, however, that the wife of a captain, in any event, is considered a full partner in the task of supporting the whaling effort and the whaling crew. One former captain described how he passed his captain position onto his married son when his own wife passed away, saying that there was simply no way he could carry on without her. There are widows and widowers who do **carry** on, but the difficulty of doing so is well known to **all** in the village. It is not **uncommon**, however, for younger men (and their wives) of the family to act at least functionally in the capacity of captain and partner while an elder retains the title of captain.

Also during this period, the skins that will be used to cover the **umiak** frame were placed in salt water to soften them for working. Repairs continued on the **umiak**. Driftwood and wood salvaged from shipping crates was used. Pieces of cardboard cut and fitted to shape were used as templates for the cutting of the wooden parts.

An open lead was visible offshore, perhaps two-thirds of a mile from the village. Individuals were already out on the lead looking for **beluga**, but no whaling crews were yet on the ice.

On March 29, the lead noticeably improved, The south wind had shifted to the east and was widening the area of open water. According to informants, south winds bring the leads, and then east winds are required to widen them. As the east winds blow, the shore-fast ice holds position while the newly detached drift or pack ice is pushed away. A rumor passed quickly through the village that there had been a whale taken at St. Lawrence Island, It turns out to have just been a rumor, but nevertheless, expectations were running high. A small section of decking for the bow area of the **umiak** of the crew we were following was designed and made, along with two cross-braces for the amidships and stern areas, none of which were part of the original design of the craft. Work continued on the boat until it was too dark to see. Clearly people thought that they may be able to go out soon, and they wanted to be ready.

On March 30, work continued on bracing the frame. For most of the work, only one individual worked steadily on the project. This individual was not employed at the time. Attempts by him to have his brothers, or other crew members, assist him did not meet with much success, primarily (according to self-reports) because they were employed full-time. There are, however, crews that whale successfully with at least some of the crew members fully employed through distribution of tasks among the members. There are also individuals who, while fully employed, spend a great deal of their non-working hours preceding whaling season working on whaling preparations. This variation is due, in part, to the personalities of the crew members involved, the relationship between individual crew members and the captain of the crew, other commitments in the individuals' lives, and the fact that the person who was working steadily on the project, in this example, was not the captain. That the captain **was** out of town made it easier for other crew members to put off their responsibilities until his return. Friction between, or merely the more-or-less equal status of, brothers effectively prevented the worker from mobilizing his immediate family effectively; his non-captain status also prevented him from effectively mobilizing more senior crew members from outside of his immediate family.

On March 31, the crew members who had been working steadily on the boat headed out to the point to check on the **ugruk** skins that had been soaking for several days. It was a clear day, but the wind had shifted back to the northeast, dropping the temperatures once again. The skins were suspended on a **line** in the water under the ice. These same skins had already been used on the **umiak** the previous year, so they were already shaped and sew together into one large piece. A hole had been cut in the ice through which they were originally lowered, and it served as an access hole to check on them. A branch whose length exceeded the diameter of the hole by several feet was laid horizontally on the ice over the hole, and around the center of the branch was tied a line that was attached to the skins hanging several feet below. To check the skins, the ice that had formed in the hole since the last time they were checked had to be removed. To make this task easier, each time the hole was cleared to check the skins, it was covered over again with chunks of snow that were placed in the open water which were then covered with more snow. This slush did not refreeze

nearly as solidly as the water would if it were left standing open. The snow insulates the water from the much colder air, which also acts to slow the freezing process. The hole was marked by a long-handled ice chisel which was stuck upright in the snow on the ice and tied to the branch holding the skins, the purpose of which was to serve as a marker in the event of drifting. There **are** indications that several other crews have soaked their skins in this area as well, but it appears that they have finished the task and the holes are empty. Although the ice in this area appeared very sturdy to the eye of the inexperienced researcher, there was concern expressed that there was a very real danger of losing the skins by means of the ice drifting away if the wind shifted again. We would have to move very quickly if the wind shifted during the night. The skins were removed from the water to check on them. They were apparently soft enough to use, but we did not take them as the captain of the crew was out of town for a day or two, and it was **felt** that the boat probably should not be skinned before his return. Another problem with skinning the boat was that there was a shortage of the suitable size line in town.

On April 1 the skins were retrieved and brought back to the village, and this corresponded with the return of the captain to the village. The wind had indeed picked up and the trip was a cold one, with stops made in the lee of a large building at the old site to warm up on the way out and back. Trying to get the skins out of their watery storage 200-300 yards offshore in the strong wind was a physical challenge, especially as the hole in the ice had grown smaller, and the ice was thick and hard. Dragging the skins out onto the ice, they drain of water quickly as they are tied at one end and pulled out lengthwise. They were bundled into a cover and tied onto the sled. On the way back into town, it became very clear how easy it would be to become disoriented and lost unless one has a distinct feature to follow. It was a clear day; however, the snow was blowing hard enough to cut visibility to perhaps a 100-yard radius. The way was found very easily due to the fact that the tops of the telephone poles leading into town could be seen **clearly** as they were sticking out of the surface layer of blowing snow. It would certainly have been a different story, however, on open tundra. No new snow had fallen in several weeks, and most drifts in the village were only 3-5 feet high. There were also numerous patches of exposed gravel in the community. Drifts of six feet or higher were to be found by the snow fences to the east of town. The skins are taken to the captain's house to warm up indoors until they are needed, and they are kept in the bundle to stay wet.

On April 2 attempts made early in the day to round up crew members to skin the boat were not met with great success. When all was said and done, the captain, his two crew member sons, and two researchers skinned the boat, with the assistance of another man, a non-crew member, who was asked to help because of his experience. He was financially compensated for his efforts.

After the captain got gas for one of the **snowmachines**, the frame and the skins were taken to the fire hall. Skinning is done indoors and, according to informants, before the new fire hall was built the boats were skinned in the National Guard building, and prior to that they were skinned in Browning Hall when the village was still located at the point.

The uncovered boat frame was raised upside-down with the stern resting on a sawhorse and the bow supported by a garbage can. A few last minute touch-ups were made to the frame itself, including rounding the corners of some of the new braces, and trimming the edges of some of the pieces of tin used as fastener supports so that the "funny" parts wouldn't be touching the skin. "Funny," as the term is used in Point Hope and on the North Slope, designates things that are weird, or broken, or bad. For

example, the term “funny teeth” was used to refer to a child’s teeth who had a gum infection. Kotzebue is sometimes termed a “funny town” by Point Hoppers because of some of the aspects of life there are considered undesirable. This use of the term fits with **Galginaitis’** report of a distinctive aspect of **Inupiat** humor. According to **Galginaitis (1988:personal communication)**, one of the things that **Inupiat** in Point Lay find most amusing is watching someone do something incorrectly. An ill-formed piece of tin, that is, incorrectly formed, is “funny” in this same sense. Watching someone perform a procedure incorrectly would be funny in the sense of amusing, and the product of that process, the object itself, would be funny in the sense of being “not quite right” in some way. After the frame is touched up, one of the sons applied **ugruk** blubber to the longitudinal frame members so the skin will slide on easier. The dried out wood soaked up quite a bit of the oil.

Next, the skin was stretched over the frame. It was first secured to the bow and stern with a small diameter white cord that passes through holes drilled in wood pieces affixed to the top of the frame perpendicular to the **keel**. The skin is then pulled tight along both sides of the boat starting at the stern. This is done more or less simultaneously so that it is pulled evenly. It is pulled quite tight, with one man on each side under the upside-down boat doing the strenuous work of cinching the skins tight, and two others standing “on the outside of the boat pulling the line through, and then feeding it back to their respective man underneath. The men who are cinching the skins tight underneath have to have very strong grips to do the job well. There is a single line that runs the length of the boat, that spirals from holes in the edge of the skin, that overlaps the gunwales from the outside and wraps around the longitudinal wooden frame strip that is about equidistant between the deck ribs and the gunwales. (There is a separate one for each side.) Once it is in place, it is tied off temporarily, and then it is recinched, starting from the stern once again. After a second pass to take out any remaining slack, the line is permanently tied off.

While the men were in the process of tightening the skin, two women came to the fire hall with thermoses of coffee, a box of pilot bread, a jar of peanut butter, and a package of Oreo cookies. The captain made a comment to the effect that it is a shame that a couple of outsiders were putting in effort and working on his boat while one of his sons, who has decided to work with a different crew, is still sleeping. This son is a source of frustration to the captain, as it is clear that he could easily use another family member on the crew. (In this particular instance, the son is atypical in the particular family for his lack of commitment to the crew, but there are sons like him in other families as well. While whaling itself is popular, preparation for whaling is not so popular, and is seen by some as drudgery that young men are more able to dodge than older men. The son in question apparently contributed very little in the way of preparation time to the non-immediate family crew that he joined, but the claim of being on another crew was enough to cut short criticism of not helping the family, at least to some extent. This too was a source of frustration to his father, who at one point told the son with some emotion, “If you are not going to help us, you should go someplace else and help them.”) There are obvious reasons why it is desirable for a captain to have immediate family members on his whaling crew. Beyond other considerations, such as family loyalty and so on, it simply appears considerably easier to mobilize co-resident family members for task groups than others who are not co-residents. For example, when a captain is co-resident with crew members, he not only controls their work schedule, but also able to influence their eating and sleeping schedules. Additionally, if a person lives with the captain, he cannot easily get out of obligations by claiming minor conflicting family obligations that would take him away from the whaling work.

Throughout the session, the captain directed all of the work, but did not perform any of the physical labor nor, as an older man, is he expected to. The **Inupiat** non-crew member who helped did indeed seem the most knowledgeable of the workers when it came to the skin stretching and tying process. After the boat was skinned, time was spent cleaning up the fire hall. The boat was then loaded on the sled, and **all** the tools and extra line were taken back to the captain's house. Once these were dropped off, the boat was taken back to the old site and placed on the storage rack. That evening a large dinner was served at the captain's house to thank all of those involved for their help in getting the boat ready. Caribou, which had been taken by the son most involved in the boat preparations, was the center of the dinner, and it featured a range of Native and store foods as well.

Part of the day of April 4 was spent sanding paddles that would be used in the **umiak**. This was also the day that a shotgun which sat unused for several months was cleaned and prepared for bird hunting during the whaling. Blades of the various whale butchering tools were filed and sharpened, and work was begun **on** the ice chopper. The ice chopper is the only new tool for this crew this year (other than a darting gun) and so was in a relatively crude state.

On April 5, work continued on the ice chopper. Work was suspended for the afternoon and evening for the annual meeting of the Tigara Corporation, which drew a large number of people.

On April 6 the captain of the crew gave a description of what a great feeling it is to get a whale. It is very meaningful, he said, in that the whale is given not only to the people of the village, but it goes to other villages, even to Anchorage and beyond. According to the captain, there is "no feeling like it, and it is all given away for no money." In the evening the blessing of the whaling service is held at the Episcopal Church. Holding this event means that the crews can move out onto the ice whenever they want to. It was scheduled to be held later, but was moved up due to the fact that the weather had improved and there were several crews that were anxious to begin whaling.

On April 7, one of the crew members was working on a **snowmachine** that was to go out on the ice, but that had not run for some time. The captain and a crew member made a trip to the family beach camp as well to retrieve supplies. The camp is perhaps two miles east of town, on the south beach. The main item to recover was the camp stove, which is fashioned out of a down-sized 55 gallon metal drum. Caribou skins drying on the storage rack at the site were retrieved as well. The site of the beach camp itself was chosen, according to the captain, because that's where they were whaling one year. The camp is located on land claimed by another family as a Native Allotment. Although the captain says that technically he and his family are "squatters" at the camp, they have been invited by the individual who has claimed an adjacent allotment to move the camp there if there is any conflict with the **allottee** where the camp is now located.

After driving back to the village, the caribou skins were placed in the storage room adjacent to the captain's house. (Uninsulated storage rooms are found on virtually all of the houses in Point Hope. Constructed of plywood and uninsulated, they are used to store frozen caribou, bags of frozen fish, or other items that need to stay frozen but are too bulky to put in the freezer in the house proper. Normally constructed adjacent to the **kunnichuk**, they do not receive enough heat through the wall from the house to thaw frozen foods.) After warming for a **few** minutes in the

house, the researcher and the captain went to the captain's cold storage (also called "ice cellar," "meat cache," or "**sigluaq**") at the old site on the point to assess it for the upcoming cleaning.

There are not nearly as many cold storage cellars left at the old site as there were in the days before the village was moved, as they have been eroding. The Point Hope cellars are constructed differently from the cellars observed in Barrow. Barrow cellars are shaped roughly like a bottle, with a narrow neck at the top leading down from the opening which flares into a bigger room underneath. Point Hope ice cellars are typically just a large room with a relatively thin ceiling and are not as deep as the Barrow ones. The floor is stepped so that there will be a lowest space for the deep freeze, and other levels for less deeply frozen meat. Some individuals have dug new cellars in the area of Beacon Hill, but construction is always problematic. If there are any cracks in the walls or ceiling, the room will leak and fill with water/ice **by** winter time. Some of the cellars at the old site are being damaged by heat leakage as the site erodes, even before the cellars themselves would appear to be physically damaged. The cellar that the captain is using was actually a cellar that was in his wife's family rather than his own. As the cellars have become scarce, the sharing of cellar space has become more common.

People had already cleaned the cellar adjacent to the captain's and he was not pleased with the way they disposed of the waste. Some of it was on the ground that would normally be used by the captain's family. This problem was later rectified by the captain talking with the owner of the adjacent cellar, who had been unaware of the problem.

Large ice pressure ridges were visible **off** the point that, according to the captain, followed the bottom contours of the sea bed. There were also a number of open leads. Before leaving the old site and the ice cellar area, the captain checked the **umiak**. The skins were now dried and taut, and quite seaworthy.

On April 8, the ice camp grub box was dug out of the snow beside the captain's house and brought inside to be repaired and stocked. Two crew members were dispatched to get ice from a pond east of the village. The ice was to be used for drinking water in the captain's home and also in camp on the sea ice.

On April 9, more time was spent on sanding the wooden handles of some of the whaling tools. It was also the day that the captain decided that it was time to prepare two of the lines that would be used for whaling. One line goes to the poke (in this case a large crab pot-style buoy in shocking pink -- in other cases it is a blown-up seal skin); the other attaches to a **small** buoy. The lines, especially the longer one, took a long time to untangle. After they were untangled, they were taken outside and stretched, tied off, and left. They are manila rope and needed to be stretched for a while to remove the tendency of the line to bend and curl.

Back at the house, the harpoon was sharpened and a new break-away stick fashioned from a wooden match to secure the toggle. After an hour or two, the large line was taken indoors and coiled in an ingenious way around the large buoy. It acts in large part as its own reel. There is nine fathoms of free line between the harpoon and the buoy, then the remaining line is wrapped around the buoy below the largest diameter spot. It is secured in this fashion by kite string that will break away under strain on the line. The buoy is to be thrown overboard at once after the darting gun is thrown, and many precautions are taken to make sure that the harpooner does not get tangled in the line and that the line does not hang up on the boat when the whale

sounds. The large buoy, of course, precedes the whale back to the surface after it sounds and marks for the whalers the spot where the whale will surface.

On April 10 the thermometer climbed into the 20s, pushed by a steady south wind, Snow drifts were softening, and there was a lot of moisture in the air. The warmth definitely influenced people's moods in the village. This was the day chosen for cleaning out the ice cellar, and it was also the day for the loading of the whale bombs. These two tasks were performed by different sets of individuals.

It is thought that in order for a whaling crew to be successful, the ice cellar must be clean and ready to accept the new whale. The person in charge of cleaning out the ice cellar was the captain's wife. Accompanying her were two other women who had volunteered for the job, her youngest son, and a young man who was the son of a crew member. It was thought that this young man would probably be joining the whaling crew this year himself. As much of the material to be removed from the cellar is frozen to the floor and the walls, picks, chisels, and shovels were taken along. Plastic bags are used to haul the material out of the cellar, and it is considered to be a rather dirty job. Rain gear or old clothes are worn as the old ice is indeed rather strong-smelling.

The captain was in charge of loading the whale bombs, and this was done at his house. This year the captain asked an old friend of his, who is not a member of his crew, to help load the bombs. In fact, this man did most of the measuring of the charges. It was done as a favor, and the captain told the man he would do him a big favor in return in the future. This promise of doing something unspecified at a later, but unspecified, time in return is typical of this sort of interaction between older men (who are not family members) when one individual is asking another to perform a task that normally would be expected to be performed by the requester. **It** is important to note that the captain felt the need to acknowledge explicitly his gratitude for the service the other man provided. The key point here is that the other **older** adult man was not asked to generally "lend a hand" or just "pitch in," rather, he was asked to perform a very specific job using his own specialized equipment and utilizing his personal expertise. The captain, it should be noted, did not promise anything specific for the future, only "a big favor." There is much sharing of skills such as this, but they are not thought of in terms of "generalized reciprocity." Generalized reciprocity as a model, except for the immediate family, is extremely problematic due to the difficulty of getting at private understandings and intentions in such exchanges, and ever knowing if mental "tally sheets" of one form or another are kept. In this instance, something other than generalized reciprocity is clearly at work, but it would be very difficult indeed to determine if the favor were ever "paid back." It would be considered very bad form to explicitly request repayment (e.g., "Remember when I did X for you, will you do Y for me now?").

This year the crew was down to one darting gun. Normally they would have two, but through loss and an accident, they were out of serviceable guns at the end of last year's whaling season. The darting gun they have this year was a gift of the harpooner's godfather, who also gave them several bombs. This crew does not use a shoulder gun.

The first task was to disassemble and clean the bombs from last year. Next, primers were seated in the propulsion shells. Using a calibrated measure that he brought (and cross-checked with a balance scale), the non-crew man carefully measured the black powder that went into the propulsion shells. The captain made a new measuring device of his own for the powder out of the metal top of a lipstick container. He had been using a cut-off Winchester ".300 Magnum" cartridge case, but that turned out

to be too small. Such measuring devices, uncalibrated but modified to hold just enough powder for one correct charge, are used out on the ice to load the gun when there are no balance scales to measure out the powder by exact units of weight. Again, the non-crew man used his own scales to measure out the original charge. The captain himself apparently has the knowledge to do all of the things required, but had decided that it would be prudent to have another experienced man do it while he assisted, given the fact that one of the darting guns used by his crew had malfunctioned the previous season.

The non-crew member man also prepared the firing mechanism in the nose of the bombs. These consist of an inertial trigger that fires when the propulsion charge goes off. It is a percussion cap attached to a five and three-fourths inch fuse that burns at the rate of one inch per second. The fuse goes into the main brass area behind the nose that contains the powder charge. The powder that acts as the main explosive is not measured -- the container is simply filled to capacity. The entire bomb assembly is fired like a projectile out of the hollow tube at the end of the darting gun.

The darting gun has a metal harpoon that is attached to the main line, and held to the body of the darting gun via the butt end sliding through two brass holes. It is easily freed from the assembly by a forward tug, which normally should occur only after it has struck the whale. After the harpoon head, next to strike the whale during the impact is a push rod with a plug-like device on the forward end which strikes the whale. There is a "U" bend in the far end, and when it is pushed back toward the shaft of the darting gun, the small end of the "U" releases a trigger, which in turn fires the propellant charge to send the bomb into the whale. There is a cotter pin safety for the trigger device which is only removed just before the gun is thrown. Shoulder guns were not used by this crew in 1988. They are only legal to use after a whale has been struck by a darting gun in any event, and they are also considered extremely dangerous.

As the end of the bomb loading drew near, the ice cellar cleaning crew returned to the house. Although cold, they took the time to remove their outer clothing outside of the house, as it indeed had a strong smell.

On April 1 I, the captain and his wife were still trying to round up men to serve as crew members. A call was again placed to a prospective crew member in **Kotzebue**. It did not look like a man from **Noatak**, who had whaled with them in the past, would be able to make it this year.

The captain, who is one of the active lay leaders of the Episcopal Church, gave a sermon on the **CB** in the morning. It was a form of asking for a sort of final blessing before the crews go out, as it is likely that there will be some going out this day. During the morning there had been a sighting of a large number of **belugas**. This was the first sighting, and normally they immediately precede the whales. This caused great excitement in the community.

Early in the afternoon the captain shopped at the Native Store for supplies, primarily foodstuffs, to take out onto the ice. In this trip he spent a little over \$400, buying a wide variety of foods. The captain stated that he wanted to make a good first impression on the crew, and that it was important when you are trying to keep people happy. Once they have been out there for a while things work out, but it is important to try and impress them the first few days. Other men were in the store buying supplies, and several were buying ammunition to hunt **belugas**. Conversation centered on whaling. It was clear that little activity not related to whaling would take place in the community in the near future.

Back at his house, the captain related that difficulties arise when some of the captains have more money than others. The problems is that “guys who have a lot of money can afford to go out early,” when there is little chance to strike and **land** a whale. He implied that it is not reasonable to try and keep your crew out there that long. The captain had touched on what seems to be one of the great dilemmas of the whaling undertaking. At one level, it appears to be a cooperative process, with **all** the boats towing the whale in, the distribution of the resource to the whole village, and so on, but it is very clear in the catching-the-whale stage that it is a very competitive process indeed, even if the competition is an understated one. The crew shares are based upon the order that the crews strike the whale, other parts go to all the boats that were out at the time, while still others go to everyone. If a captain were to go out early and strike a whale, and the other crews were still back in the village, then they would miss out on their shares. (It is possible for one boat to haul **a** whale back, given calm conditions and a whale that is not exceptionally large. Additionally, some whales are struck just off the ice and killed instantly, and so essentially do not need to be “hailed.” If a **single** crew is out, strikes and kills a whale, and cannot haul it back in, assistance is obtained by sending a crew member back to the village. A point to be made is that, even in this instance, if only one other crew is summoned then the rest miss a chance at second and third strikes, and so on.) The bind, of course, is that it is expensive to feed and **supply** a crew in order to keep it out on the ice. One observed solution is to keep at least a skeletal crew out on the ice at all times and to field a full crew during those times when the odds of being successful appear to be optimum.

After dropping off the groceries, the **snowmachines** were filled with gas, and additional gas **and Blazo** was purchased for whale camp. Back at the house, the captain’s wife stowed the food in the grub box and arranged the cooking supplies and utensils in order. One of the sons considered going out to look for **belugas**, but it was decided that it was too dangerous, given the wind and ice conditions. Another **son** worked on repair of a **snowmachine** part and a sled tow bar.

There are boats other than traditional skin-covered **umiaks** used in whaling. In 1987, one crew used a one-of-a-kind boat. It was based on a “traditional” wooden frame, but rather than being covered with skins, it was covered with **fiberglas**. This crew also used composite material paddles that are stronger and lighter than wood. Reportedly, both the vessel and the paddles performed well, and are scheduled to be used again in 1988. These represent one form of changing technology in whaling -- the use of new materials while retaining traditional forms. Another type of change, the use of outboard engines, has made only a very limited appearance in Point Hope whaling. Although outboards are used in some other villages to pursue whales (St. Lawrence Island, **Wainwright**), they have reportedly only been used to date in Point Hope to assist crews who have already struck whales and to help haul the struck whale to a suitable place for butchering.

Late in the day, a filmmaker from England arrived to film the whaling at Point Hope, and his experiences over the next two days would illustrate the protectiveness of whaling displayed by Point Hopers. Working for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) to make a documentary, this individual had made what he believed were complete arrangements and obtained all possible permissions before he came to the village. He had contacted the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission to inform them of the project and **received** their permission. He had talked with the mayor of Point Hope to obtain through him the permission of the local government of Point Hope, as well as the local representative of the AEWC, to obtain through him permission from the whaling captains for his project. He received permission at every step of the process.

When this individual arrived in Point Hope having flown directly from London, however, there were indications that all was not right. The idea had been that he would be assigned to a crew, and live with them out on the ice. However, a crew had not been chosen yet so there was nowhere to start. It was then decided that there would be a lottery to determine which of the crews would get him, and this would be done at a meeting of the whaling captains. Simultaneously, another issue came up for the first time, and that was the idea that there should be significant compensation for the crew that took him in, beyond the expenses that he had previously agreed to pay and the individuals that he had agreed to employ to assist with the sound and film recording, and the copies of the finished film that he had agreed to provide the community. It was his feeling that he had initially been forthright in the amount of money that he could sink into this project, but it was the stance of some in the village that he stood to make a great deal of money off of the film and that the people of Point Hope should receive more. He explained that this was a film that was being produced by the BBC, a non-profit organization, and that they would not be willing to pay the same as if it were a commercial venture. It further came out that support for the project was not nearly unanimous. There were two crews who did not wish to be filmed at all. There were also people who were concerned that this would be an anti-whaling film, and that even if it were not obviously anti-whaling, it still had the potential of doing whaling a lot more harm than good. He was subsequently told that the only way that he would be allowed to film was if he turned over all rights of the film to Point Hope. As the film was being made by the BBC, that was something that he was not in a position to do. In the end, no crew ended up taking the filmmaker out, which left him in the position of scrambling for last minute permission from another village to film the whaling there.

April 12 saw the final preparations of the boat prior to its going out onto the ice. There had been whales spotted, and the village was alive with activity. The coal that each whaling captain receives was delivered the previous night, and people were hauling boats out onto the ice beginning in the morning.

After a large meal in the evening the prepping of the boat was finished. Paddles were positioned in the yellow polypropylene ("**polypro**") line holding the skins in place, and the whaling tools were tied in place. The bomb box was wrapped in caribou skins and secured. There was a last minute flurry of looking around for the tent poles, and after they are not found quickly, the decision was made to cut some new ones. Tent poles and other camping gear were placed on a basket sled pulled behind a snow machine. The boat was on a sled behind another **snowmachine**. Miscellaneous gear was placed on a sled pulled by a three-wheeler. A non-related crew member pulled a sled with the captain's wife and another woman on it. In caravan style, the crew moved onto the ice along a trail that had been prepared by the crews who had already moved onto the ice.

The first task on the ice was the main tent set-up. Three young men of high school age were there to help out. Two were on the crew, while the other was apparently just a friend of theirs who came along for the ride. The two crew members were just recruited the same day as things were being prepared in town. Setting up the tent on the ice obviously requires different techniques than pitching a tent on land. Relatively large chunks of sea ice are cut for tying down the main lines of the tent; relatively small chunks are used to directly anchor the sides and closed end of the tent by placing them on the bottom of the fabric.

Plywood sheets were then placed on the snow for the tent floor. The stove was set up just inside the door, to the left as one entered. The stove pipe fit through a

diamond-shaped galvanized metal insert in the tent slope that was bordered **by** wood stripping. Intensity of the fire was regulated by a plate that can regulate the flow of air through the stove pipe. The grub box was placed against the same wall of the tent as the stove.

After the tent was erected, the men left the women and young men to finish the job, and the older men headed to the edge of the lead with the boat. The base tent was back among the pressure-ridge piled-up ice, which was more stable and provided a degree of protection from the wind. There were tents on either side of it, and quite close. Most of the tents, however, appeared to have been pitched some distance to the southeast. Leaving the tent heading southwest with the boat, the men moved **out** onto the flat ice. There was a crack several feet wide to be skirted, and they ended up on an edge of the lead that on the west edge curved away from the beach and out toward the ice. To the east the lead paralleled the beach, and this was where most of the crews have set up their boats. The lead then curved out away from the beach. It formed an ice point a bit past us, then turned to follow parallel to the beach again for a while. There one crew set up farther west around the (flat) little point. At least one crew whaled near the point of the Point Hope spit itself. It was a much tougher spot to get to, and a longer way offshore.

Soon after arriving on the edge of the lead, an individual bowhead was spotted passing in the distance. Later, two more passed, swimming in unison. They were, however, too far out in the lead to pursue.

The seven men had come down to the edge of the lead from the tent with the boat. The route from the tent was a winding path, because of the necessity of having to skirt **an** area of thin ice. (**A bit later a man from another crew did go** partway **through the** ice at this thin area, but very quickly extricated himself.) After dropping off the **sled** with the umiak on the very edge of the ice, the two snowmachines that were brought down were moved about 75 yards back from the edge of the ice, behind the first mini-pressure ridge (perhaps 10-12 inches high). Presumably if the ice drifts, it will break at this ridge, and the crew will be able to get in the **umiak** and paddle back to the fast ice. If the **snowmachines** were on the drifting ice, on the other hand, they would be very difficult to recover.

On the edge of the ice the boat was set up. First, the sharp edge of the ice was rounded off with one of the chopping tools, and the thin skim ice pushed out. A block of ice was cut to put under the stern of the boat so that the flat bottom of the boat **would** not freeze to the ice. The boat was prepared for immediate launch -- paddles were positioned, and so on. The last thing done was the coiling of the darting gun lines and the loading of the harpoon. While the two senior men were loading the darting gun, the other men were setting up the windbreak.

The windbreak was formed by placing the sled on the ice perpendicular to the wind approximately fifteen feet upwind from the boat, which was a bit off the side (west). Three ice chopping tools (with long handles) were cut into the ice, and stood upright immediately behind the sled. A white/light beige canvas tarp was then strung between the poles to form the windscreen. Caribou skins were piled on the sled for people to sit on. It is not uncomfortable, and being out of the wind helped to retain body heat, but even on this relatively mild day it was difficult to sit immobile for more than a few minutes before needing to move around a bit to warm up. Also, in a sitting position one cannot see nearly as far out over the water as one can in a standing position.

Two blocks of ice were cut, and grooves were cut in the top of them to accommodate a paddle placed horizontally between the two, and the **beluga** rifles (a pump .270 and bolt-action .22-250) were propped with their butts on the ice with the barrels resting on the paddle shafts. This was placed beside the boat and in front of the windbreak.

After experiencing some difficulty with the size of the new shaft accommodating the older bombs, the darting gun was loaded, and the men settled down to watch for whales until the light in the evening was too low to see any distance. They then unloaded the gun -- small bits of **Fels** Naptha soap had been warmed by hand and were used to seal the barrel around the protruding end of the bomb; these were now removed and the bomb itself removed and restowed in the bomb box. The windbreak was broken down, the boat put on the sled and repacked, and everything was hauled back to the base camp for the night.

The sunset out on the ice had been stunning. There was a section of open water to the southwest and the lead, which had been a dull gray in the overhead light, reflected the gold and red of the sunset, set in the white and blue shadows of the ice and snow. Some of the snow reflected the orange of the twilight sky as well. The ice is truly a world unto itself, and it has a feeling of timelessness about it. Individuals talked of how good it was to be on the ice and away from the village. The thrill of the hunt was also clearly present, and the sense of great anticipation. All other responsibilities and cares, at least for those men who do not have to go back into town for jobs, appear to be suspended. It is a welcome break from the routine of village life, and an activity that is viewed as very important and worthwhile.

The men returned to the base **camp around 11:30 p.m. and warmed up** in the "tent." The captain's wife had caribou soup ready for a late dinner. A sled **piled** with clothing and sleeping bags along one side of the tent, later used as a sleeping platform, was used as a sitting platform while people talked and ate. Soon after finishing eating, the women cleaned up and all headed into town for the night, with the exception of the harpooner, his brother, and a third crew member.

A second sled was dragged into the tent and placed beside the first. These were then covered with caribou skins. The three who stayed slept diagonally across the two sleds, with heads toward the outside wall. Exhausted from the day's activity and excitement, those who remained in camp bedded down for the night shortly after the others left. One of the men who stayed had to return to the village in the morning to work and planned to return to the camp each evening after work.

There were no **"boyers"** available to keep the stove burning at night as would reportedly be the case normally. **Boyers** are school-aged boys who tend the stove and do chores around the camp but who do not go out in the **umiaks**. For the week in question, the school was administering a battery of standardized tests (Iowa Basic Skills) and the boys could not miss them. This being the case, the fire soon went out, and the tent got quite cold during the night.

On the following morning, April 13, the captain and his wife and two helpers arrived at the camp at **6:20 a.m.** The captain had gotten everyone up as he was anxious to get things under way. Breakfast was soon being cooked during the long arctic sunrise.

The captain went off to visit at another tent and look at the ice while the women made the crewmen a large breakfast. First there was tea available. This was followed by corn mush with milk, pancakes with syrup, bacon, and boiled coffee.

While the women cleaned up the remnants of breakfast, the men took the boat back down to the edge of the **lead**. It was left on the sled in case it needed to be repositioned after the thin ice that had formed during the night was assessed. It might prove to be advantageous to move it to a slightly different location depending upon how the thin ice moved or broke up.

Around **8:30** a.m. one of the crew members who had to work that day headed back into town on the “Honda” (three-wheeler) with another crew member who had to catch a flight out that day. The trail to the village had improved with the amount of traffic going over it. People had packed it down and the rough spots were smoothing out, although several of the traverses across pressure ridges were still rough.

Very soon after the crews moved onto the ice (and the researcher left the village) the wind shifted, the lead closed, and the crews were forced to return to the village. Weeks passed before the lead again opened up. Once the whalers returned to the ice, conditions remained favorable. Point Hope landed its quota of whales, and **all** five were taken within approximately one week, with the last four being taken in a span of three days.

Having crews return to the village due to unfavorable weather conditions is not an uncommon occurrence. In 1989, for example, the season started much later than usual. The first crews did not go out onto the ice until April 26. Even when the crews did go out, the lead was farther offshore than many liked or felt entirely comfortable with. There was an understated debate as to whether or not it was better to wait and to whether or not waiting may allow the whales to pass and the ice would deteriorate before the whalers went out. During the 1989 season, the crews only stayed out the night of April 26 before being forced to return to the village. The wind picked up and made the open water too rough to be manageable for the **umiaks**. The winds continued to be unfavorable for the next several weeks and, together with the warm temperatures, deteriorated the ice. The trail became soft, making for difficult passage, and eventually the ice was carried away before any whales were landed. It was a bad spring for sea mammal subsistence hunting altogether, as only a handful of **ugruk** were caught. Reportedly the hunting in the **Kivalina** area was poor as **well**, and **Kivalina** hunters utilized the coast closer to Point Hope than usual, but without good results.

Between the 1988 and the 1989 whaling seasons one of the more senior active whaling captains passed away. This individual was well respected for his knowledge as well as his leadership abilities. When the ice trail from the beach to the lead was being cut late in the 1989 season, several individuals were heard to remark that if this man were still around, the **trail** would have been finished earlier and the crews would have been out on the ice. Whether or not this would have been the case is debatable, for the ice conditions were poor, making for very difficult passage, but the remarks did point up the vacuum that his death left. Like the previous year, when the trail was being built, the work was coordinated by a senior captain, and the direction of the trail was decided by consensus between this man and the other senior captains present. No direction was given to individuals as to what they themselves should do. Rather, they were free to perform whatever tasks they wanted as they saw needs arise. Men brought their own tools, and those who did not bring tools used their feet to tamp down the soft parts of the trail.

Catching the whales within such short order in 1989 meant that labor had to be divided between the landed whales. Typically, when another crew lands a whale, at least one member of each crew is assigned to help with the butchering of the whale. This **leaves** the rest of the crew free to return to their own whaling pursuits. Once

struck, the whale has been hauled up onto the ice, a job that requires everyone to pitch in. One of the whales in 1988 was especially large and required numerous bombs, an extended chase, and much labor to bring it up onto the ice.

Once the whale is butchered, its head is shoved back into the water. The reason for this is stated as being that if the head is returned to the water then the whales will return next year. The head is conceived of as being the repository of the soul (or an analog of the soul) of the whale and it must be treated with respect if people are to be favored with whales in the future who will allow themselves to be caught. When the head is pushed back in the water there is apparently no formal ritual observed, but people say things such as “Come **back!**” as it is shoved in. The rest of the skeleton is left on the ice, with the exception of the jawbones. For example, the captain who landed his first whale during the season retained one of the jawbones of the whale and stored it near his house; the other went to his **qalgi**. (Jawbones are used as markers for a number of purposes, including tombstones for whaling captains. Between the 1988 and 1989 whaling seasons, the jawbone fence around the cemetery was expanded to make more room for additional burials. Old bones were collected for this use rather than new ones.)

With the relatively large number of whales landed, labor was stretched thin the last few days. Reportedly, people were understandably tired, and getting the last whales butchered in a timely manner was more difficult than the first ones. Some of the unsuccessful crews left the ice soon after the last whale was landed, and captains still on the ice used the **CB** to repeatedly tell people to come out from town to get their shares. With at least one of the whales there was a problem keeping polar bears away from the carcass. Another problem encountered in the 1988 season was the storage of all of the whale meat. With the lateness of the landing of the whales, the snow on the land had mostly melted, so getting to the ice cellars via **snowmachine** while hauling loads of meat was difficult. Some people used **snowmachines** on the ice and then switched to “Hondas” (three- and four-wheelers) on land, but many stayed with **snowmachines**. One ice cellar that had not been in use since at least 1981 (when 4 whales were landed) was cleaned out and used to store some of the whale.

One of the major significant events of the 1988 whaling season was that one of the whales landed was a “first” whale for one of the captains. This is a major life event for an individual, and there are a number of different obligations that go along with the catching of a first whale. These primarily revolve around values related to generosity. For example, like the first individual catch of any animal species, the hunter is obligated to give away the entire animal and retain nothing for himself. Additionally, the successful whaling captain, on his first catch, is expected to open his house for all persons to ask for any possession of his they want.

Nalukataq in Point Hope, 1988

Nalukataq in Point Hope in 1988 was the three-day festival described in Lowenstein (1981), VanStone (1962), and **Rainey** (1947). Events proceeded in the same general fashion with some variation due to the differences in the actual course of the whaling that year (who caught the first whale, whether there was a captain who caught his first whale ever) and in the actual physical layout of the **qalgi** areas (since the village, and the **qalgis**, had been physically moved between VanStone’s and Lowenstein’s accounts). Differences between the years will not be explicitly pointed out unless they appear to be substantial.

The whale feast takes place in or around the ceremonial grounds of the two **qalgis** which still exist. These are the same as in VanStone's (1962) account -- the **Unasiksikaaq** and the **Qagmagtuaq**. One is to the east of the village and the other is to the west. Both are defined by the special arrangement of whale bones, and although this arrangement is not the same, both clearly represent the structure of a whale. Both are oriented east-west, with the "head" of the whale towards the village.

First Day of Nalukataq

On the first day of the **Nalukataq**, the boats of successful crews are brought up to the appropriate **qalgi** area. Unsuccessful boats are simply left on the beach until after **Nalukataq** is over. This first day is essentially for the crews of the successful boats. Only crew members and other people specifically invited by the whaling captain are allowed to go down to the beach and accompany the boat to the **qalgi** area. Thus, we have no firsthand account of this part of the ceremony. Once the **qalgi** area is reached, however, the ceremony becomes more public and is open to all. As these activities were going on at both **qalgis** at the same time, only the activities at the eastern **qalgi** were witnessed in person. Accounts of those of the western **qalgi** were later obtained from participants and observers at that site.

Actually, the day's festivities began with a church service in the Episcopal Church scheduled for 11:00 a.m. The service began about 11:10 a.m., with a congregation of about 100, mostly older, people. Teenagers and middle-aged people were not well represented, but the sexes were pretty evenly split. About half of the congregation wore "Eskimo" parkas, many especially sewn for **Nalukataq**. The remainder were in commercially purchased parkas. Somewhat **less** than half of the people whose feet could be seen wore **mukluks** (but the sample was fairly **small** and unsystematic). The service was one of the longer ones observed in Point Hope, and was clearly a special occasion. There were several visiting clergymen, with one each from **Kotzebue**, **Kivalina**, and the **Noatak** area. Two former and the present Episcopal clergyman from Point Hope were also present. The sermon, given at great length by one of the guest clergymen, was based on the parable of the mustard seed. This was followed by a ceremony of the laying on of hands (for healing). About a third of the congregation, and all of the choir and officiating men, requested that hands be placed upon them and that they be blessed. This was followed by communion, and it appeared that everyone took part. The service ended at about 1:20 p.m. It will be described and discussed at greater length in a section on the church,

The ceremonies at the **qalgis** were scheduled to start at 2:00 p.m. At the east **qalgi** the boat put into position at almost exactly 2:00. The crew carried the boat to a position about 100 yards south of the **qalgi** grounds proper (as defined by the whale bones). Here the boat was raised off the ground with its bow towards the **qalgi** grounds. The western **qalgi** had caught four whales so there were four boats side by side, resting on the four sleds used to carry them to the ice. The eastern **qalgi**, having caught only one whale and thus having the use of only one sled, had to improvise a second support for their boat. The oars, harpoon, and other whaling equipment were then arranged in the boat (harpoon in front with the head pointing up and forward, oars arranged so that they point up). Once this was done, a flag was raised on a pole by the boat's bow. People continued to arrive and to sit down. For the east **qalgi**, people seemed to prefer sitting on the east side of the boat, although people also sat on the west side and a few were on the north (bow) side. For the west **qalgi**, there were many more people present and all were seated to the north of the boats (between the boats and the **qalgi** grounds proper). There did not

appear to be any clear division of who sat with whom, other than that families tended to sit together. People did for the most part attend the **qalgi** to which they nominally belonged, but this was not entirely true. Perhaps half of the village of Point Hope was in attendance, along with a great number of guests from out of town.

Some time after the boat was set up, a senior person requested that everyone stand and sing the benediction. This was followed by a prayer, and then the crew was served first. The main food stuff was mikigaq, sour or fermented whale meat (with tongue and **maktaq**) made by the whaling captain's wife from his whale. In addition, there were Eskimo doughnuts and beverages. The object was not to make a full meal, however, but to share in a communal eating and to partake of **mikigaq** from all the whales of one's **qalgi**. The general public was served after the crews were served. The whaling captain's wife was assisted in passing out the **mikigaq** by relatives and crew members' relatives. People ate some at the **qalgi** grounds, but took most of what they were served home to eat later (and share with people who had not come). Most people did not seem to remain for very long after being served, and in fact many went over to the other **qalgi** to see what was happening and obtain some **mikigaq** over there.

A second church service was to start at **4:30** p.m., but actually started about **5:00** p.m. It was publicized as a "sing-in" or **singspiration**, but actually was more of a preach-in. The man who normally conducts the Episcopalian services in Point Hope invited all six men of the cloth in attendance (those mentioned for the morning service, plus the Point Hope Assembly of God minister) to come sit up front and to deliver a message in turn. This message was clearly to be a personal testimony, of how Christ (and God) came into that person's life and what a change has resulted. The preaching lasted until **7:20** p.m. at which point the singing began. The "Point Hope Belles" (an organized group for singing hymns) first sang several songs for the others in the congregation, and other people were encouraged to go forward and sing "specials" as well. The congregation joined in as well at times, but the emphasis seemed to be on testimonials, either through personal messages or special singing. The singing ended some time between **10:00** p.m. and **11:00** p.m.

Second Day of Nalukataq

It is not known how early people started to gather at the **qalgi** areas the second day, but those responsible for the preparation of the site and serving the food were no doubt there by **8:00** a.m. Activities were not to be simultaneous for the most part for the second and third day, and the west **qalgi** was to have precedence as it had caught the first whale of the season. The "honorary host" for the west **qalgi** was not the captain whose crew struck and landed the first whale of the season, but the captain who had caught the first whale of his career. This is a truly **once-in-a-lifetime** event, and carries certain obligations, one of which is to serve as host for the following **Nalukataq**.

Windscreens had been constructed on both sides of the west **qalgi** grounds proper, paralleling and extending beyond the ends of sides of the whale representation (with perhaps 30 to 40 feet between the windscreens and the whale bones). The center section of the windscreen on the south side of the **qalgi** grounds was made up of the four successful boats from that **qalgi**. They were turned on their sides and sleds were used as benches in front of them. This was the favored seating for the elderly and those closely related to the successful crews. The remainder of the windscreen, and the entirety of the windscreen on the north side, was made out of black plastic draped on wooden posts.

About **12:00** noon mikigaq and Eskimo ice cream (caribou, or in this case reindeer, fat with berries mixed into it) was passed out. The whaling captains' wives served some people specially and others served the rest. Before this distribution started there was singing and a prayer led by the Point Hope Episcopal priest. About **1:00** p.m. the distribution of the flipper of the whales began. This was reported by informants to be the key part of the second day. The flippers had been sitting in the middle of the **qalgi** grounds for a good part of the morning. At **1:00** the successful crews began to slice the flippers from their whale into slabs. Each whaling captain (and his wife) then called out the names of individuals to come and get a slab, more-or-less keeping pace with the slicers. There was some attempt to make the size of the **slice** appropriate for the person it was given to (and in some cases a whaling captain actually directed his slicing crew as to the size to be cut from which flipper). As described in VanStone, this was the occasion for much joking and playful banter. As with the mikigaq distribution of the previous day, the object was for each person to receive something from each whale. After most of the adults known to each of the captains had been recognized, they began calling **people** up by groups -- primarily by village of residence. This ensured that all visitors were given some flipper. The last group called was any and all visitors as a last chance for everyone to obtain some flipper and to dispose of the last slabs. All of the flipper must be given away. The flipper distribution took about **1:00** p.m. to **2:50** p.m. Everybody seemed to be at the west **qalgi**, perhaps 350 to 400 people. As there were quite a few guests in the village (at least 100 people) there were still residents of Point Hope who were not attending.

At about **4:20** p.m. a **large** number of people gathered in the middle of the east **qalgi** grounds and opened the ceremony by leading everyone in singing two hymns. The same Episcopalian pastor who had presided at the west **qalgi** opening then **led** everyone in a prayer. The whaling crew was then served together at the "head" of the **qalgi** grounds, at the foot of the arched whale jaw bones. After this, the flipper distribution began. Unlike the procedure at the west **qalgi** grounds, a substantial portion of the flipper was sliced and cut up before the distribution began. Also unlike the west **qalgi** procedure, some of the flipper was cut into quite small pieces and distributed in the same way as the mikigaq had been the day before. That is, members of the crew and their relatives passed it out, rather than having people go up individually to get it. Elders and adults seemed to be the only people given these small pieces -- many young adults (20s and teens) were bypassed and children were not served. This could well have been because this **qalgi** only had caught one whale and so had to try and make its flipper last, or it may have been a difference that is constant from year to year. Informants did mention that there are different ways to do **Nalukataq** -- some distribute large slabs of flipper, some chunks and small pieces. Wainwright is said to have a one-day **Nalukataq**, while Point Hope informants claim that Barrow has copied the three-day Point Hope form.

After this initial distribution of small pieces, the distribution of slabs or slices of flipper by the calling of individual names started. This proceeded in the same manner as at the west **qalgi**. Crew members divided the baleen at the same time as the flipper was being distributed. This went on until **6:10** p.m. or so, with groups of people being called up at the end (first by village, then as general visitors). After all the flipper was given away the children were called up to receive apples and oranges. Adults also went up and took a portion of the baleen, apparently on a self-serve basis. Informants said that crew members and adults, especially the elderly, were given preference. It was noted that only adults took baleen, but no Elders were seen to do so. There were also no disputes noted. Everyone observed with a piece of baleen was male. There were perhaps 250 to 300 people at the east **qalgi**.

Informants had said that a formal blanket toss was reserved for the third day. However, at about 7:57 p.m. of the second day it was announced over the CB that there would be a blanket toss at the west **qalgi**. This blanket toss started at about 8:20 p.m. The blanket was made out of the skins previously used on whaling boats. It was also said to come from the east **qalgi**, which is consistent with the report that last year the west **qalgi** only caught one whale while the east **qalgi** caught three or more. It was said to also be a somewhat small blanket toss skin.

The first person to be tossed was the titular host for the whale feast -- the captain whose crew had caught its first whale. Next was another man (perhaps the first man's brother), and third was the first man's wife. This woman was clearly uncomfortable in her role, **as it was** her first time dealing with the responsibilities of being a successful whaling captain's wife. In addition, she is not **Inupiat** (but is Alaskan Native) and does not speak or understand **Inupiaq** so that she was quite worried about getting things right. She received much help from her mother-in-law, one of the village Elders, as well as from her husband's other relations. One of her duties was to be one of the first people tossed in the blanket. While being tossed, a successful whaling captain's wife distributes small gifts (candy, small sewing supplies, trims, perhaps even fur **ruffs**) by throwing them in the air while she is being tossed. Ideally this is done while she is at the peak of her toss. After this woman was done several other women were tossed. At least two of these also had sacks of goodies which they threw in the air. They were women who had given birth to sons the previous year, and did this to ensure that the sons would grow up to be strong and good hunters. There was some variation in how well the women threw the small gifts, and how well they did in the blanket. It should be noted that only elderly women were allowed to pick up the gifts thrown by the women being tossed. The few children who tried to take some of the candy were warned not to take any and actually obeyed quite well. It was reported that these gifts are only "safe" for the elderly, who are past reproductive and hunting age. If a young person took gifts he would become slow and clumsy, and perhaps it would affect his children as well.

After the blanket toss, which ended about 9:10, the children tried to play with the blanket, but could not muster enough strength to actually toss anyone. This aborted attempt was followed rather quickly by an Eskimo dance held at the west **qalgi** grounds. The drummers sat sheltered by a boat on the south side of the **qalgi** grounds. The dances began with a limited number of people performing, but quickly expanded into mostly group dances. The dancing only lasted until 9:40 p.m. or so, after which people quickly went home.

Third Day of Nalukataq

Informants said that the third and last day of the whale feast was to be a day devoted to eating, starting rather early in the day. Windscreens had been set up on both sides of the **qalgi** grounds in both cases. For the west **qalgi** grounds, three of the boats had been moved to the north side. For the east **qalgi** grounds, the single boat had been moved to the north side. The north side of both **qalgi** grounds was totally "male," while the women were cutting meat and cooking behind the windscreen on the south side of the **qalgi** grounds. Periodically, a woman would take a tray of food and beverages and serve the men lounging around on the north side of the **qalgi** grounds. The women worked and socialized with each other, while the men remained on the north side. As the day wore on, this sexual division became less pronounced until at the end of the day the north side was sexually mixed. It was the elderly female relatives of successful whaling captains who first went to sit and socialize on the

north side, followed eventually, after most of the food had been prepared and served, by women in general.

The food served included the full spectrum of “Native” food but, of course, emphasized whale, with a secondary emphasis on other marine mammals. Some of the food served came from other villages, with fish from **Kotzebue** being especially noted by several people. The visitors from villages to the south (**Kotzebue, Kivalina**, the Noatak area) easily outnumbered those from the north by a factor of three or four.

The women reported being there as early as **6:00** a.m. The men did not arrive as early, nor were there as many present (fifteen to twenty on the west side, maybe five on the east side). This was to be the pattern for the day, as most of it was spent socializing and eating, and collecting food in plastic bags to take home for later consumption. Those not involved in preparing food did not start arriving at the **qalgi** grounds before **1:00** p.m. They said that they had been up late and were going to stay up late this night as well. At some point in the day the men at the west **qalgi** began to make a new blanket toss skin, using the skin off two of the successful whaling boats now on the north side of the **qalgi** grounds. This work proceeded in fits and spurts throughout most of the afternoon and evening. Activities at the east **qalgi** grounds were confined to eating and socializing for most of the day, apparently due to the limited number of people there. At the west **qalgi** grounds, there were some foot races and other competitions in the afternoon. These games were not as extensive as has been reported in the literature in the past, however, and several of the older adults remarked that it had been different when they were younger.

The blanket toss at the east **qalgi** was announced earlier but occurred later than that at the west **qalgi**. When this was over, however, people came over to the east **qalgi** grounds to help with the blanket toss there, which lasted **till 9:00** p.m. or so. Some people evidently were tossed in **the** blanket at both **qalgi** grounds. After the blanket toss at the east **qalgi** grounds there was a short period of Eskimo dancing. The dancing ended at about 915 but it was announced that it would continue at the school. The researcher went over to the school at **9:40** p.m. and found about 130 people there, but no dance as yet. When the dancing did start at **10:23** p.m. there were about 250 to 300 people there, and eight people with **videocameras** (most of them **Inupiat**). The dance began with an invocation and a prayer. Most of the dancing was more formal than at the **qalgis**, in that the audience watched as a very limited number of dancers performed. The audience was very appreciative, but remarks were made that the drummers (many of them as members of crews if not captains) were very tired. Near the end of the session, there were a number of public participation dances. The dance formally ended at 1210 a.m. with more talk and another prayer. Preparations were then started for another distribution of whale and fish. At 12:45 there was another prayer and the distribution actually started (a significant number of the people **in** the gym, perhaps a third, had left by this time). The food was handed out by the female relatives of the successful whaling crew members, and each person present was given **maktaq** and meat from each of the whales caught. The distribution was over at **1:20** a.m. and people quickly left for their homes.

The next day the windscreens at the **qalgi** grounds were already taken down, although some of the materials were still on location. Some policing of the grounds still needed to be done, but for the most part the areas had been cleaned up.

Shamanism and Medicine: Tribal Healing in Point Hope

One of the institutions that apparently has distinctively non-Western origins that has continued in Point Hope is that of tribal healing. Also known locally as traditional healing, the term tribal healing is used here as the Native (**non-clinical**) healing that takes place in contemporary Point Hope. It is undoubtedly of a different form than took place in traditional **Inupiat** times. One of the major changes is that a great deal of healing in traditional times took place within the context of shamanism while the healers in Point Hope today practice within a context of Christianity.

The subject of tribal healing in Point Hope was recently the focus of a year's research by Edith Turner. Fieldwork on this project was completed in August 1988, and the results were not yet available at the time of this writing. Turner, however, reports that in Point Hope there are "seven healers, two of whom practice continually" (Turner 1988a: 1). Of these two, one is originally from Point Hope, although she spent a good deal of time in Barrow. The other is originally from **Kivalina**, with ancestors from Point Lay.

The connection between contemporary tribal healing and shamanism is not an easy one to investigate. As is the case in other North Slope villages, the topic of shamanism is a sensitive one. Turner, however, was able to elicit some information on the subject and found that shamanism is a subject toward which informants displayed a good deal of ambivalence. It was a topic to be avoided, particularly with outsiders, and it was also a subject area that held a great deal of interest. Apparently there is a categorization of shamanism into good and bad, and the mixed feelings can be partially resolved by associating with one and not the other. This "ambivalence was discussed by . . . an Eskimo **coanalyst**. He said that it was bad shamanism [sorcery] that had been abolished, while good shamanism remained and was transmuted into what is now known as tribal healing" (Turner 1988a:2). That shamanism is a topic that holds interest is also evident in the amount of interest exhibited for information on Attungoruk, a shaman from Point Hope who was at the height of his power when assassinated in 1889. Several individuals were interested in discussing his powers with the researcher, and eliciting opinions as to the sources of his power over others. There are also indications that the belief exists that the animal spirits that shamans communicated with are "still out there" on the tundra, although the times are not right to communicate with them.

The ambivalence toward shamanism is evident in Point Lay as well. There was one case observed where a Native specialist was called in to help alleviate difficulties that some would interpret as being of physiological or psychosomatic origin and others would interpret as being manifestations of supernatural phenomena. In this case, a middle-aged woman was complaining of seeing demons that were threatening her family. She first sought family counsel, and then talked with a clergyman. As the problem persisted, she went to the house of a male elder reported to have knowledge of old songs and traditional lore. Treatment there was in the context of Christianity -- gospel tapes were played while a discussion in **Inupiaq** ensued. There was some **Inupiaq** singing/chanting as well. The woman appeared to quiet down, was taken to the clinic in the community ambulance, and **medivaced** to Barrow some hours later. Of interest here is the fact that no one discussed' this incident afterward, although normally it would be ideal fodder for the local grapevine.

Turner makes a strong case for the vitality of the practice of tribal healing in Point Hope. During the period from September 8, 1987 to February 16, 1988, she heard of, or observed 66 successful instances of healing and heard of one unsuccessful instance (Turner 1988a:2-3).

Tribal healing is used to address a variety of patient complaints, and is often used in conjunction with Western-style treatment at the clinic. One of the tribal doctors is formally recognized as such by the North Slope Borough and **Maniilaq** Association, which have together funded a position for this person through their respective health service agencies. Sometimes an individual will seek care at the clinic for a complaint before seeking the help of the tribal healer; other times they **will** forego the clinic. According to Turner, "tribal doctors cure headaches, stomach complaints, backaches, injuries, sprains, bone dislocations and fractures, severe loss of breath, pneumonia, boils, snow blindness, gallstones, and faulty presentation in childbirth, along with normal **midwif** cry" (Turner 1988a:3).

Tribal healers will also refer patients back to the clinic for disorders that are, in their estimation, most appropriately treated by a combination of **tribal** and Western medical techniques. Healers also vary in their techniques. Of the two primary healers in Point Hope, the one with the formal position travels often to other villages to treat people in their own villages, takes patients for treatment at the Serpentine Hot Springs near **Buckland**, and uses bleeding in her treatment (mostly from the neck and the top of the head). The other healer travels only when the patient can afford to fly her to another village. There are indications that the first healer treats mostly **non-Inupiat**, at least at the Barrow clinic. Whether she sees **Inupiat** more informally at their homes in Barrow is not known. The second healer does not treat many **non-Inupiat**.

There is another process which Turner describes as a form of communication between the healer and the patient. In providing a narrative of a treatment, Turner writes that the healer felt, molded, and manipulated the part of the body where the pain and sickness was located, and the patient responded to the treatment. Of the patient, she writes "the body was able to respond and return to a better state as it felt the communication" (Turner 1988a:4). Elaborating on this communicative interaction "-- what may be called the conversation of bodies" (Turner 1988a:4), she writes that "an indispensable factor in Eskimo healing is a sensitive communication between **healer** and sick person" (Turner 1988a:5). Using hand manipulation of the body as the primary means of healing, Turner writes that "the healer's hands themselves communicate to the patient's sick organ" (Turner 1988a:7).

Turner also describes a "second sight" whereby tribal doctors know what is wrong with their patients before their patients tell them; that is, the doctors are adept at picking up communication directly from the patient as to their condition with no awareness on the part of the patient that this communication is taking place. This is a facility that is commonly ascribed to traditional healers in a wide range of cultures.

Turner reports that Point Hope tribal doctors find that some patients may be treated successfully and others not, based on whether the patient is open or not to the communication with the doctor. "The healing takes place between tribal doctor and patient" (Turner 1988a:5). This being the case, tribal doctors cannot heal themselves. Turner quotes one of her doctor informants who had been in pain as saying, "You can't heal yourself . . . I've been trying. You need to find somebody strong to take it" (Turner 1988a:5). One person cannot relieve their own pain; there must be a second person who is willing to take it out of them.

Turner analyzes the healing process as entered into by tribal doctors as a holistic system composed of several distinguishable, but inseparable, elements. These are:

... the immediate kind of knowing [direct perception of patients' problems]; the perception of physical pain and its cause; taking the trouble into oneself (disease as a kind of substance); the perception of the life-entity or spirit; the use of the bare hands for diagnosis and healing; the connection between healer and sufferer; and therapeutic readiness. (Turner 1988a:5)

It appears as though the future will see a continuation of tribal healing in Point Hope. One of the two most active healers is "training five of her children in the craft," and the other is "giving a full training to her teenage daughter" (Turner 1988a:7). For these and other reasons, "it may be concluded that tribal healing is flourishing in Point Hope" (Turner 1988a:7).

Only one of the two individuals who practice tribal healing extensively enough to be locally termed tribal doctors has a paid position as a result of her skills, and is apparently well respected in the community. The other individual typically receives gifts for her services, rather than direct money payment. While people may typically perceive her as "different," when they are in need of services there apparently is no hesitancy to call on her. According to one local woman who prepared a presentation on Point Hope tribal doctors for a North Slope Borough Higher Education seminar, not only **Inupiat** individuals are treated **by** the tribal doctors; teachers and others have gone as well. It was also her observation that both of these women have given so much to the people of the community that they are drained from the effort, and this has caused strain in their own families.

Both men and women are healers in Point Hope, but the men are not active to the degree of the two women described. Especially for the relatively inactive males, it is difficult to generalize about their clientele. Both male and female youngsters are being trained as healers, but not enough of this process was observed to draw conclusions about whatever differences may exist between male and female in training and practice. Tribal healing is something seldom discussed at length other than by the most active of practitioners and is a topic that is difficult to pursue in any detail, for a couple of reasons. First, the information itself borders on a sensitive topical area, due to its association with indigenous belief systems that individuals are more or less reluctant to discuss with outsiders. Second, there are issues of confidentiality between the healer and their patients. That a contemporary form of "traditional" (in the sense of non-Western) healing is actively practiced in Point Hope by recognized specialists is certain; while generalities of the healing process as undertaken by the two most active healers are relatively well understood, the differences among the range of healers and composition of the total clientele is not.

Status of the Elderly in Point Lay and Point Hope

In a number of ways, Elders are shown deference and respect in both Point Lay and Point Hope. In part, the status of Elders is associated with the fact that they are seen as a living link to a highly valued past. That is to say, Elders possess a body of knowledge which is an important component of contemporary **Inupiat** ethnic identity.

There are, both in absolute and relative terms, few elderly people in Point Lay (Alaska **Consultants et al. 1984:241**). In Point Hope, **as discussed** in the population section, there is a larger population cohort of Elders than is found in Point Lay. In Point Hope, there are a number of programs that serve as social and support services to Elders. The Senior Van is used to transport seniors around the village, which enables Elders to be more mobile and independent than would otherwise be the case. Getting around in the village, particularly in the wintertime when roads and paths are slippery and the wind is blowing, can be difficult for Elders. Few families have enclosed transportation, such as privately owned trucks, to make getting around easier on Elders in harsh conditions. The senior van driver also assists the Elders into and out of their house and the store if necessary. (Like the regular bus, individuals contact the senior van via the **CB** for pickups.) There is a senior lunch program, which runs five days a week, and feeds **all** interested seniors -- it is well attended, and those who cannot make it can have food brought to them. There is a senior center in the **middle** of the village used for the senior lunches, and as a gathering place. (During the first portion of fieldwork the senior center was not often open; the senior lunches were served at the Whaler's Inn, which was subsequently closed for the winter season.) There are the senior helpers who come and clean their houses, and these people will also run to the store and pick up groceries. Beyond a provision of services, there are other programs designed to assist Elders. In Point Hope, for example, in addition to a senior discount at the Native Store, the goods that the Elders buy are not taxed.

These programs represent the institutionalization of what was a traditional ideal, and remains a normative ideal, that everyone looks after the Elders. Indeed, individuals **still** look after elderly relatives, and several of the **older individuals** contacted reported that daughters and sons **looked** after them by hunting for them, looking after their housekeeping and health, and visiting. Few Elders commented on personal contentment or lack of it in their older years. VanStone in **field** research in 1987 and 1989 talked with Elders about their lives. Several noted the assistance they were receiving from their children, and "on neither trip did I hear any complaints of neglect or lack of respect. As might be expected, there is a certain amount of nostalgia for the 'old days' although nobody wants to return to them. Some **Elders** wondered how they managed to live without the conveniences that they have today" (VanStone **1989:personal** communication).

It is difficult to address the differences in the status of the elderly in the village today as opposed to the status of Elders at the time of VanStone's field research in 1955-56.

As a relatively young man at Point Hope in 1955 I was somewhat in awe of older people. As I recall, five of the first group of men to be baptized by Dr. Driggs in 1890-91 were still alive. These men, together **with** their age mates of both sexes, spoke no English and I could not communicate effectively with them. Also, they represented the past and I, rather shortsightedly, was only interested in the contemporary village; I identified strongly with my age mates. These attitudes and perceptions influenced my understanding of the aging process at Point Hope at that time. In spite of my biases, it was clear to me that **old** people were respected in the 1950s and cared for by their children and other relatives. (**VanStone 1987:personal** communication)

The biggest difference in the status of the elderly from the mid- 1950s to the present, according to VanStone, is that looking after the older residents of the village has become institutionalized. It is also clear that the relative financial role of the elderly has decreased in importance. In 1955, when there were few jobs in the village, old age assistance checks provided a very substantial contribution to the household resources of many of the households in the village. It is still the case that the Elder's income significantly assists the income of their households; the distinction is that today there are many more steady jobs in the village than there were in 1955, in both relative and absolute terms. (For more comparative information on the status of Elders from 1955 to the present, see the section entitled "Point Hope and the Transition to the Contemporary Era: 1955-Present" beginning on page 40.)

In Point Lay, many fewer formal programs exist. The Senior **lunch** is at present only a hot lunch delivered from the school to the Elder's home (although the Elders can eat at the school if they wish, apparently none of them ever do so). There is no bus. The Elders' House Cleaning program is funded, but the turnover in the work force is so high that it is common for an Elder's house not to be cleaned for weeks (although this has markedly improved since June 1988). It does seem that while these programs are an institutionalization of cherished norms, they are fostering exactly the opposite attitude in many of the young people also living in these households.

It is difficult to characterize typical life experience of Elders of Point Lay through self-reports. This is the result of several factors. First, as mentioned in several different contexts, there are few Elders in the community. (For several of these individuals, one can get a sense of self-reporting from the Point Lay Biographies component of this report, which appears as a separate volume.) Second, one couple who would otherwise be a central source of information are in effect "burned out" and refer researchers to their previous interviews. Third, the other Elders of the village are not self-reflective in a **non-Inupiat** sense of the term, and will not talk about change or how things are different for their children than they were for them in an evaluative manner. "Change" as a topic makes little sense to them, and they apparently do not like to generalize beyond their own life experiences. Perhaps they think it unseemly to hold their life up as an example or as a model. For whatever reasons, any generalizations must be painfully constructed by analysts willing to collect quite detailed individual information.

One of the complicating factors in the examination of the status and situation of Elders in Point Lay is the fact that most of them are not "of" Point Lay. Of the five Elders living in Point Lay, one is from the Prudhoe **Bay/Colville** River area, one is from Point Hope, one is from **Kiana**, and one grew up on the land around Point Hope. **All** of them have some reason to be in Point Lay, which is to say they have younger relatives living there, but it points to the heterogeneity of the village, and the diverse area from which its population had come. One of these four Elders, one is married to the fifth, who spent his entire life around the area of Point Lay. They characterize the Point Lay by saying, "Anybody can live in Point Lay."

As in Point Lay, the elderly in Point Hope receive an amount of respect due to their status as Elders. As of December 1987, there were a total of thirty-six senior citizens in Point Hope. As part of a senior assistance program, Elders are visited on a regular basis by helpers, as discussed elsewhere. For the seniors in Point Hope, ten are classified by the senior program as "living alone" which can either mean a single-person household, or Elders living together with no younger person to look after them. These persons receive daily visits from the helpers. Six are

classified as having a daughter living in the household who is able to do housework, and these people are requested to notify the helpers if they are sick or going to be out of town. Thirteen are classified as persons to visit once per week. The seven senior citizen employees also take turns staying with elders when they are ill.

Beyond the formal programs for seniors, there are informal networks of sharing of subsistence resources with Elders, and the respect accorded Elders is obvious at festivals and other public events. Especially in Point Lay, where there are not as many formal programs serving the Elders, services are often provided with no charge on an "as needed" basis. Our data are quite rich for Point Lay in this regard, so we shall describe networks of sharing and service in that community at some length. Comparisons with Point Hope will then be drawn.

There are five individuals in Point Lay who are generally regarded as Elders. Two (Elders L and P) are widowers and for the most part stay in their houses. Both have extreme difficulty in moving about, and in fact one for them almost never leaves his house. A woman (Elder K) who currently alternates between living in Point Lay and Anchorage (where her current husband, a **non-Inupiat**, lives) is a remarried widow and much more active than either of the two men. She spends much of her time in her own house as well. All three of these Elders live in the newest housing available in Point Lay. The other two Point Lay Elders (Elders D and W) are a married couple and live in an older style (originally one-room) NSB house. They are younger than the other three and in fact at times seem not to consider themselves to be old enough to be Elders. They are in fact the couple who has spent the most time in the Point Lay area, having spent at least part of their childhoods and almost all of their adulthoods there. Until recently, they were very active in the village, contributing to the subsistence resource sharing network and being among the primary subsistence activity teachers in the village. In the last several years health considerations have reduced the **level** of their subsistence activity participation. They are **still** the resource people of choice for **all** subsistence questions and any matter that requires an intimate and historical knowledge of the land. During the fieldwork period this couple spent a great deal of time in Anchorage for medical reasons. When they were in Point Lay they too spent most of their time in their own house.

There are many characteristics that distinguish these Elders from each other. Perhaps the most fundamental is the essential nature of their households. Elders D and W maintain their own independent household, even though they have several children, nephews, and nieces with their own households in the village. This is not to "deny the sharing of subsistence products and services of one kind and another. The nature of this sharing, both within the village in general and with 'Elder households' in specific, will be discussed below. The other three Point Lay Elders also maintain independent households, but are quite different. The two widowers live **in** large NSB houses. One has a granddaughter living with him to essentially watch out for him. The other has several grandchildren in his household, but they are younger and he is essentially their guardian. There are also other short-term visitors in this household.

Neither Elder L nor Elder P can really take care of their house. Both are losing their sight, have problems hearing, and walk only with difficulty. The grandchildren (and non-household residents) help somewhat, but it is mainly the NSB housekeeping program which keeps these households clean. Both men are capable of cooking for themselves, especially as they both prefer Native food. Elder K can take care of her own house upkeep and cooking, but most commonly has a son living with her. On occasion there are other visitors in the house. The housekeepers do visit her house, but have less to do than for the two widowers' houses. Elders D and W live by

themselves and have no trouble maintaining their home and cooking. They in fact sometimes act as babysitters, providing care for others, rather than the reverse.

All of these Elders are retired and receive Social Security. The couple receives a pension as well and visibly has more resources at their disposal than the other three Elder households. This most probably is related to their higher activity level, as they have a boat, a snow machine, a Honda, a truck (although this was not ever been seen to move), and a new hatchback car. Elder P was the only other Elder to own a vehicle, and this was a used Honda which was never really in totally operative condition. It would usually run, but always needed brake work, a tire repaired, or something similar. This household in fact sometimes had more than one Honda, and even a **snowmachine** at times, but all this equipment was bought used and never lasted very long. Apparently the grandson in his early 20s and other relatives were the reasons for the presence of these vehicles. Neither of the two other Elder households had dependents in these age groups or people active in subsistence pursuits.

Elder L was known to leave his house only on a very few occasions during the research period. He went to Barrow for medical reasons, he went to Point Hope for **Nulukatuk** in June 1988, and he went to the post office to **send** in a second application for his 1987 Alaska Permanent Fund Dividend. For the last he had to go in person as the postmaster had to witness and sign it. On **all** these occasions transportation was provided for Elder L, usually in the NSB Utilities pickup truck. An adult other than the driver also went along to help Elder L. Usually this person was the village coordinator, and this service (and the transportation) were seen as the Elder's right and something that the NSB should be responsible for providing. Whatever Elder L needs from the store is purchased and brought home by his granddaughter who lives with him. He was never seen to go to the store.

Elder P has traveled outside of Barrow in the past several years but, like Elder L, only for medical reasons or for special events (the Messenger Feast in Barrow). Within the village he likes to go to the store and to eat meals at his daughters' houses. He will walk across the street to the house of one of his daughters and on occasional will walk to the store, a distance of three or four blocks. Usually he will try and locate a ride, however, and most commonly this has been in the NSB Utilities truck. Recently the Utilities Department has tried to encourage the use of the **Cully** Corporation truck, usually kept at the store to haul mail and store shipments, for this purpose as they do not feel they should leave Utilities shorthanded and without the truck while transporting Elders. Still, the Utilities truck seems to be preferred because it is larger and there is always someone at Utilities who can be reached by phone. Since Elder P does not have a phone (the other four Point Lay Elders do) he must arrange for such rides in advance or send someone to call from a house nearby with a phone. As a last resort, someone will go to Utilities in person to arrange for a ride. Such rides are easy to arrange for trips to the clinic, school, community building, airstrip, and the store (especially after purchases are made and he has heavy packages). Transportation to eat lunch at a daughter's house or to visit is usually provided by the person he is going to visit. Rides in trucks are more difficult to arrange for such purposes.

Elder K seldom needs transportation within the village as she prefers to walk almost everywhere. She does need transportation to the airstrip on occasion and arranges for rides in the same way as everyone else in the village. When she has made many purchases at the store she does try to get a ride. On occasion she will walk home and have the store arrange for later delivery of her purchases. This service was only seen on a few occasions, and only for Elders P and K.

Elder D had been developing sight problems but a recent operation restored much of her vision. She has, however, developed some problems walking. Her husband, Elder W, is generally fit except that he has had heart and ulcer problems. He hears adequately with the assistance of a hearing aid (hearing loss seems nearly **ubiquitous** for the elderly, and even those in their upper forties, in Point Lay and is attributable to repeated bouts of otitis media). This is partially the reason this couple stays at home as much as they do. However, as they have a car at their disposal for use within the village and a full complement of machines for use outside of the village, they are physically able to get to wherever they wish to go. They simply have little necessity to go out much. They eat mostly subsistence food and the store goods that they need are obtained either through the mail or brought over by one of their children or in-laws.

Few of the Elders ever go get their own mail. On occasion, **Elder W** will pick up the couple's mail, but for the most part it is retrieved by one of their married children or an in-law. The other Elders have their mail retrieved by a younger household member. There is no formal program of mail delivery to Elders as it has not proven to be necessary. Every day mail is delivered there is someone to pick up the mail at the post office for those who cannot go pick it up themselves.

Housekeeping services are provided by the NSB through a program to provide such assistance to Elders. At first, an attempt was made to hire relatives of the Elders for this program, as it was said that they had been the ones who had been providing this sort of service for no compensation in the first place. This claim may have been overstated, as the formal NSB program represents a high level of service delivery (up to eight person hours a day in each Elder's house) that it is unrealistic to expect existed informally before the program was initiated. **In** any event, the program seems to have come about because of the need of Elders for such services and the time constraints that made it impossible for kinsmen to provide these services without compensation.

Our best information is for the household of Elder P. This household had no real cook, housekeeper, or subsistence hunter, although the grandchildren living there ranged from fifteen to twenty-one or so. Elder P commonly went to a daughter's house to eat lunch and dinner. Other meals he ate **qaak** (frozen meat and fish) and other simple fare. His daughters claimed to have taken turns cleaning his house, but it is evident that this was not a frequent event. When the NSB started to pay people to clean Elders' houses, one of **Elder P's** daughters was given the responsibility for his household. For various reasons this never worked out and for about a year one or another of this man's daughters took this job, found **it** not to her liking, and eventually simply stopped doing it (but did not formally quit). Elder P had a reputation for having the dirtiest house in Point Lay and this period did little to change that reputation. Finally, in 1988 some recent immigrants to Point Lay from **Kivalina** were hired as no one else wanted the job and Elder P's house has been clean ever since. Most Point Lay residents thought that Elder P's children should look after him more than they do, but do not say so publicly because to do so would be inappropriate. Most residents clearly do not want to perform these tasks for Elder P themselves. This seems to be another case where the idea of respect for Elders runs into the problem that acting on such beliefs is often quite inconvenient for people. In many such cases the belief is often honored in the breach more than in actual practice.

The households of the other Elders have similar if less extreme histories. Elder L's household does not require nearly the level of effort that Elder P's does to keep it

clean, so there has been little trouble keeping a housekeeper for his household. Elder K does most of her own housework, but enjoys having help on occasion. Elders D and W similarly do not really need help but enjoy the weekly assistance.

The Elders' lunch program exists only in a very pale form compared to its incarnation in Point Hope. In Point Lay the Elders are welcome to come to the school for lunch anytime they wish to, but there is no Senior Center where they can gather to eat together in their own group. Except on those rare occasions once or twice a year when they are formally invited, none ever go to the school. They feel out of place there and perhaps think that the school is trying to integrate them into the school program without really consulting them (or paying them). Transportation to and from the school is also a problem for at least two of the Elders even on the nicest days, and in inclement weather is quite difficult for all of them. On those days the Elders do not go to the school, the school sends a school lunch to each of the Elders in a styrofoam-covered tray. Usually a school employee will deliver these but on occasion Utilities personnel (and their truck) have been pressed into service (and even the researcher one time). Many times the Elders will not eat this lunch as they do not like the taste of the food. Rather, it will be saved for a younger member of the household or for a visitor to eat.

Subsistence food is a substantial part of the diet of all Point Lay Elders. Until recently, Elders D and W (the married couple) produced a net surplus of harvested subsistence resources. Because of the forced reduction in their subsistence activities, they now receive more than they give to others. This has been true of the three other Elders in Point Lay for some time. However, while individual Elders do receive subsistence resources preferentially from kinsmen (and especially married children) within the village, all are also part of the more generalized system whereby anyone in need of food is given part of any recently harvested animal. The Elderly are the only people in the village assumed to be in need unless there is evidence to the contrary. It is assumed that they cannot hunt for themselves, and lacking other household members who hunt, are most likely not well supplied with subsistence food. Elders are also thought to be deserving of a share of harvested animals, and such redistribution shows respect both for the Elderly as well as for the animal. Therefore, when an Elder desires a particular item, he or she is most likely to request a kinsman to provide it. When an animal is harvested, those Elders known to be in need will be taken a share, and the needs of elders who are kinsmen are likely to be better known than those who are not.

Nearly all successful hunters distribute part of their harvest to the households of Elders. They will distribute subsistence foods to non-Elder households as well, but usually not on as frequent a basis and only when there is a known need. Elders receive a much more regular contribution of subsistence resources than do other households. However, there does not seem to be any regularly established pattern for how much is received in what period from whom. Because there are relatively few "high subsistence harvesters" in Point Lay, those that do exist occupy nodal positions in the distribution network. Because these most active hunters are not related to **all** the Elders in the same way, some Elders receive a high proportion of their subsistence food from close kinsmen (children, nephews) while others receive a similar high proportion from more distantly related kinsman. In many cases it is the same hunter providing the food. While it cannot be denied that there is some emotional difference in providing food for your parents, aunts, and uncles rather than for the Elderly in general, in Point Lay it appears that all such sharing is part of one system and covered by the same rubric. This is perhaps another excellent example of the "We are all one family" ideology in action.

The practical consequences of this pattern of sharing is that the independence of individual households is maintained at the same time that mutual dependence is recognized. Clearly three of the Elders are not capable of supplying themselves with subsistence food and could not handle the housekeeping duties required to maintain an independent household given their present household resources and composition. The dynamics of sharing take care of the first for the most part, and the NSB network of formal services, supplemented by a more informal village network to fill **in** for services present in other villages but absent in Point Lay, handles most of the rest. Thus, Elders receive a great deal of assistance, but this assistance is not associated with any one (or more) household in the village than any other. That is, the Elder's household is not considered a subsidiary part of a larger household occupying more than one housing unit. Rather, each housing unit represents an independent household, some of which depend more on services from the NSB (and other households in general) than do others. This may indeed represent a significant change from even the recent past, but we would not wish to generalize too much from the Point Lay information. The total number of **Elders** is small, **all** are related to some degree to nearly everyone in the village, and the total population of the village is small.

SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE

Ethnic Relations and Sociocultural Change in Point Lay and Point Hope

Relations between Natives and non-Natives in the community is another important facet of community social organization. There are several non-Native residents of long standing who are well integrated into the community (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984). Non-Native transients, however, are subject to some resentment and the ethnic distinction between these individuals and local residents is readily apparent. This seems to be related to local job opportunities and the degree to which it is perceived that they are being filled by outsiders rather than Point Lay residents. The recent history of ethnic relations in Point Lay is also of relevance.

Historical Introduction to Point Lay Ethnic Relations

Point Lay is somewhat of a contemporary contradiction. It is a very small Native community, and until the fairly recent past was the site of only irregular contact with **non-Inupiat** people. Yet, it may be the one NSB village outside of Barrow whose character or tone is most influenced by its **non-Inupiat** population. Assuredly, the **non-Inupiat** world imposed itself on the persons who now comprise Point Lay's population in innumerable ways before the reestablishment of the village in 1972. On the other hand, when one looks at the history of the site **of** Point Lay prior to its conversion to a permanent village, the whalers, traders, missionaries, and even mailmen were **all** just passers-through (much in the same way as the "resident" **Inupiat** population was for much of **prehistory**). The school at Point Lay was one of the first to have an Eskimo teacher rather than a white, and although there was a trading post established at Point Lay, individuals also arranged for ships passing by to stop to trade. Point Lay people came into contact with **non-Inupiat** when traveling to other places, which they did a great deal. **Non-Inupiat** who came to the northwestern coast of the North Slope for the most part concentrated in Point Hope and Barrow, however, with some attempts to establish fur trading posts for a limited period of time in the Wainwright-Icy Cape area (and other areas east of Barrow). Once whaling and fur

trading were essentially defunct, contact with **non-Inupiat** was almost totally through church, school, occasional employment, and other aspects of the ongoing administrative/economic system.

Three **non-Inupiat** men of particular interest for the community of Point Lay for the period of 1890 to the 1950s are Charles Brewer, Arthur James Allen, and Christian **Klengenborg**. Brewer spent a season in Point Hope before settling more permanently in Barrow, and was the principal force behind the development of a system of trading posts (now defunct except in Barrow) and other commercial enterprises which are still central on the North Slope. Jim Allen also lived at various times in Point Hope, Barrow, and Wainwright, working for a good part of that time with or for Brewer. Christian **Klengenborg** seems to have been mostly in **Wainwright** and the Canadian Arctic, but did extensive coastal trading. All three married local women, and many **Inupiat** can trace relationships to these men. Allen is perhaps the best single example of the sort of contact prevalent between **non-Inupiat** and **Inupiat**. He married the sister of Allen **Upicksoun**, Sr., an individual to whom many **Inupiat** residents in Point Lay can trace ancestry due to the fact that **Upicksoun** married twice and his second wife remarried after his death. Certainly Allen's marriage to **Upicksoun's** sister facilitated Allen's whaling and trading operations. It also served as a way to recruit **Inupiat** help. **Upicksoun** was hired to work at the Icy Cape trading post as well as to haul supplies and do other general work, and seemed to act as the preferred guide to this part of the coast to travelers such as Alfred M. Bailey. **Upicksoun** in fact took his first name from the last name of the man who married his sister.

It can be claimed that it was **non-Inupiat** contact that fostered the development of Point Lay as a community in the first place, through the establishment of churches in Point Hope, Wales, and Barrow in 1890, followed by schools. Later a church and school were also built in **Wainwright** in 1904 and a school at Icy Cape (a seasonal location used by people from both the **Wainwright** and Point Lay areas) in 1906. In 1913, when it became administratively difficult to justify the two schools so close together, and with the Icy Cape location apparently becoming less desirable, the decision was made to close the Icy Cape school. It was restarted in 1925, but soon forced to close due to flooding and related problems. It was decided in 1929 to relocate this school on the spit near present day Point Lay. There was a fairly stable, but small, population in the Point Lay area at this time, but this move encouraged those people at Icy Cape to move down to Point Lay, as well as some people to the south to move to Point Lay. The school served as the "magnet" that anchored the community of Point Lay and fostered its identity as a community. Reindeer herding, also introduced by **non-Inupiat**, greatly affected the distribution of the population over the land, but as the reindeer herds were administered in community centered districts, the dispersed nature of reindeer herding did not prove disruptive to community cohesion. The school at Point Lay was limited to an elementary education, although it is remembered very fondly, especially the Eskimo teachers. The school was at that time a central community focus and clearly served local perceived educational needs. To achieve a high school degree or more advanced training, however, an individual had to leave the Point Lay area. Most young Point Layers did exactly that (paraphrasing): "You needed training to get jobs in them days. There weren't many jobs around. Not like today" (interview with Point Lay informant by **Yvonne Yarber**, 1988). These schools could be in other **parts** of Alaska or in the lower-48. Training programs that informants mention were in New York City, Chicago, and San Francisco. Often, young **Inupiat** would live several years in these

locations after the program. This export of young people for education, and the variable rate of their return, was one great outside effect on Point Lay at this time. It was also the main point of contact between the two cultures.

Reindeer herding is said to have been a business until 1950 or so, but to **all** intents and purposes was defunct in the Point Lay area by the 1940s. Oil exploration had begun on the North Slope in the **mid-1940s** and continued through the 1950s. In 1953 the first Geophysical Camp remembered by Point Lay residents opened. This was the first wave of **non-Inupiat** to actually contact the **Inupiat** on their home territory for some time. They were still rather diffuse in their influence, as their work seasons were short, they left few permanent buildings (although more than a **little** permanent ecological destruction), and were relatively amenable to avoiding influencing the local population.

The start of construction on the DEW Line station near Point Lay in **1954** is taken as a pivotal point in time by most **Inupiat** Point Lay residents. Informants say that during and after the construction, the constant and ready access to alcohol and perhaps other substances essentially destroyed the social fabric of the community. The runway, the vital link allowing this access, was actually built in 1955, and the school in Point Lay was closed in 1958. Some accounts claim that the community disbanded because the school was closed by an administrative decision. Most Point Lay informants say that the school was closed because there were no (or very few) students for it. Many had gone out to school, and other families had left the Point Lay area to avoid the problems and temptations of living by the DEW Line station. It was during this time that many Point Layers went to live in Wainwright, Barrow, or Point Hope. It was also because of this generally negative local situation that many of the young **Inupiat** who had gone out for training did not return to the North Slope, and sought opportunities elsewhere. (Present relations between the DEW Line station and the people of Point Lay will be discussed below, but they are clearly much improved).

The Point Lay area was essentially abandoned as a settlement from between 1958 and 1972, when informants say they first returned to Point Lay as a place to settle down. The area had of course continued to be used for subsistence resource harvesting. The demand for Alaskan oil, coupled with the **Inupiat** desire to live on their land in ways compatible with both their traditional values and their perceptions of a **now-**available typical American standard of life, fostered the political and economic climate that resulted in the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. Certainly these are the proximate causes for the existence of Point Lay as a community today. The articulation of **Inupiat** desires with outside market forces, the value that outsiders are now putting on the land that **Inupiat** live on, underlies the very existence of Point Lay (which to at least **some** degree is true of all other NSB communities, whose economies are after all based on the same principals). Since the passage of **ANCSA**, contact between **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** will unavoidably create new forms of NSB social organization, and whether they continue to be called **Inupiat** is a question for the residents of the area, and one that most are striving to ensure can be continued to be answered in the affirmative.

Overview of Point Lay Ethnic Relations Since 1972

Point Lay was founded explicitly as an **Inupiat** community, based on the constitution of the Native Village of Point Lay adopted in 1946 under the Indian Reorganization Act as extended to Alaska. **Inupiat** residents conceive of the IRA and Point Lay as one and the same, and have resisted incorporating as a city for fear of setting up

competing formal organizations. Thus, **non-Inupiat** have no formal political representation in the village. The political boundaries usually claimed for the Point Lay IRA vary somewhat on the claimant, but typical examples would be the traditional land use area of those who used to live and use the area (a somewhat nebulous but still meaningful formulation for a person who knows the local landscape very well indeed), or that area of land within a radius of 50 miles from the village, or the land that had been used by the Point Lay reindeer herd as grazing territory. These boundaries are not equivalent to each other except in a rough way, "and it is interesting to note that **Pedersen's** estimate of the current land use area for Point Lay residents (based on work done for this project) comes out to an area of a circle with a radius somewhat less than 60 miles from Point Lay (although of course the area is not shaped like a circle).

As far as can be determined, the founding population of the present "permanent" village of Point Lay was totally **Inupiat**. The village was built on the spit near the old settlement, and is now commonly referred to as "Old Side." There were a number of buildings which were still inhabitable and those that could be renovated were, while others were used for materials. Tanks for oil and water were constructed and new buildings planned. The village may have been 100% Native until the Point Lay School was reopened in 1984, in the same building it had been in before. A young female teacher was brought in from Fairbanks and stayed several years. Soon after her arrival, she was joined by another young Caucasian woman who served as an aide. The teacher eventually moved to Barrow, where she still teaches. The aide eventually married a local **Inupiat** man and has taught in the school (with some time off) up to the ethnographic present of this report (June 1988 -- although there are indications that she has subsequently left Point Lay).

This teacher indicates that the population of Point Lay was very fluid from the very beginning of the settlement. She mentioned specifically that people from the Kivalina-Kotzebue area tended to travel back and forth to Point Lay. Others went back and forth between Wainwright and Point Lay. Even those people who moved from Barrow tended to travel back to Barrow fairly frequently (and a common report about relatives who at one time lived in Point Lay but no longer do so is that "It's too quiet for them here"). It appears that many people were experimenting to see if they really wanted to relocate into the Point Lay area, and a significant number of them decided that they did not want to do so on a permanent basis. Also at this time, the lack of houses, facilities, and jobs at Point Lay encouraged some young men who did wish to relocate there to go south to the Point Hope area or on seismic crews for work, as the reconstruction of Point Lay did not start quickly. The **Inupiat** of Point Lay remember the first seismic crews operation in the Point Lay area as dating from the 1973-74 period. Informants say that these crews were not very careful and left quite a bit of trash behind. This provided the information upon which many local residents have formed their opinions about all resource exploration efforts.

Transient **non-Inupiat** were not unusual at Point Lay in these early times either. The community was underdeveloped, very young both in age of settlement and population, and rather open and accepting to what may have been outrageous behavior in other communities. In such a context, **non-Inupiat** did not find a great deal of **Inupiat** resistance to their individual presence, so long as they did not represent interests perceived as counter to that of **Inupiat**s. Thus, oil company employees and DEW Line personnel were virtually ignored, but more marginal **non-Inupiat** looking for adventure or an environment of freedom to live for a while were quite welcome. Such an individual arrived in the fall of 1975 and served as a handyman around the village. He was said to have been handy to have around, but was considered somewhat strange. He lived away from everyone else and continued to do things that people told him were

not safe, such as to kayak among the broken ice in the leads off the spit. He eventually disappeared after one such trip and his body was found the next spring.

In 1976 the **non-Inupiat** with the longest continuous residence in Point Lay arrived. She was married to an **Inupiat** male living in Point Lay, although they were separated at the time. They are now divorced, but both continue to live in Point Lay. Several of this woman's children from a previous marriage to a Caucasian have visited her in Point Lay. One son has moved to Point Lay with his Hispanic wife, while a daughter who was visiting eventually married an **Inupiat** man and settled into the village. Another unmarried son had been in Point Lay doing seasonal-type construction work for a substantial time before his sudden disappearance and presumed death. Still another son has spent a large amount of time in **Point** Lay, but his marginality of behavior has proven worrisome to the **Inupiat** population and he has been removed from the village twice.

The **DEW** Line is reported to have still been a source for alcohol and drugs at this time, although this was of course strictly against official policy. This in part contributed to the reputation of Point Lay as a wide open community, to its attraction of people on the margins (perhaps especially marginal **non-Inupiat**), and the instability of its population. The original site of Point Lay was resettled with some hesitation because of its proximity to the DEW Line station. These fears did seem to bear fruit as the DEW Line did continue to be a source for socially disruptive factors. Most of the families now comprising the central families of Point Lay had moved to Point Lay by 1976, so that the base population has now been in place for over 12 years. To these people may be added, of course, an immense reserve of relatives. A very fluid pattern of residence, with **people** alternating between Point Lay and other villages (the most common being **Wainwright**, Point Hope, and **Kotzebue**).

Because of certain limitations of the Old Side site {no water source, inadequate land for an airstrip, exposure to flooding, little room to build in general), a decision was made to relocate Point Lay. This was a decision made essentially by non-residents in Barrow and elsewhere. To use government money for the infrastructure projects, and this was clearly a necessity, certain physical site conditions had to be met that the Old Side could not approach. The selection of the "New Side" site was done with consultation of Point Lay residents, but in a very hurried fashion. An **island** in the delta of a local river was chosen, partly due to its separation from the DEW Line station. This site proved to be a mistake, however, as it was difficult to reach the airstrip from it and it flooded every year. This relocation did provide jobs for almost anyone who wanted to live in Point Lay, however, and eventually ten houses were built in a row. The school and the Utilities Plant were the first structures to be built on the New Side, in 1976. It is unclear whether it was this phase of the construction of Point Lay which attracted some of the **non-Inupiat** who now live in the village, or whether this took place in the next phase.

The village corporation (formed under the **ANCSA**), at any rate, did enter into the housing venture and evidently lost some money. This experience is one reason given for the generally low activity level of the corporation. It has had bad experiences in the past and is in general too small and undercapitalized to hire the proper expertise to succeed as an economic entity. This period of construction does seem to be remembered with some longing, as a time when people were working together and helping each other, and there were few outsiders around. It seems that most or all of the **non-Inupiat** were associated with the school, and that the DEW Line situation was by that time being put under control. In 1978 Point Lay obtained its first telephone (before service had been confined to the DEW Line station). This was one

phone for the entire village, and tended to be out of order more often than not, but was seen as a milestone in communications ties with other villages.

A decision was made in 1979 to move the village yet again due to the inadequacies of the New Side location. Again, local residents were consulted on the new site more in form than in substance. The practicalities of funding and the physical requirements for the facilities planned combined to make a choice near the DEW Line station inevitable. The local population resisted this, referring to the site near the DEW Line as “the party hill.” The name derived from the obvious. It was near the source of substances required to alter one’s state of mind, it was relatively higher than the area around it (essentially being the bluff above the lagoon), and it was isolated from any permanent residents who might have objected to the actions going on. Construction of the village at its present site actually started in 1980, with some trailers and a camp being the first structures at the site. Most Point Lay residents continued to live on the “New Side” until the buildings which were movable were placed at the present site. Informants say that this was an extremely turbulent time in the history of Point Lay, as this was the occasion for a large influx of non-local laborers. Additionally, in previous times the DEW Line situation had at least been separated from the village by some distance. Now, everyone was thrown together as the living site was essentially the same as the work site, with little separation from the DEW Line. Informants say that a large part of the construction work force was from Point Hope, as the Point Hope village corporation (**Tigara**) had many of the contracts for the work, Point Layers attribute the development of a racial or ethnic consciousness to this period. Before this time, they said, no one noticed in Point Lay if you were **Inupiat** or not. After this time, ethnic tensions became **all** too obvious. This is also said to be the time of the introduction of hard drugs such as cocaine into Point Lay. Alcohol and marijuana had been the previous drugs of choice, but with all the work, money, and people associated with the building of the newest village on the North Slope, others came into prominence. The abuse of alcohol especially became easier and more frequent. Again, informants claim that prior to this time few people actually imported alcohol into the village, so that most drinking was done outside of the village or by buying from an illicit (and expensive) DEW Line source. Along with the workers from Point Hope came the concept of chartering in a shipment of alcohol, or chartering out people (to **Kotzebue**) for a wild time on the town. Before this time, Point Lay had been a very isolated place, and to even go to Fairbanks or Anchorage would take careful planning and could take over a week. People were astounded when, by chartering one leg, a Point Lay resident made it back in one day for the first time.

The imported **non-Inupiat** work force also created some problems, perhaps the most obvious being the exacerbation of the tensions felt by the imported Point Hope work force. Some of the workers from Point Hope reportedly did not get along well with **non-Inupiat**, and the fact that white workers and Point Hope workers were thrown together in a third community where neither group was compelled to be on their best behavior created an extremely volatile situation. These are the factors most people felt culminated in the murders of three young **Inupiat** by a fourth inebriated **Inupiat** in 1980 during or after a party. People had been uncomfortable with this individual’s conduct for some time, but one principle **Inupiat** value is to be **non-directive**, so that few measures aimed at intervention were taken. There was no PSO in the village, as it was deemed that Point Lay at that time was too small to warrant one. After the incident a permanent PSO was placed in Point Lay. From the description of the events, this incident could easily have been even more tragic than it was.

Work continued **on a** fast pace with **the community** building being built in 1982 -83, the health clinic in 1983, the school completed in 1983, and various housing units going up at the same time. Roads were built and the power plant was established. More recently the shell of a combined Utilities-Public Works Building was completed, although the interior is as yet undone. A new Public Safety Facility has been built. Several other projects are still in the “to be constructed” stage.

Point Lay’s Non-Inupiat Population Today

Point Lay has several components to its **non-Inupiat** population. First, there are the NSB employees who may work in Point Lay for several years or only several months, but whose tenure is almost guaranteed to be relatively short and whose orientation and identity remain fixed on their communities of origin. Second are the transient employees working for construction firms or other contractors, in Point Lay **only** for the term of a contract and motivated almost exclusively by their work. Third are the transient passers-through, usually associated with an ongoing project, governmental agency, or scientific project. Fourth, and sort of a special case, are the DEW Line personnel. Fifth and last are the permanent **non-Inupiat** residents of Point Lay, and they are also a special case. All five cases should be dealt with, but we will concentrate here on the last two, which are more unique to Point Lay.

The DEW Line Station is no longer a source for alcohol and drugs. It is also not visited by **Inupiat** very often. Most **non-Inupiat** can receive an invitation to the DEW Line simply for the asking, but they do like all guests to have an invitation and to sign in. The only Point Lay resident to take advantage of this very often is **non-Inupiat** and a retired military man now working for the school. **Inupiat** sometimes visit the DEW Line briefly to buy soda or cigarettes at the canteen, but do not stay and socialize there. It is the rare DEW Line worker who goes into Point Lay, although on occasion one of the younger workers **will** go into the school and play some basketball.

The **non-Inupiat** residents of Point Lay are what makes Point Lay different on the North Slope. For the most part these individuals did not make a conscious decision to move to Point Lay to work and live. Rather, they found themselves in Point Lay with a temporary job and the chance at something more permanent. The three male **non-Inupiat** permanent residents all came to work on temporary construction projects. **All** did well, were liked, and eventually were asked to stay on. Two eventually married into the village. The two female **non-Inupiat** permanent residents are not so easy to explain. The older of the two came to be near her husband, and after their divorce decided to stay on in Point Lay. She is sporadically employed. Her daughter came up to visit her mom and eventually married an **Inupiat**.

Point Lay now has a 20% **non-Inupiat** population because after these people arrived in the village there were opportunities for them that allowed them to stay on. It is the existence of these opportunities that makes Point Lay different from Point Hope, Wainwright, and other North Slope communities. The growth of the **non-Inupiat** population was not a planned thing, and in most cases was not a real conscious decision on the individual’s part. It was simply a situation that evolved in a certain way.

Part of this context has to be the style of leadership that seems to be fostered in Point Lay. Most people there seem to prefer having no leaders. That is, there is little common direction or coordination in the normal course of events. When something becomes important enough, or when someone becomes frustrated enough,

however, an individual emerges who is willing to express a strong opinion about what should be done and how. This will often be followed for lack of any alternatives. This individual will have grabbed the bull by the horns and typically will ride till thrown off, gored, or just plain worn out. The typical fate of leaders in Point Lay is to get burnt out. No mayor has wanted to serve more than one year at a time in recent memory. The Fire Department, Search and Rescue, and so on, are all organizations that constantly need new blood. Often it is a **non-Inupiat** with a commitment to the community who can provide it. **Non-Inupiat** may also be somewhat more prone to offer such help as well. They then run the risk of overstaying their leadership welcome, and becoming accused of “wanting to take over.” This is precisely what some Point Lay **Inupiat** think **non-Inupiat** are doing in Point Lay, but it is at least in part the existence of a leadership void and a greater proclivity on the part on **non-Inupiat** to fill that gap than for **Inupiat** to do so.

Non-Inupiat Residents and Ethnic Relations in Point Hope

The subject of ethnic relations in Point Hope is a complex one at present, in part because of a good deal of historical depth. Historically, Point Hope **Inupiat** have had contact with individuals from a wide range of ethnic groups. Whaling, and the peripheral economic opportunities associated with whaling, were the primary reasons for significant numbers of **non-Inupiat** originally coming to the community of Point Hope. Significantly, the **non-Inupiat** who came to the region were not of a single ethnic group; rather their diversity is reflected in the name of Jabbertown, the site of an abandoned whaling community a few miles up the beach from Point Hope. The Point Hope of today is an **Inupiat** community; there are resident **non-Inupiat** but by-and-large they fall into definable social groupings based upon length of residence, occupation, and social networks that set them apart from the **Inupiat** residents of Point Hope. The large majority of **non-Inupiat** in the community today are “white.” According to a 1986 survey conducted by the North Slope Borough, of the people contacted in Point Hope, 540 identified themselves as **Inupiat**, 29 as white, 6 as other Alaska Native, 2 as American Indian, and 1 each Hispanic, Oriental, and Black. Three individuals did not respond to the question. In other words, Point Hope’s population is approximately 93% **Inupiat** and 5% white. In actual use in the community, the term “white” is at times used by some **Inupiat** residents to refer any non-Native individuals; sometimes the term “outsider” or the like is used to refer to all **non-Inupiat** individuals.

During the course of fieldwork, researchers were able to speak to most, if not all, **non-Inupiat** residents of Point Hope, and it is clear that these individuals have an influence on relations between **Inupiat** residents and other “outsiders.” Interactions and interpersonal relations of **Inupiat** and relatively newly-arrived **non-Inupiat** individuals in Point Hope are predicated, to a degree, by the attitudes of the **non-Inupiat** residents to the outsiders, as well as by the attitudes of the outsiders themselves toward the village. In many ways, **non-Inupiat** are expected to “police their own,” and the undesirable actions of individual **non-Inupiat** reflect badly upon other **non-Inupiat**. The reception of **non-Inupiat** ‘residents’ to newcomers is often used as an indicator of how **Inupiat** should treat them (but not necessarily the same way for all classifications of **non-Inupiat**). Additionally, if **non-Inupiat** newcomers show a respect for local people and ways of doing things, then they will be treated much differently than is otherwise the case. There are, of course, individual **Inupiat** residents of Point Hope, who profess to not like whites, and in many instances behavior would seem to reinforce those statements. This is tempered, however, once a **non-Inupiat** is associated through marriage or friendship to specific **Inupiat** residents. When **non-Inupiat** are linked to specific **Inupiat** residents, in

effect, to be hostile to those **non-Inupiat** is to be hostile to those **Inupiat** residents to whom they are linked.

This is not to imply, by any means, that **Inupiat** residents of Point Hope only come into contact with **non-Inupiat** individuals in the community of Point Hope itself. In fact, travel plays a very significant role in **Inupiat** residents interacting with **non-Inupiat** individuals. Virtually **all** of the older residents of the village spent at least part of their school years outside of the village and come into contact with a variety of ethnic groups during that period of their lives. It is also important to note that every adult interviewed in Point Hope had spent a significant amount of time outside of the village during his or her lifetime, and typically this was due to employment or military service, or going with family members whose employment or military service took them out of the village. Whether contemporary teenagers will follow this same pattern as adults remains to be seen, but teenagers often speak of wanting to travel out of the village. Common travel destinations, including relatively accessible destinations such as Point Lay, Barrow, and **Kotzebue** are communities that have a higher **non-Inupiat** population ratio than Point Hope. Television, of course, is a major means of access to the **non-Inupiat** world although not an interactive one.

The **non-Inupiat** who come to Point Hope do so for a variety of reasons. As with any similar life course decision, the reasons people elect to come to Point Hope are overdetermined, which is to say there is typically no one reason but, rather, a number of reasons that influenced the decision-making process. There are a number of **commonalties** in the reasons that people give when asked, and these normally include such things as professional opportunity, a change of pace, a change of lifestyle, increased earnings, specific financial goals, a chance for adventure, a chance for a new start, or a combination of several of these reasons.

Perceptually, one of the differentiating factors between the **Inupiat** residents of Point Hope and the **non-Inupiat** residents of the community is the perception of the environment within which the community is set. For persons who have not been raised in Point Hope, or in similar environments, Point Hope often appears to be set in a landscape that is extreme for its isolation and desolation. Visitors to, or **short-term** residents of, the community frequently joke about it being the "end of the world" or the like. For most of the **Inupiat** residents of the community, not only is the community not the end of the world, it is in a very real **orientational** sense, the center of the world.

Another **perceptual** difference that is common between **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** in Point Hope revolves around the idea of a "frontier." A good portion of the **non-Inupiat** residents of Point Hope are originally from outside of the state of Alaska, and came to Alaska in general and Point Hope in particular, due to its appeal as a "frontier." There are commonly held romantic notions in the lower-48 of Alaska as "the last frontier" and there appears to be a contemporary process that could be termed a "**Northering**," or the like, that would capture its analogy to the "**Westering**" when people who were dissatisfied with their lives in the Eastern cities of the United States moved west to make a change. It implies a perception of Point Hope (and other villages for that matter), that is markedly different from the perception that **Inupiat** residents hold. When **non-Inupiat** look at the "open spaces" around Point Hope, it would appear that many of them see a pristine landscape without human influence; when other **Inupiat** come to Point Hope it would appear that there is a perception of influence of the village on the landscape in the form of a subsistence range. That is to say, the frontier image held by many **non-Inupiat** newcomers or visitors to Point Hope includes open access to resources and land; the image held by

many **Inupiat** residents is one of control of the land in a subsistence range as determined by traditional use and a continuity of population -- there is no "frontier" in Point Hope; rather, the present community is set in a matrix of an ancestral land with complex relationships between the past and the present. This is an important point, especially for the comparison of "great white (hunter) (contractor) (oil man) (Dew Liner)" with **Inupiat** views. "Frontier" appears to be a matter of cognitive orientation that influences a myriad of other perceptions about life on the North Slope. Most **non-Inupiat** appear to share this orientation to some degree.

A significant number of the **non-Inupiat** persons who come to Point Hope are **self-described** marginal individuals from the lower-48 who came to Alaska to look for something new when things were not working out to their satisfaction in their lives. Often these individuals have a difficult time adjusting to Point Hope. For someone not familiar with the type of **ecozone** within which Point Hope is set, even the weather is an intimidating aspect of life in the community. Point Hope, like other villages in Alaska, and small towns elsewhere in the United States, can be a difficult **place** to establish widespread friendship, and without a support network, is can be a difficult place to live.

Another perceptual difference between **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** residents in Point Hope is that if life is not working out well in the community, there are different levels of ambivalence about leaving the community. For example, it is a common perception among some **Inupiat** teenagers in Point Hope that there is little to do in the community, and that a change of residence would be desirable. To act on this perception, however, means leaving the community of orientation and one's relations, and the transition to other places and locating employment there is often difficult. On the other hand, most **non-Inupiat** come to Point Hope with a specific job skill. When and if they become dissatisfied with life in Point Hope, the same skills that allowed them to land a job in the community will typically aid them in finding a job elsewhere. Rather than leaving their community of orientation and a web of emotionally meaningful relations, they are typically leaving behind one set of friendship relations with the expectation that they will develop a similar set of relations elsewhere.

Native/non-Native interactions have a different character in Point Lay than in Point Hope. As shown in the graphics and discussed in the population section, there are relatively few non-Natives in Point Hope, with the large majority of them being employed at the school. There are no non-Native **couples** who have made Point Hope home, in a long-term sense. There are, however, **individual** non-Natives who have Native spouses, and for several of these individuals Point Hope now appears to have become home. There are no non-Natives in Point Hope who have kinship "roots" in the community: there are **no** non-Natives in the community who are even one generation removed from a kin member who originally moved into the community (other than children whose parents are still living with them). To put it another way, there are no permanent resident non-Native families in the village. The census material in the population section does perhaps understate the number of transient **non-Inupiat** in Point Hope associated with construction projects, either because of the difficulty in enumerating them or because the census was taken at a time when they were not there. In any event, the **Inupiat** of Point Hope experience local **non-Inupiat** in a way very different from Point Lay **Inupiat**.

In Point Lay there is one non-Native couple who have been residents 8 years, two male **Inupiat-female** Caucasian couples, and one male Caucasian-female **Inupiat** couple. The long-term plans of these last three couples are not fixed, but those with **Inupiat**

male heads of household appear likely to stay in Point Lay for quite some time. The males in all four households have full-time jobs, although that has not **always** been the case. The life histories of these individuals is quite revealing and is some indicator of the growth, if not community acceptance, of at least community tolerance.

The Role of Non-Inupiat Point Hope Residents in Sociocultural Change

Non-Inupiat passing through Point Hope often act as a source of data about **life** outside the community, particularly for those residents who seldom travel. It is important to note, when considering the role of these individuals as “representatives” of outside **sociocultural** systems, that the individuals with whom villagers come into contact are not a random sample of lower-48 American society. Clearly, these individuals present a strong sampling bias with respect to (a) the aspects lower-48 American **sociocultural** systems that they bring with them and (b) their representativeness of the whole of lower-48 American **sociocultural** systems.

The non-Native residents in Point Hope fall into two main groups (and several subgroups) that are usefully separable for analytic purposes. One group is composed of teachers, managers, Public Safety Officers, missionaries, construction workers, and those who marry into the village. A second group of non-Natives who come into contact with Point Hope are those who do not become residents but, rather, merely pass through the village. This group includes politicians and administrators from the North Slope Borough, state employees, federal employees, researchers, and tourists.

Long-Term Non-Inupiat Residents

The teachers at the school represent the largest group of resident non-Natives in Point Hope. Feelings toward teachers, and the educational system they represent, are ambivalent. Education in Point Hope has changed radically since the not-so-distant days of the BIA school in the village which was combined with a high school education received at boarding school outside of the community. Certified teachers are still typically individuals who come to Point Hope for only a few years and then leave. There were 20 certified teachers in the school for the **1987-88** school year. When demographic characteristics are examined, teachers as a group are quite different from the population of the village as a whole. Not only are teachers non-Native, they are, in relative terms, highly educated individuals who share a common educational, occupational, and experiential background. Teachers tend to interact with other teachers, as they are brought together for socializing by these common traits, plus shared current day-to-day experiences. Teachers tend to be socially isolated from the community at large, and are little in evidence at public forums outside of the school.

Some management level personnel with the **Tigara** Corporation are non-Native, both in Point Hope and at the corporation's Anchorage office. The most visible of the Point Hope employees is the manager of the Native Store. This position, like the other management positions, represents a non-Native being in a position of designated “expert,” and there are some strong feelings in the village about this type of position. At the 1988 **Tigara** Corporation annual meeting, the new store manager was introduced to the shareholders. This prompted a discussion over the hire of non-residents for such a position -- on the one hand the need to efficiently run the store and the value of experience in the field was recognized, while on the other

hand it was argued that it was a bad decision not to train a local person to do the job, particularly when employment is so eagerly sought by many residents. Complicating this debate was the fact that the corporation was more restricted in what it could and could not do than usual, given its bankruptcy status. Having much of the corporation's business run by non-Natives in Anchorage produced heated debate among shareholders as well, and this was a major topic at both the 1988 and 1989 annual shareholder's meetings. Again, there is an inherent difficulty in balancing the need for employment of local individuals (and the desirability of having local control and accountability) with the need for expertise in business management -- something that is virtually impossible to obtain within Point Hope alone. A point of debate, particularly in the instance of the store manager position, is the fact that in the past the store (and by extension, local enterprise in general) has been run by local **Inupiat** managers. (It should be noted, however, that while the store was modestly successful under local managers, the position of a local manager is acknowledged to be a difficult one. In Point Hope, given the web of complex and differing relationships between residents, when locals are in supervisory positions there are often difficulties with perceived nepotism, favoritism in service provision, and the like. This is not to say that these difficulties disappear when outsiders are in supervisory positions. As an "outside" supervisor spends time in the community and comes to be more like a resident, he or she develops friendship ties and is in other ways as well drawn into the social system of the community. Once the person is in some way integrated into the system, problems similar to those faced by other residents arise. Indeed, it is more complex than would appear to be the case, because even before the individual is a fully functional part of the local system, different interest groups within the community will utilize the individual as a resource.)

The Tigara Corporation office in Anchorage creates its own problems. This is in part due to the distance from the village that makes "**watchdogging**" from Point Hope difficult, and in part due to the fact that the supervisory personnel who work in the Anchorage office are non-locals. There is ambivalence toward **non-Inupiat** individuals in corporation leadership positions away from the village, particularly since these individuals control locally held assets. The ambivalence is attributable to the fact that the need for "experts" is recognized, on the one hand, and on the other hand, these "absentee" individuals are in a position to quite easily take unethical financial advantage of their position, **should** they chose to do so. Unfortunately, if these individuals did take advantage of the system, the chances are good that they would not be discovered for a significant period of time. This apparently has happened in the Tigara Corporation in the not-too-distant past, the effects of which were still being sorted out in 1988-89. Point Hope is not the only village, by any means, that has had this situation occur.

Public Safety Officers (**PSOs**) are employees of the North Slope Borough who rotate through the villages of the borough. While department policy has varied in the past, it is now standard procedure that when a PSO is hired, he works in Barrow for one year, is rotated to a village where he works for two years, and then is rotated back to Barrow for a year to begin a new cycle. It also department policy to have two officers assigned to each village at any given time. It should be noted that in actuality PSO careers rarely follow the ideal cycle, and it is often the case that there is only one officer in a given village for significant lengths of time. This is due to manpower shortages, employee turnover, administrative and training leaves, vacations, transportation of prisoners, court appearances, and so on. It also follows from these constraints that at any given time an officer may find himself on

a TDY (temporary duty assignment) in a village where he has never been before, among people he does not know and has little time to get to know. The main reason for TDYs is that a village has been left without **PSOs**.

The job of a PSO in Point Hope is a difficult one, as it is in other North Slope villages. It is a socially isolating job, as is police work in most communities, because officers are called upon to interact with individuals in law enforcement situations who are not pleased with the course of the interaction. Virtually no one who is arrested thinks that it is an appropriate thing to have happen to them, at least at the time. In a small community, where "a significant portion of the population is likely to be related to and/or empathize with the person being arrested, the officer's social problems are likely to be increased. Not only will he certainly have to deal on later occasions with the person he has arrested, but he will have to deal with others close to the **arrestee**. In larger communities, peace officers can interact with each other on a social basis to deal with the social isolation created by the nature of their jobs; in Point Hope there are, at any one time, a maximum of only two PSOS, so the opportunities for social interaction with fellow officers is very limited. To this social difficulty is added the fact that PSOS have to deal with, on a daily basis, issues of formal and informal social control in a cross-cultural context. Decisions that weigh the letter of the law, the spirit of the law, the policies and procedures of the NSB Department of Public Safety, the pragmatics of social processes in the community, and the needs of the local population must be made on a constant basis.

Having PSOS who are non-Natives is a double-edged sword for Point Hope. On the one hand, it is a job that many consider virtually impossible for a local resident to perform, primarily because of the multiplicity of ties that residents have to other residents of the village. Given that factions exist **in** Point Hope (as seen in the political arena in the workings of **the Tigara** Corporation, for example, or on the more overtly interpersonal **level** with the sometimes sharp rivalry between the two dance groups in the community), it seems difficult to imagine how a permanent local resident could perform the job without other people continually thinking he was either showing favoritism or being unduly harsh with residents he was close or distant to. On the other hand, the differences in cultural understandings between officers and the public they serve have sometimes created difficulties. This is made **all** the more difficult due to the fact that PSOS are not separable in the village from their job status -- residents tend to relate to PSOS not as individuals but as PSOS no matter what the context. It is not the type of job that is shed at the end of a shift; rather, the fact that an individual is a PSO **colors** virtually all other interactions he has with community members. Functional **social** integration of PSOS with the community in 1988 was also hindered by the fact neither of the PSOS had children or **non-spousal** relatives in the community. One of the officers lived alone while **his** wife and children were **in the** lower-48; the other was living with his wife, but no children, in Point Hope.

This is not to say that there is not community recognition of the individuality of particular officers. Some have been well-liked, others not. Job performance is also clearly differentiated from personal likes and dislikes as well. In the recent past there was an officer who was not particularly well-liked in the community, and this was initially interpreted by the researcher to mean that he probably wasn't doing a very good job of law enforcement in the eyes of the community. Upon further research, this turned out to be clearly not the case for the majority of individuals spoken to. The officer was seen as doing a good job, and spontaneous comments were made as to how the town was different and had more out-of-control behavior when this particular officer was out of the community. There are many in the village who are

in general not overtly friendly toward officers, but who recognize the need for consistent, predictable law enforcement.

Another category of non-Natives in the village are those who, for want of a better descriptor, are religious specialists. In 1988, this was a small group consisting of the Assembly of God minister, his wife and, by extension, his children. Church services and related events, such as Sunday school for children and movies that examine life issues; are run by the minister and his wife. Their influence on the life of the community is strongly disproportionate to their small number. As discussed in the section on churches in the community, services and particularly Sunday school draw a significant attendance, particularly the Sunday school. In terms of social interaction in Point Hope, the Assembly of God minister's family is tied in to several networks. One of these is the teacher/school administrator group, which is a relationship that has resulted at least in part due to the fact that the minister's wife is employed at the school.

Like teachers and **PSOs**, the Assembly of God minister, in terms of interactions with other village residents, is not socially separable from his job status. Just as interactions with Public Safety Officers are always predicated on the fact that this individual is "a cop," the Assembly of God minister's interactions with the village are predicated on the fact that he is "a preacher." PSOS are held to a high standard of behavior and any legal infraction is considered very serious indeed. According to one PSO, one of the more difficult things about the job in the community was that he felt that he was never accepted as a person, never made to feel a part of the village. The Assembly of God minister is held to a high moral standard, and any incident that may possibly be construed as improper is subject to comment. For neither PSOS nor the minister are there a group of peers with whom they can interact and "let their guard down." There is no group of individuals in the village with whom they have enough in common to be able to step out of their primary social role. In larger systems, police officers can relax with other officers -- police don't police other police -- and one does not have to spend time defining boundaries of proper and improper behavior or worry about consistency across contexts. As for the Assembly of God minister there is no group of peers in the community that he does not have to minister to. This is a noted point of stress. He characterizes a personally difficult aspect of working in the community as the fact that he tends to see people most often when they are in crisis situations, and they tend much less frequently to come and share positive aspects of their lives when things are going well. That is to say, local residents tend see the minister, like the PSOS, as a resource who is likely to be there for a relatively short time (a "tour of duty" as it is sometimes expressed), and not so much as an individual to be fully integrated into the community as a person independent of job status.

The jobs of teacher, PSO, and Assembly of God minister, are filled by non-Native residents, and their **non-Inupiat** ethnicity is clearly a component of the social interactions with the rest of the village. A common thread of all of these jobs is that they involve attempts at behavior modification of village residents. Teachers, in addition to attempting to pass on a fund of knowledge and the intellectual tools necessary to get along in society, also are responsible for helping to instill behavioral patterns that facilitate the child's functioning in society. There is potential here for differing opinions on what should be taught based upon the cultural differences between those who run the educational system and the parents of the users of that system, and sometimes this potential is realized. In a fundamental sense, teachers attempt to get young residents to conform with the informal and unwritten laws of society. PSOS are responsible for performing formal social control, and there is the potential for differences of opinion on priorities of

enforcement within the village, based in part differences in expectations between local residents and those who run the department, and again, sometimes that potential is realized. Clearly, there are a significant number residents who feel that a lower-48 style of law enforcement is not what is needed or desired in the village context, nor is professional detachment, the norm in larger communities, what is called for in the village. PSOS attempt to get residents to conform with specific (secular) law (and in general “keep the peace”). The Assembly of God minister seeks to change the relations people have with each other, particularly in dysfunctional interactions (as does the **PSO**), and with the supernatural, and tries to get them to change to conform with the laws of God as described by the church. The **non-Inupiat** management of the Native Store in the village is in decision-making position that, in theory, responds to the purchasing preferences of the village. It is clear, however, that together with the corporation management in Anchorage, local management influences consumer behavior in the village through purchasing decisions.

Perhaps the most significant factor that distinguishes these groups of non-Natives from other village residents is the career or occupational orientation of their constituent members. For all of the individuals **in** these groups, the factor that determined migration to Point Hope, and continued residence there, is occupational. If anything were to happen to that employment, with very few exceptions, the employee and his or her family would leave Point Hope to live elsewhere. As a general rule, non-Native residents are much less flexible in their movement between jobs in the community than are **Inupiat** residents. A non-Native usually comes to Point Lay or Point Hope to do a specific job. Once the job ends, or the person decides to quit, that person most often leaves. There is usually no reason to stay in the village and try to get another, different job. Non-Native residents tend to be on a particular “career path” or are well-trained to do a particular job for which they came to the village. **Inupiat** residents often have a variety of jobs over the course of their employment history in the village. The lack of flexible response to changes in employment conditions, no doubt, contributes substantially to **the** fact that Point Hope and Point Lay have so few long-term non-Native residents in spite of the many non-Natives who have spent so much time in the community during this century. This can be contrasted to the pattern in Barrow, where non-Natives have begun to consider “home” in the way that the other NSB villages are not. There are more opportunities in Barrow, and more of the services that they are accustomed to. There is also a substantial **non-Inupiat** population, important for social purposes.

Another group of non-Natives in Point Hope that are usefully identifiable for analytic purposes are those **non-Inupiat** who have married into the community. By “married into the community” we mean those **non-Inupiat** individuals who have married an **Inupiat** resident of the village. This group of individuals varies significantly from the teachers, managers, PSOS, and religious specialists in that these individuals tend to come to the village not primarily for occupational opportunities, but rather for marriage/family reasons. Also, these individuals are diffused in the social structure of the community, although they tend not to be in leadership or supervisory positions. They do not form an interactive social group in the same sense as the teachers or the PSOS do. Unlike other **non-Inupiat** residents of the community, these individuals are not associated primarily with their current job status but, rather, are more closely identified by their kin relationships and individual attributes. In this sense, they are more similar socially to **Inupiat** residents of Point Hope than to other **non-Inupiat** residents. Constancy of career is not an orienting factor in decisions to remain in, leave, or return to the community, although simple availability or unavailability of employment has been a factor.

Another group of non-Natives who come to Point Hope are construction-related employees. These individuals are different from the other categories previously discussed, based on the criteria of length of residency. Typically, these individuals are seasonal employees and, further, their employment is tied to specific construction contracts. They form a sort of “underground transient” population dependent primarily on the flow of NSB construction money, and this flow has decreased dramatically over the past several years with the decline of the CIP program. Normally these individuals are housed in the Whaler’s Inn, and are thus spatially as well as socially isolated from other community residents. As temporary workers, these individuals normally make few attempts to interact with permanent community members, for several reasons. First is **simply** a matter of time. During a construction project, construction management will attempt to keep outside labor in the village a minimum amount of time due to the costs involved. This being the case, workers typically put in long days. Second, there are generally no public arenas within which to interact in the evenings in Point Hope. The only restaurant in the community is at the Whaler’s Inn where **the** crews are already staying. There are no public buildings open for leisure-time activities, with the exception of the school gym, but that is only periodically and with a limitation on the range of activities.

Short-Term Non-Inupiat Residents of Point Hope

Point Hope also sees several types of non-Native visitors come to the village. Administrative personnel from the North Slope Borough pass through on various projects. Often **these** people are viewed with some ambivalence because they are perceived as having the means to either improve financial or other benefits from the borough or reduce them. Researchers on various government projects pass through the village. Most of these researchers are also viewed ambivalently. On the research for this project, for example, several individuals expressed concern over how the information gathered would affect the community in the OCS lease sale and exploration and development processes. Some individuals viewed cooperation as helping to ensure that Point Hope would increase its chances for financial benefit, primarily through employment, from any development that might occur. Others felt more concern over degree of input the community would have in the process. That is, they felt that the community had essentially no input into the process. They felt they were heard, but not listened to. They did not necessarily blame the researchers for this, because **Inupiat** informants commonly saw researchers as powerless pawns in the oil development game, too. In general, in Point Hope as in Point Lay, it would appear that researchers over whom the village has little control are perceived to represent a substantial risk to the community and to represent so little a chance of benefit to the community that the risk of cooperation is unwarranted. The risk perceived to be posed by researchers is quite complex. The roots of this are likely to be found in the following **factors**: (1) first, many **Inupiat** apparently feel, simultaneously, both superior and inferior to **non-Inupiat**; (2) second, many **Inupiat** apparently see **non-Inupiat** as not really being concerned with the effects of development on the **Inupiat**; rather, **non-Inupiat** simply do what they have to do to get around the laws concerning potential effects on the **Inupiat** in the cheapest and most time-effective way possible; (3) third, many **Inupiat** seem to feel that any substantive information revealed to researchers will simply more effectively allow (2) to be done to them. Almost all informants are uncomfortable about all research done on the North Slope, while at the same time accepting researchers as human beings trying to do as little harm (and maybe even to provide some benefits) to the local population as possible. Most **Inupiat** simply understand that the research system was not constructed to serve their interests and is not under their control or influence. The NSB is in the process of trying to change this somewhat, with mixed success.

State and federal officials also come through the village periodically and their reception seems to be primarily a function of familiarity and personality. Individual administrators, researchers, and officials who have the opportunity to visit the community several times become known as individuals, and when they make an effort to meet local residents seem to be warmly treated even when the reason for their visit is controversial. For example, in the spring of 1988, an official from the federal Fish and Wildlife Service visited Point Hope to meet with people on what were potentially very controversial hunting regulations. He has visited the community on several occasions and obviously made an effort to get to know people in the community. Additionally, he brought his wife and child along on the trip and they were present for the first informal part of the meeting and introduced to all present. This had the effect of transforming the official into a "real person," and was obviously a gesture that was well-received.

For many of the **non-Inupiat** passing through Point Hope, even for some of those staying for substantial periods of time, life in the village appears to be **one-dimensional**. There are **non-Inupiat** living in **Point Hope** who are decidedly "in, but not of" the village. These individuals have a community of orientation outside of the village, and are in Point Hope for specific career or financial goals. It may be said that these people have a "cognitive residence" elsewhere in addition to their spatial residence in Point Hope. For these individuals the experience of living in Point Hope is consciously a phase in their lives, one that has a perceived beginning and end. The phase is in service of other goals that are external to the local social environment; financial and personal goals are being realized in a local context, with reference to "real" kith and kin outside of the village. The Point Hope experience is one that takes place in relative isolation from the matrix of the rest of their **lives**. This is significantly different from the social context of the people among whom they are living, the permanent residents of the community, and clearly influences decision-making processes on everything from depth of friendships to consumption-spending patterns.

Even with the phenomena of having a "cognitive residence" elsewhere, one does not find in Point Hope many examples of short-term residents exhibiting irresponsibility due to social anonymity that has been described of non-Native residents in other coastal Alaska communities (Impact Assessment 1983a; Downs 1985). In these instances, short-term residents engage in behaviors that they would not engage in in their home communities due to constraints applied as a result of the presence of socially significant others. (This behavioral context could be termed the "Ft. Lauderdale syndrome," after the high school and college students who, on spring break, engage in behaviors that they would not engage in around socially significant others back home.) Social anonymity equates to ineffective informal social controls which leads to a lack of social responsibility. This has been manifested **in** some other coastal communities in the form of public drunkenness, contentiousness, brawling, assaults, sexual harassment, obnoxious or lewd behavior, and general obvious instrumentality of interactions. That these types of behaviors are seldom seen **in** Point Hope among non-Natives transients is attributed to the time pressure of short-term employment, a small transient population at any given time, the total lack of a "casual transient" population where people "just end up" in town (Point Hope is not a place to which people "drift" to look for employment), and the fact that there is no public consumption of alcohol in the community. This behavior is also evident in Point Lay, but there "are fewer **non-Inupiat** construction transients in Point Lay than in Point Hope and the lack of a peer group of much size combined with the lack of public places to go makes it much less obvious.

For the **non-Inupiat** residents of Point Hope, their experience in the community is also colored by the difference between their expectations of the community before they came to Point Hope and the reality of the community as they perceive it upon arrival and after having lived there for a period of time. This, of course, varies from individual to individual, and also depends upon how the individual's previous experience had prepared him or her for the Point Hope experience. Several of the non-Native residents of the community interviewed stated that they came to Point Hope, in part, because it was "an adventure" or a chance live on the "frontier" but found it to be not so adventuresome once they arrived. Others candidly admit that they came to the North Slope in general or Point Hope in particular because they needed respite from another context where their lives were not going all that well. Unfortunately for some, residency in Point Hope is not a solution, particularly given the difficulties associated with living in a community that is culturally quite different from previous experience and where support networks are sometimes hard to establish.

There was little direct ethnic-based animosity observed in Point Hope. There were comments made at public forums, such as during the NSB mayor's visit to Point Hope, that could be interpreted as prejudicial toward non-Natives but such comments tend to be stated in general terms. During field research for this report there was only one incidence of animosity directed toward the researchers. Two of the **fieldworkers** were walking on one of the streets of Point Hope early in the morning. A young **Inupiat** man, perhaps in his late 20s, approached head-on at a high rate of speed on a **three-wheeler**, and applied the brakes late enough that the researchers had to move out of the way in order to not be hit, with the machine coming to a stop a couple of feet beyond where the two were standing. The researchers were walking on the right side of the road, leaving ample space for this individual to pass without inconvenience. Immediately upon stopping, his tone was **confrontational**. He wanted to know who the researchers worked for, and noted that he had seen them walking around for about a week. He related with some vigor that "you could pay us to walk around." After a few minutes of conversation, the tone of the interaction changed noticeably, and the individual became quite amicable. His main contention was that there were too many whites imported to work in the village when, in fact, Natives could and should be hired because "we are starving." He was additionally irritated that morning by **Tigara** Corporation because "they do not do enough for the village" and specifically because they closed the restaurant that day to anyone not staying in the Whaler's Inn. This meant that even though he had the money for breakfast that morning he still couldn't eat there and because of this he felt that the corporation runs the restaurant "for the whites."

Less directly **confrontational** interactions, but ones that nevertheless were hostile to a degree, were experienced at various times. As the researcher in Point Hope became known as an individual such animosity decreased markedly. As friendship connections with resident **Inupiat** are established outsiders become integrated, at least superficially, into social networks within the village. Hostility directed to an anonymous outsider carries little or no personal expense with it; to be hostile to someone who is a friend of other residents is a different undertaking.

The Role of Television (and Other Media) in Sociocultural Change in Point Lay and Point Hope

When Point Hope residents leave the community to live elsewhere, individuals vary widely in their success at integration into the fabric of life in new communities in Alaska, or the lower-48. Perception of what life is like outside of Point Hope, for

those individuals who have never lived outside of the community, is shaped by a number of factors including contact with **non-Inupiat** residents in the community -- but very strong images indeed are presented by television and first impressions formed on trips outside.

Inupiat children have images of life in the lower-48 that are significantly different from those perceived in everyday life in the lower-48, just as lower-48 children are not likely to have a very accurate picture of what life is like in a northern village based on television images. A fundamental difference between the two, however, is that children in the village are continually exposed to television images from the lower-48. Clearly, the images presented on television do not accurately reflect **life** as it is lived, and while we did not focus on this as a research topic, these images surely influence ways that outsiders and life outside are perceived. The most popular television programming observed in Point Hope was professional wrestling -- shows that were clearly not representational of other aspects of life. Action shows and others that are popular are more representational in appearance, but do not provide accurate images of life.

According to a report on the social and cognitive effects of the introduction of television on rural Alaskan Native children:

Television does not have simple or direct effects: most television effects depend on other factors including age, sex, **ethnicity**, and previous exposure to the "lower 48" majority culture.

Nonetheless, television has significant impact on a host of important social and cultural phenomena. Exposure to television strongly influences children's sex-role stereotyping, perceptions of several aspects of both their own and the majority culture, and some cognitive abilities. Furthermore, experience with commercial television affects other media usage of both parents and children, and impacts both their knowledge of the world "outside" and their beliefs concerning the reality of what is seen on television, a window on that world. For the most part, these effects of television are actualized very quickly and although a few phenomena evolve over television exposure, most effects are fully in place after brief viewing experience (Forbes et al. 1984:xi).

Unfortunately, the nature of the influence of television, in and of itself, on various aspects of life in the villages is ill-understood. This is the case because there are many parallel channels of information flow into the villages. It would be interesting, for example, to know the influence of television-on culture change, cultural values, rate of language loss, and socialization. It is impossible, however, without an extremely rigorous methodology and a longitudinal study design, to separate out television as an ongoing cause for change from the changes brought about by radio, the school system, visiting other communities, contacts with people coming into the villages, various bureaucracies that influence the community, and so on. Clearly, at the time of VanStone's work in the mid-1950s (**VanStone** 1962) there was a significant influence, for example, on tastes in clothing worn and music listened to in Point Hope from radio, recorded music, and movies available in the village, and these things also surely influenced perceptions of life outside of the village. It must be kept in mind, however, just how mobile the population of Point Hope is. Every adult contacted in Point Hope during the course of the research for this project, for example, had spent a significant part of their lifetime outside of

the village for reasons related to education, or employment (or both), or to be with kin who were pursuing such goals.

In the absence of a study that compared attitudes, values, and so on, immediately prior to and immediately after introduction of television, it is impossible to benchmark the influence of the mere presence of television in the two communities. As noted, Forbes et al. (1984) have documented the influence of the introduction of television in a sample of other villages in the state, and their findings indicated that the social and cognitive influence of television was significant. According to that study the full range of effects of television in the community were seen shortly after its introduction and after short viewing times. This would lead to the hypothesis that the fact that Point Hope has an array of programming, and therefore more information available and perhaps more focused attention viewing time, is not all that significant when attempting to understand the differences between effects of the media in the two villages. Two general aspects of the influence of television in Point Lay and Point Hope that may be discussed are influences on perception of life outside of the community, and influences on patterns of interaction (e.g., visiting) within the communities.

In discussions with individuals in Point Hope, it is clear that images presented on television do influence perceptions of life outside of the community, and in particular life in the larger urban areas of the United States. While it is understood that what is seen on TV is not really representative of day-to-day life outside (not everyone is involved in car chases and shoot-outs every day), the action shows that are popular in Point Hope typically portray life in places like Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York as intimidating and violent, and this general portrayal of the quality of life Outside is thought to ring true. While watching such shows, comments were not infrequently made about what terrible places those must be to live. Even though the individuals in question may have actually lived in those or similar cities in the past, it is apparently assumed that the cities have grown more violent recently.

A difference between Point Hope and Point Lay is that in Point Lay television reception is poor due to the absence of a cable television system. As a result, less television is watched in Point Lay, but videocassette recorders (VCRs) are popular. Point Lay teenagers exhibited preferences for "slasher" films and films with sexual overtones. Adults' tastes were more wide-ranging and interest was shown in most any film that had action.

Television in Point Lay does date from the building of the power plant at the **Kokolik** River delta site in the early 1980s. There were relatively few sets then as the electrical supply was not the steadiest and only one channel could be received with any clarity. One informant said about this period that the electricity was scheduled to be on only from the early morning until the power plant operator went home at night, usually ten or eleven at night. She joked that the only time the power stayed on longer was when the power plant operator wanted to watch a good movie on TV. This was a joke about the operator, but also on the gullibility of the researcher as the one channel Point Lay received at that time did not have late night movies.

Currently in Point Lay television reception is still quite limited. The NSB will subsidize a cable network in the village, which is already largely in place. Some of the cable lines and connections from the satellite dish to various homes need to be repaired, but otherwise the system is operable. No one in Point Lay, however, wishes to take charge of the maintenance of the system and collection of the fees. These fees would be minimal at present, although the NSB would eventually wish to turn the

system over to some village entity and phase out the operating subsidy. It is apparently the **local** fear of being in charge of a system running at a deficit that hinders its present operation.

Another advantage of the cable system is that it allows the system operator to broadcast videotapes over a local access channel within the village, or at least **to** those households who have a functioning cable hookup. Unfortunately, not all households do, due to the problems discussed above. Also, in the absence of a cable system operator, it usually falls to the village coordinator to arrange for the showing of such programs. They are not a frequent occurrence since the village coordinator has many other duties, copyright restrictions reduce the possible number of programs that can be shown, and the choice of tapes available in the village is very limited to begin with. Thus, use of this capability is limited at present. The school, IRA Native Council, and other agencies and organizations have not made use of it at all.

Given the effective lack of television viewing options, **local** people have expressed a great interest in VCRs. **Galginaitis** observed that in **Nuiqsut** in 1982-83 there were a number of households that had VHS, Beta, or laser disk systems (**Galginaitis** et al. 1984). In Point Lay this question has been resolved **in** favor of the VHS format (as also seems to be the case in **Nuiqsut**, judging from a recent, but brief, revisit). VCR ownership is not yet widespread in Point Lay, but nearly anyone who wanted to watch a movie could find a house with a VCR machine where he would be welcome to watch. Those individuals who do own VCRs also own tapes, of course, but no one owns a great many. It is obvious that nearly everyone in the village with any interest **in** movies has watched all of these tapes several times. It is also clear that the owners of VCRs do not buy new tapes very often. Most of the tapes are obtained either as gifts from people passing through or when villagers are 'outside' for various reasons. The cost of movie tapes is cited as the reason for the infrequency of buying new tapes, and of course there is **no** convenient way to **lease** tapes in Point Lay (whereas videotape rental outlets do exist in Barrow and **Wainwright**). It is interesting in this regard that one of the teachers in Point Lay, when faced with this problem, arranged to be sent a variety of tapes periodically, either from a rental outlet or the North Star Public Library in Fairbanks. No local **Inupiat** resident has followed up this example and done similarly. This is precisely analogous to the observation that several **non-Inupiat** in the villages receive periodic shipments of library books from Fairbanks, but that no **Inupiat** were observed to do so. It is not that **Inupiat** are not aware of these possibilities, but they certainly do not appear to make use of them.

There are two "public" VCR machines in Point Lay. One is in the community building and is very seldom used. Occasionally someone will play a tape in it but for the most part the community building television is tuned to the main channel received in Point Lay (Rat Net). There are usually a few tapes on top of the community building television, primarily **old** Kung Fu movies. The **Cully** Camp also has a machine. This has been primarily for the use of those people who stay there, but villagers have also gone to the **Cully** Camp to visit these people and ended up staying for a movie. Also, for a period during the fieldwork, **Cully** Camp lent out tapes, and even formally rented them. This was after a change was made in the person operating the camp and was fostered by villagers observations that the camp had tapes that they had not seen. Their constant requests to borrow these from the operator prompted her to get permission from the **Cully** Corporation to lend them out. As these tapes had been there when she came, they were **Cully** Corporation's property and she did not want to make the final decision. **Cully** Corporation agreed to this, let her establish lending policies, and the system flourished for a while. Unfortunately, it ran into a snag

when it became clear that most tapes were not returned promptly, were often lent out informally from one person to another so that it was impossible to track any given tape down, and that such a system in the final analysis meant that there were few or no tapes for **Cully** Camp residents to watch.

After this operator had been in Point Lay for a time she started to receive shipments of tapes from a friend in Fairbanks. These were purchased, so they were the operator's tapes and she was hesitant to lend them out under the then-current system. She thus arranged with **Cully** Corporation to rent them out, with the money going to the **Cully** Corporation, and this did make the entire system more accountable. People did not "stockpile" tapes in the same way as they had before and tapes were returned promptly in most cases. All tapes that the operator received were viewed by at least a limited segment of the Point Lay movie watching population, but it was obvious that her tastes were not reflective of theirs to any large degree and that no attempt was made to cater to villagers' tastes. Some people still did not return tapes promptly, but the payment of the small fee and the assumption of the responsibility to replace lost tapes made the system much more workable. The effect of none of these newer tapes not catering to the tastes of the perceived "less responsible" segment of the viewing public (young men looking for tapes containing or combining pornography, violence, and horror) cannot be discounted, but the weight to be given to it is unclear.

A word can be said about these tastes. Point Lay **Inupiat** prefer action in their films. It apparently makes little difference if the action is a car chase scene, Kung Fu fighting, or professional wrestling. It does make a difference, if the subject is sports. Apparently for a sports program to be interesting it has to be something familiar. Basketball, wrestling, and fishing are popular. Football, in general, is not. Romantic movies and movies that deal with the relationships between people are in general thought of as boring, and are **watchable** only if they contain at least one good action sequence. "Indiana Jones" and "Crocodile **Dundee**" movies are immensely popular in Point Lay (as are any mystery /spy/adventure/western/police movies that include action). In Point Hope, professional wrestling appeared to be the television show of choice among recurring shows. Movies were also very popular. During the fall football was popular and in winter there was considerable interest in basketball; sports programming is obviously season-dependent. In Point Hope daytime soap operas were popular as well, and were often watched during lunch breaks of employed workers who returned to their home to eat. In both villages nature shows were popular and were often on in the background. It was not unusual for hunters to stop the conversation and comment on wildlife as it appeared on these shows.

Taste is also clearly age-dependent. The above preferences are for **Inupiat** range from childhood to their mid-forties or so. **Inupiat** above that age still enjoy action but prefer the less gory variety. Teenagers are especially fond of horror/slasher movies, which most other age groups do not watch. Older **Inupiat** also enjoy nature movies and programs a great deal and **will** often choose to watch them over other available programming. Younger viewers will watch nature programs, but will often choose something else if they have the option. Predictably, this is evidenced by the frequency of viewing "Miami Vice" (which must have entered syndication just about the time of the fieldwork). Reruns of the earlier shows were aired quite often, even in Point Lay, and were popular with younger viewers because of the violent action. Older viewers explicitly said that it was a bad program because of the graphic nature of much of the violence, and would not watch it. If the television happened to be tuned to it and someone else was watching it, however, they most often would not change the channel. They would merely turn their attention elsewhere or go do something else.

The media has had little apparent influence on community perceptions of OCS development in either Point Lay or Point Hope. There are individuals who watch television news on a regular basis, but show no particularly noticeable concern about the oil leasing program as it appears in the news. Rather, they are more concerned with economic news and foreign affairs. National and international news programs on networks, such as the Cable News Network (**CNN**), are more popular than state news, which is perceived as being too much dominated by coverage of Anchorage. Any local news story, about any topic, does **generate** a great deal of interest. The recent **ExxonValdez** accident, and the resulting coverage, has resulted in a heightened interest. Even much of this takes the same form as previous knowledge, however, which consists mainly of a story pieced together from rumors or stories told by other people. The original source of such information is never remembered. Thus, a question asked of BP Exploration oil representatives when they were in Point Lay was addressed to the issue of whether the news was actually covering up the extent of the damage the oil spill in Prince William Sound was causing. The question was asked because "people" who had been flying in the area had said that it was a lot worse than the news reports made it out to be. Similarly, Point Lay people have a **supply** of other disaster stories which are "community property" and for which no source information allowing confirmation exists.

That patterns of interaction have changed as a result of television is obvious from discussions with residents and from observations of how individuals now spend their time. While television is popular to the point of nearly always being on when one goes to visit in people's homes (and people obviously have the option of turning off the television set at any time), individuals do comment that a detrimental effect of television is that people do not visit each other as much as they used to. Observations indicate that television watching is the most popular evening entertainment in the community (overall, as opposed to bingo which is the most popular steady public entertainment activity), and **it** is not hard to imagine that this has cut down on the frequency of contact with others outside of the household. It is also obvious that even when individuals do visit one another, when the television is on it is often a distraction from the individuals socializing with each other. Attention drifts from the conversation to the television and back again. It would be difficult to quantify the effects of this, but that television viewing does have an influence on the frequency of contact between households, and the quality of the interactions that do take place, is apparent.

In terms of timely communication of news events, television has a much more pervasive influence in both Point Lay and Point Hope than do print media. In Point Hope, daily newspapers from Anchorage were available at the Native Store at the beginning of the first field period in August 1987. Subsequently, no daily papers were available, although Barrow papers were sometimes available. Daily newspapers were not available in Point Lay during any portion of the research for this project.

Outside Institutions and Sociocultural Change

There are a number of institutions which have appeared on the North Slope in the past twenty years which are essentially **Inupiat** in their membership but **non-Inupiat** in their form, and these have been the source of change as well. These "local" institutions were formed and are structured in response to outside institutions or to counter outside forces, such as the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission. The NSB itself is perhaps the largest and most obvious of these institutions. Its structure is defined **by the** need to conform to the requirements of a larger system than that of

the North Slope region. There was no formal or legal requirement that the NSB be formed (as there was with the ANCSA corporations). These institutions are attempts by the local population to assert local political/regulatory control over resources important to their current livelihood. Those that seem to have been most successful are those which resulted most clearly from local initiative in their formation -- the already mentioned NSB itself and the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission. The recognition of this is in the attempted adoption of the AEW model by both the **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** populations in dealing with similar concerns. The Eskimo Walrus Commission is one example, but perhaps even more germane for this case study is the similar commission formed to deal with **beluga** and one which is now in the discussion stage whose interest is to look out for **Inupiat** interests in the process of regulating migratory birds. All NSB communities which harvest these resources will have representation on these bodies.

Present day **Inupiat** on the North Slope live entangled in a web of state, federal, and international agencies and regulation, in addition to some **Inupiat** organizations developed at least partially to counter those forces. Whaling and other subsistence activities are subject to external regulations and pressures. Local control over the school must be constantly asserted to be maintained. Oil and gas sales often seem to be the main link of communication between the NSB and larger governmental agencies. Health care and social service agencies which provide essential services to the communities are often not well understood.

There is a long list of federal agencies that have been active in the area which includes the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Bureau of Land Management, the Minerals Management Service, the Fish and Wildlife Service, Housing and Urban Development, and the Indian Health Service. All are still active in the affairs of both Point Lay and Point Hope. On the state level, Point Hope is in a significantly different position than Point Lay. Point Hope is on the cusp of the zones of influence of two regional centers, Barrow and **Kotzebue**. A good example is the fact that health care in Point Hope is provided by a combination of services from the North Slope Borough and **Maniilaq**, a regional entity based in **Kotzebue**. As a result of this overlap of services, there are at times programs that are double-covered and others that "fall between the cracks" administratively and are not offered by either, such as an alcohol abuse prevention program.

As noted in the section on employment, government in Point Lay and Point Hope exert an important role in the local economies by providing local jobs and fringe benefits. The local-regional government structure in Point Hope, for example, is quite unlike associated organizations in the **lower-48**. The NSB is a relatively distant source of employment and funds, with respect to the immediate involvement of Point Hope residents with the day-to-day function of the NSB. The City of Point Hope government is, in many ways, subsumed to the borough, and there is often talk that mistakes were made in ceding several of the municipal powers to the NSB at the time of borough incorporation. The Point Hope IRA government has only recently been reorganized and reactivated, and has its own agenda that has more to do with the protection of resources than governance. However, the people involved with the IRA are very aware that this may change with new legal interpretations of the degrees of Native American sovereignty. There appears to be some sentiment that a greater degree of local control will be exerted over village affairs if the IRA comes to take on more governmental powers, but it is too early in the life of the present IRA to assess this. Otherwise, for the most part, the business of government in Point Hope is, from the local perspective, the creation of buildings and jobs, and the subsidization of many aspects of life including housing, energy needs, and health care. Government seems to be thought of primarily as an avenue for the receipt of economic benefits in

the form of employment or other programs. At the same time, the local Native corporation, which is organizationally an economic entity, is paragonovernmental in its attributes. Point Lay, despite the fact that it is not formally incorporated under the laws of the state, is treated in much the same way by the state and the borough as Point Hope.

Transportation and Sociocultural Change

Transportation has several aspects which influence **sociocultural** and socioeconomic change. **As is** documented in many places, increased availability to cash has meant increased access to mechanized transportation devices which facilitate the harvest **of** subsistence resources. The increase in frequency and ease of travel to the North Slope from anywhere off the Slope has had other results. The North Slope is no longer as isolated and has access to items that were only recently unobtainable. Point Lay is poorly served by air carriers compared to Point Hope. It is much more difficult to get to the population and service centers to the south from Point Lay than it is from Point Hope, and lack of efficient service influences the movement of goods as well as people through the community.

Barrow is the hub of the North Slope transportation system. While the North Slope is not yet cosmopolitan, Barrow has become a socially complex community and is certainly no longer the "largest Eskimo village" it was once reputed to be. There are now distinct and clear differences between Barrow and the outlying villages (especially the smallest ones). This development has so far been due mainly to the formation of the NSB in response to onshore oil development (and to the formation of the **Barrow-**based regional Native corporation under **ANCSA, with the form and development of ANCSA** itself due in large part to North Slope onshore oil development (see Downs 1985). At this phase of development, the industry now seems to be on the decline (**Prudhoe** Bay is 50% depleted of recoverable oil) and future development **will** probably move offshore, which in turn will result in a decline **in** NSB revenues. Commercial transportation patterns will most likely remain the same, however, and continue to exert present patterns of influence.

Barrow, however, does not act in the capacity of transportation hub for Point Hope. It is in the wrong direction when people from Point Hope want to travel to Anchorage, Fairbanks, or outside of the state, and it is expensive to get to Barrow. Flights are less frequent and Barrow does not have as much to offer in the way of services and shopping opportunities as the communities of **Kotzebue** and Nome to the south.

Another aspect of the present transportation system on the North Slope is the apparent contradiction between the difficulty and expense of travel for residents, whether traveling within the NSB or between it and the "outside" world, and the apparent ease with which development and change spread in the area by means of transporting people from off the Slope onto the Slope. The **Inupiat**, as individuals or as a governmental body or a society, do not have the resources (nor probably the inclination) to make distance and climate on the North Slope immaterial. On the other hand, development interests in the **Prudhoe** area have seemingly been able to accomplish this themselves within the limited context of their own economic interests.

There is a lot of travel on the part of NSB officials among the villages on the Slope. This creates a type of interaction between representatives and their constituents that is of a different nature than if villagers had continuous access. The officials can interact with the villagers in the villages at a time of their

choosing, but it is not easy for individual villagers to interact with officials in the officials' offices whenever they want to. It is an expensive undertaking to get to Barrow, and it is not a **place** passed through on the way to another destination, particularly for Point Hope residents.

Little in the way of overland travel between villages occurs in Point Lay or Point Hope. Occasionally, individuals from Point Lay travel to **Wainwright** by means of **snowmachine**. During the period of 1987-88 the only Point Lay residents who are known to have traveled overland to another village were men who went to **Wainwright** in the spring for whaling. Several **Wainwright** residents did travel to Point Lay by **snowmachine** to assist in the Search and Rescue operation in the winter of 1987-88. There has been no known overland travel between the villages of Point Hope and Point Lay in the past year, nor between Point Hope and the villages to the south, although this is reported as not unusual.

Charters to Point Lay for the most part come out of Barrow, as there are more planes there. There are charters from Point Lay that go south -- before Kotzebue went down they were fairly common as the fare to **Kotzebue** was less than that to Barrow and alcohol was more accessible and the general shopping was better. Now these charters are far less common, although there have been a few to **Kotzebue** and even one to Nome (which was explicitly labeled as a drinking person's flight). Most charters still go north, and when any large number of people have to go somewhere -- a funeral or to a whale feast -- they tend to charter.

Equally important, however, is the recognition that transportation is still expensive. Air travel and air freight are not cheap. Water transport (except for freight), in addition to being expensive, is not very feasible. Due to climatic conditions the ocean is open perhaps three months a year and, even when open, there are few unloading facilities available. Most coastal villages need to transfer loads to lighters when **loading** or unloading cargo ships or barges.

There has been some concern in Point Hope recently with the announced discontinuation of scheduled Northern Air Freight service to the community. They are now only going to ship when they have a certain load -- people are concerned that they will no longer get fresh fruit and other perishables, as they would have to sit in **Kotzebue** until a full load was reached. This is already a problem in Point Lay, as was discussed above. Part of the store's inventory problem is that Cape Smythe often warehouses their stuff for them in Barrow until there is a large amount (or rather, until there is no other mail to send). All mail from Point Lay goes through Barrow and can be quite delayed. Recently, most major purchases in Point Lay of large items have been sent up on the "free freight" flights bringing up materials for the construction projects going on. This is on a space- and weight-available basis, of course.

The contradiction implicit in this "simple" description of facilities and services has profound consequences. The ease of access to the North Slope by outside influences contrasts sharply with the difficulty and expense of mobility for the resident population. Oil executives and NSB functionaries can travel when and as needed, as can state officials for the most part. Village residents generally can afford to travel for personal reasons when they have to, but villages find that unless the NSB is willing to pay for them to travel that the village is most often left out of important decisions in Barrow and Anchorage. Outside influence through television is even more one-sided, as even though viewers realize that the programming is prepared for a different audience and does not reflect a true picture of reality, the sheer repetition to which they are exposed tends to blunt the effect

of this realization. Lack of money **and** time limits the personal experience these people can gain to counter the impressions formed by television and other media channels, so once again access to the slope by outside influences is greater than vice versa. Quantification of this difference and its effects is unfortunately minimal.

OCS Activity, Oil Development, and Concerns about Change

As noted, no media coverage, either print or electronic, of OCS development was observed during the field periods in either Point Hope or Point Lay. Individuals in the communities gleaned information on OCS activity from a number of sources, most of them involving direct contact with individuals from outside of the village. In Point Hope, several individuals voiced awareness of the (then) upcoming Lease Sale 109 and were most interested in the expected level of development. Individuals in the **Tigara** Corporation were interested from the perspective of community development; at least one other individual was interested from the perspective of the business opportunities that might be presented by development. In Point Lay, there were also individuals aware of the lease sale. What was unclear to them, however, is where the socioeconomic studies, such as the Point Lay Case Study, fit into the process. There was considerable suspicion that the studies were designed not to feed into a decision-making process early in the lease sequence but, rather, to plan development and, at best (from the local perspective) facilitate understanding of social impacts after the fact. Most individuals interviewed were aware of the lease sales in a general way. Most also felt that not enough information was made available to the local populations likely to be affected by the lease sales, but it is important to note that the people also were not likely to seek out more information. Most people, in fact, had little idea of how to obtain such information and those few individuals with a keen interest in the lease **sale** used the researchers as a guide to recent information.

This was perhaps most evident in a meeting held by Shell Western E&R Inc. in Point Lay on April 27, 1989. The announced reason for this meeting was to share information with the communities most likely to be concerned with the exploratory drilling to take place in the **Chukchi** Sea that summer (lease sale area 109). This project had been known to the people of Point Lay for some time, as they had held a similar meeting in Point Lay on July 20, 1988 for the same purpose. Yet another meeting, set for December **13**, 1988 had been canceled due to problems at the Point Lay end (first conflicts with a scheduled school program, and then weather). From the written reports of the first meeting and our observations of the second it is clear that there is little communication occurring at these meetings. Each side (if we can be so simplistic) seems to understand the position of the other, but to at the same time not accept the basic premise **of** that position. Thus, the oil companies understand the potential risk to subsistence resources which exploration (and potential development) entails, but finds that the risk/benefit ratio is small enough to have no qualms about proceeding. To them this is an economic decision. Since the **Inupiat** of Point Lay are not seeing any of the direct monetary proceeds from either exploration or development in the Chukchi, but certainly anticipate great risk to subsistence resources which they currently harvest, their risk/benefit ratio is very high indeed. What the oil company representatives failed to offer was a way to either reduce the risks perceived by the **Inupiat** or to increase the benefits for the **Inupiat**. This would be difficult in any case, as **any** possibility of harm to marine subsistence resources is seen as too large by Point Lay **Inupiat**, and the oil company representatives were not willing to open negotiations on the spot for an escrow account to hold funds to reimburse Point Lay people in case there was an accident

which reduces subsistence resources. There were no doubt a number of reasons for this. They were not authorized to discuss such arrangements, and did not have the authority to agree to anything like that. They did not want to appear to even give tacit support to the idea without knowing what the central office thought about such an escrow account compromise. The amount of money mentioned by the Point Lay mayor to be put into such an account seemed very high indeed (a suggested \$10 billion if our observer heard correctly). While this proposal may indicate that Point Lay **Inupiat** are at least willing to consider how much subsistence resources and hunting activities are worth to them in terms of cold cash, clearly the price would not be low. It could be that the demanded price was so high to make the point that these resources are indeed nearly irreplaceable to and inseparable from the **Inupiat**, and that another way to make this point is simply to suggest as an equivalent an item that is known to be of great value to the people you are talking to.

Several general points can be made from the events of this meeting and our talking to people about it. Such meetings are the major contact between oil companies and village residents, and one of the major sources of information on oil development. The "typical" villager will also receive information from those few people in the village who are active in seeking information on oil development (from NSB sources such as the Planning Department, from newspapers on their trips out of the village, and so on) and from media coverage of the oil industry (in Point Lay, almost exclusively television news, with an occasional newspaper and news magazine). The knowledge thus gained is for the most part superficial, and from it most village residents receive more emotional reinforcement of their opposition to local oil development than substantive understanding of the risks and benefits of such development.

Everyone in the village is aware to some extent of the media coverage of oil development in Alaska. Within the village this takes the form of television news, since there is no one who receives a daily newspaper (which would be terribly out of date in any event), Television news covering Alaskan oil development, at least in Point Lay, is almost always devoted to the latest crisis (oil spills, leaks, environmental issues), sometimes to ongoing and projected lease sales, and almost never to an assessment of the oil industry in the Alaskan (and North Slope) economy. The typical Point Lay resident knows vaguely that NSB revenues are based on taxes derived from oil production, and that onshore production is many times more rewarding in an economic sense for the NSB than offshore development would be. However, the typical village resident will not give a detailed or concrete argument for his opposition to offshore development beyond saying there are no economic benefits to the village and great risk (in his estimation) to subsistence resources. Typically, such a person will also be opposed in principal to onshore development but will then say that given the demonstrated ability of oil companies to deal with accidents on land, the fact that the worst case scenarios on land have only limited or localized impacts (in terms of land area, amount or number of subsistence resources affected, and/or time duration), and the NSB reliance on oil production (facilities) for its tax base, that onshore development can be justified in many cases. Point Lay is quite distant from ANWR, so not too many people expressed strong opinions one way or another regarding development there. Our general impression was that Point Lay people thought that Kaktovik people should decide that question, but that such development could be done reasonable safely without affecting subsistence resource harvests to an intolerable degree.

Point Lay people perceive oil spills, accidents, and other such low probability events as the most salient aspect of OCS development. They may or may not understand that any single such event has very little chance of occurring. They are all too

aware that over time the chances of at least one such event occurring approach certainty. It does not in the final analysis matter whether they reach this conclusion by an understanding of probability or simply hold this position as an emotional reaction to a threatening situation. People in Point Lay do not expect to benefit in any way from such development, and so see any risk as unjustified.

This is not the case, however, in Point Hope. Several individuals, including those in official business and government capacities and those who are not, have spoken of the need for economic development if Point Hope is going to sustain a viable economy. People in Point Hope, in general, are concerned about having enough jobs **in** the community, whereas there are clearly enough jobs in Point Lay to go around. As already noted, this difference between the communities is clearly influencing perception of the desirability of economic development in general, and is certainly influencing opinions on offshore oil development in particular. In Point Lay it is a common perception that there is literally nothing to be gained by more development, and only untoward things could come of it. In Point Hope there is more ambivalence toward oil development, where perceived risks are being weighed against perceived benefits.

In Point Hope, the individual charged with tracking land issues for the corporation has been active in his pursuit of information on the lease sale process. The information disseminated to the leaders and shareholders of the corporation, and through them to the community at large, comes primarily through this channel, not through the media. There is some belief, based on the physical features of Point Hope, that it is inevitable that oil development will influence the community directly through future construction of resupply facilities in or near town. **There** is a common perception that MMS and the oil companies would not be up-front with Point Hope residents in terms of what **oil** resources are suspected or known to exist **in** the Chukchi Sea, and this contributes to **a** feeling of uncertainty toward the future. There are some individuals in the community, including at least one active **in** a leadership position in the IRA, who believe that a local tax and employment base, such as might be supplied by local involvement in oil development, is essential for the well-being of the community. This contrasts sharply with the situation in Point Lay where the IRA council is on record as unanimously opposing oil development.

Schools and Sociocultural Change in Point Lay and Point Hope

Schools have had radical **sociocultural** effects on the **Inupiat**. Since the early 1900s they have been one of the prime agents of acculturation to Western values and worldview. Occurring in tandem with the **enculturation/socialization** of the young, this has been an especially potent combination for change. At **least** partial control **of Inupiat** socialization has been under **non-Inupiat** control since this time (e.g., the NSB School Board, while composed of local residents, must still answer to higher authorities).

The school system is arguably the single most pervasive element of change within the Native villages of the North Slope. No longer are village populations largely uneducated (Figure 40). In the past, the very existence of Point Lay as an entity depended upon, among other things, there being a school. In recent times the distribution of the Native population has been greatly influenced by the location of educational facilities:

Point Hope Educational Attainment February – March, 1986

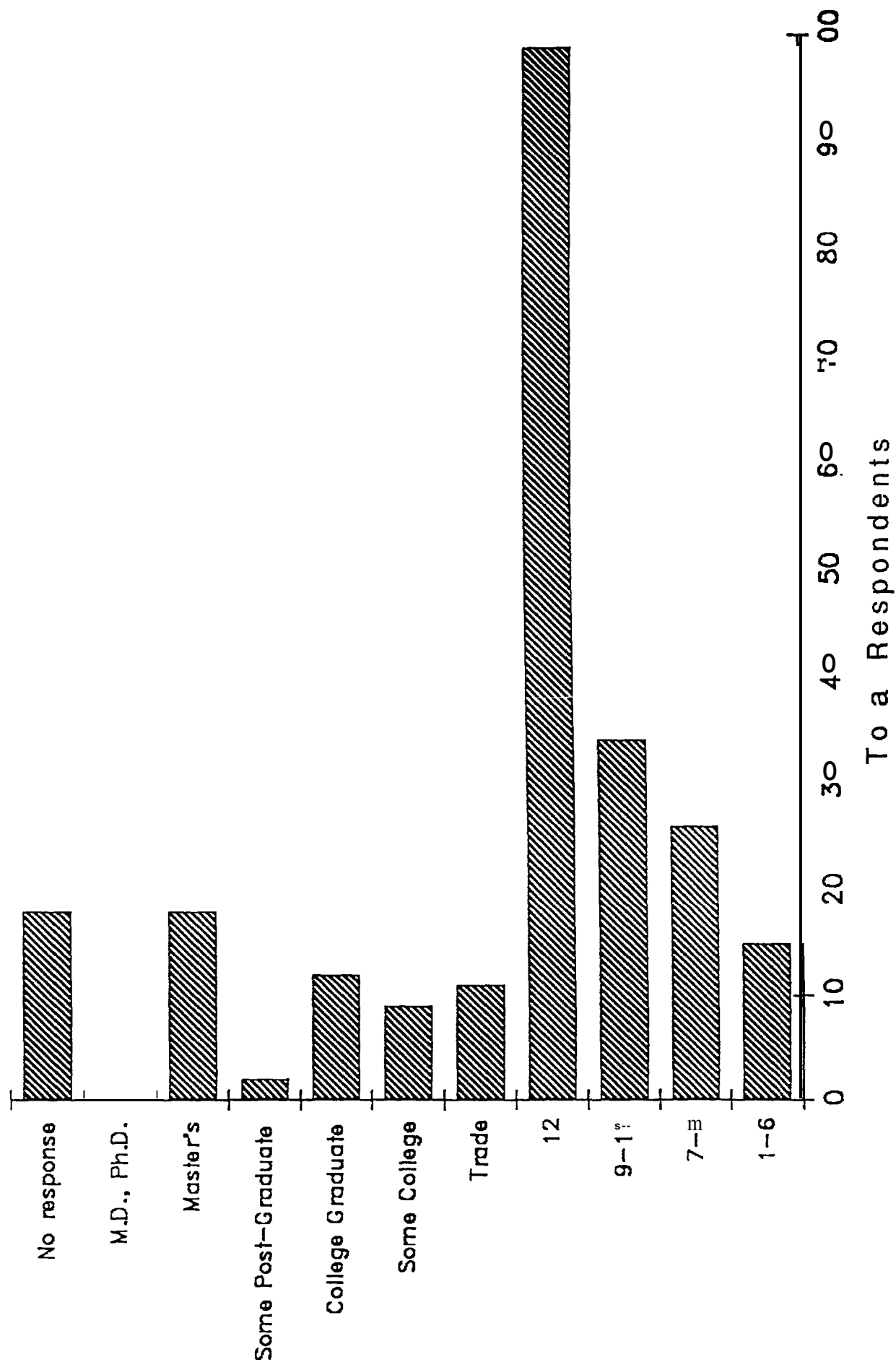


Figure 40

The current population of Point Lay has a living memory of quite a few different schools, and the different experiences involved with each often seem to be one significant aspect of the differences between different age groups. We will not at this time discuss the Icy Cape school of the 1910s and maybe 1920s, nor the possible influence of the Wainwright school (founded along with Wainwright in 1904) and its teachers on the Point Lay area people. A discussion of the Point Lay school of 1928 to 1958 (establishment to dissolution) more properly fits into a historical discussion of change over time, especially as it relates to population movements. Its influence during those periods of time can then be more readily assessed. What is of principal interest in this section is the influence of the school as an outside institution at the present time, in the refounded Point Lay.

People first began to return to Point Lay as a permanent place to live in the spring of 1972. The NSB established a school in February 1974 in the old school building on the spit in the "old" Point Lay. There was one teacher and a teacher's aide, as well as locally hired **school** help. It was soon decided to relocate the village and a new school was completed at the "New Side" site (in the delta of the **Kokolik** River) in 1976. This was a larger school with a larger staff (including a principal/teacher). When the village was again relocated in the early 1980s (construction started in 1980), a still larger school was built at the present site. The school at the "New Side" was eventually moved over to the present village site but was converted into housing, with other structures being used temporarily for school classes. The newest school was completed in 1983.

The school curriculum has undergone substantial change in recent years, with perhaps the most interesting question of late being the proper **blend** of formal "Western" education and formal instruction in "traditional" **Inupiat** culture. At the present time perhaps one out of six periods is devoted to instruction in **Inupiaq**, the Native language. In addition, aspects of **Inupiat** culture may be introduced as illustrative material in other classes. Eskimo dancing is sometimes part of the school programs which are presented from time to time but is principally a community-supported activity rather than a school-sponsored one.

This compromise seems to be the result of two diametrically opposed opinions held by (most) of the professional educators on the North Slope in general, and Point Lay and Point Hope in particular, and the majority of the Native population on the North Slope. The former believe the mission of the school is education in the lower-48 mainstream sense, and that **Inupiat** culture cannot be preserved by the school in any event if it is not first made vital in each student's home. From this perspective even one period a day devoted to "non-school skills" is detrimental as it handicaps their students in competition with those in the lower-48. According to one school staff member from Point Hope, "They want instruction in **Inupiaq** -- one hour per day out of six hours. At the same time, people also want to raise the test scores. Therefore, by the sixth grade the students here have had five years of education that will raise their scores, and one year of **Inupiaq** which will not. They will be competing with kids from Anchorage and Fairbanks who have had six years of training." While no school personnel in Point Lay expressed this opinion as explicitly or as strongly, it was nonetheless clear that, with the exception of one local teacher, the mission of the school was to teach skills and perhaps values but not **Inupiat** culture.

The Native parents of **Native** students, on the other hand, generally want a greater role for **Inupiat** culture in the school. This is not to say that Native parents do not place a high value on a formal "Western" education. In fact, many do, and there are Native parents who very strongly want their children to be able to compete

scholastically at a university following their high school career. There are Native parents who very strongly feel that more **Inupiat** should be taught in the school as well -- and sometimes these are the same individuals who want academic excellence in English. This creates an ambivalence in individuals, between parents, and between school staff and parents. This tension is quite evident in the dynamics of NSB School Board meetings, the relations between the **NSBSD** and the individual village advisory councils, and the hiring (and firing, or "contract **nonrenewal**") of **NSBSD** Superintendents. In the case of the school system, a discussion of institutionalization and of cultural value conflicts cannot be separated. Point Lay and Point Hope vary somewhat on this issue. In Point Lay, it does appear that nearly **all Inupiat** parents are in agreement that education should emphasize more **Inupiat** and less Western education than is now the case. This is less strongly the case in Point Hope, but certainly it is a clear majority opinion there too. Comparing the relatively unsuccessful language program **on the** North Slope with more successful programs in the Yukon-Koyukuk region or Chinese students in San Francisco is clearly beyond the scope of this research. However, the major difference is undoubtedly the extent of **local** control of and participation in local schools between these two cases and the NSB. Parents also speak the native language to their children more in those two areas than in most NSB **Inupiat** homes.

The issue of "Western" education itself in the villages, and what that encompasses or should encompass, is not simple. Many parents feel that children are not getting a well-rounded education within Western parameters. The present staff (full-time or nearly full-time) at the schools in both Point Hope and Point Lay are academically oriented in their training. That there is no ongoing vocational education program, or music, or art programs in the villages is the subject of continuing concern. The difficulties in getting "specialist" teachers to the villages are well-known; given the realities of school budgets, these programs are normally offered only in Barrow. Students from the villages may take part in these programs, but spending two weeks in Barrow on vocational training, for example, is not considered a good substitute for an ongoing, long-term program in the student's home village, for any number of reasons.

The present staff at the schools in both Point Lay and Point Hope, it is fair to say, are overwhelmingly academically oriented in their training and perspective on the mission of the schools. This fact influences the relation of school and the community. To a significant degree, the course offerings at the school are determined by the capabilities of the individuals on staff for any particular academic year. It is important to note, for example, that while the school at Point Lay is equipped with excellent shop facilities, there is no one on regular staff to teach vocational education. An individual in the community does, in fact, teach shop in the afternoons and some evenings, but this is on a part-time basis and cannot be considered a vocational education program. If this individual, whose primary reason for residence in the community is unrelated to the school, decides to leave the community, the fate of the shop program, such as it is, is unknown.

That there are problems of academic achievement in both Point Lay and Point Hope is clear from Figures 40-44. Enrollment is fairly steady, but the number of graduates fluctuates widely. "Dropout" rates are not kept by the NSB School District as they are not considered a valid statistic. Mobility of the student population is so great that it is not known which "dropouts" actually moved to a different school **catchment** area and which actually "dropped out" of the educational system. This lack of information on the academic fate of students when they leave the local schools is recognized as problematic by the district, but has not yet been addressed.

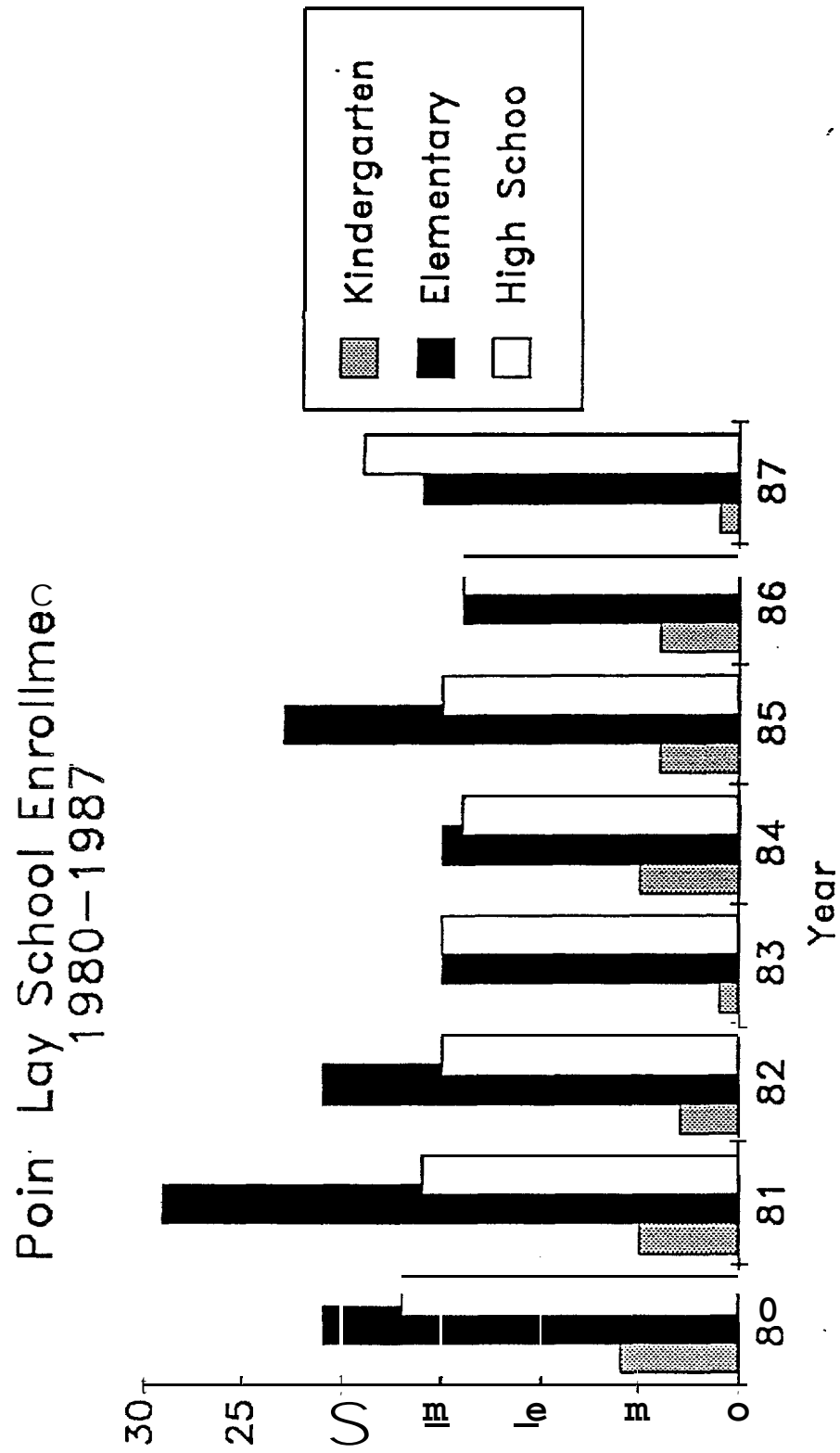


Figure 41
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Point Lay High School Graduates 1980-1987

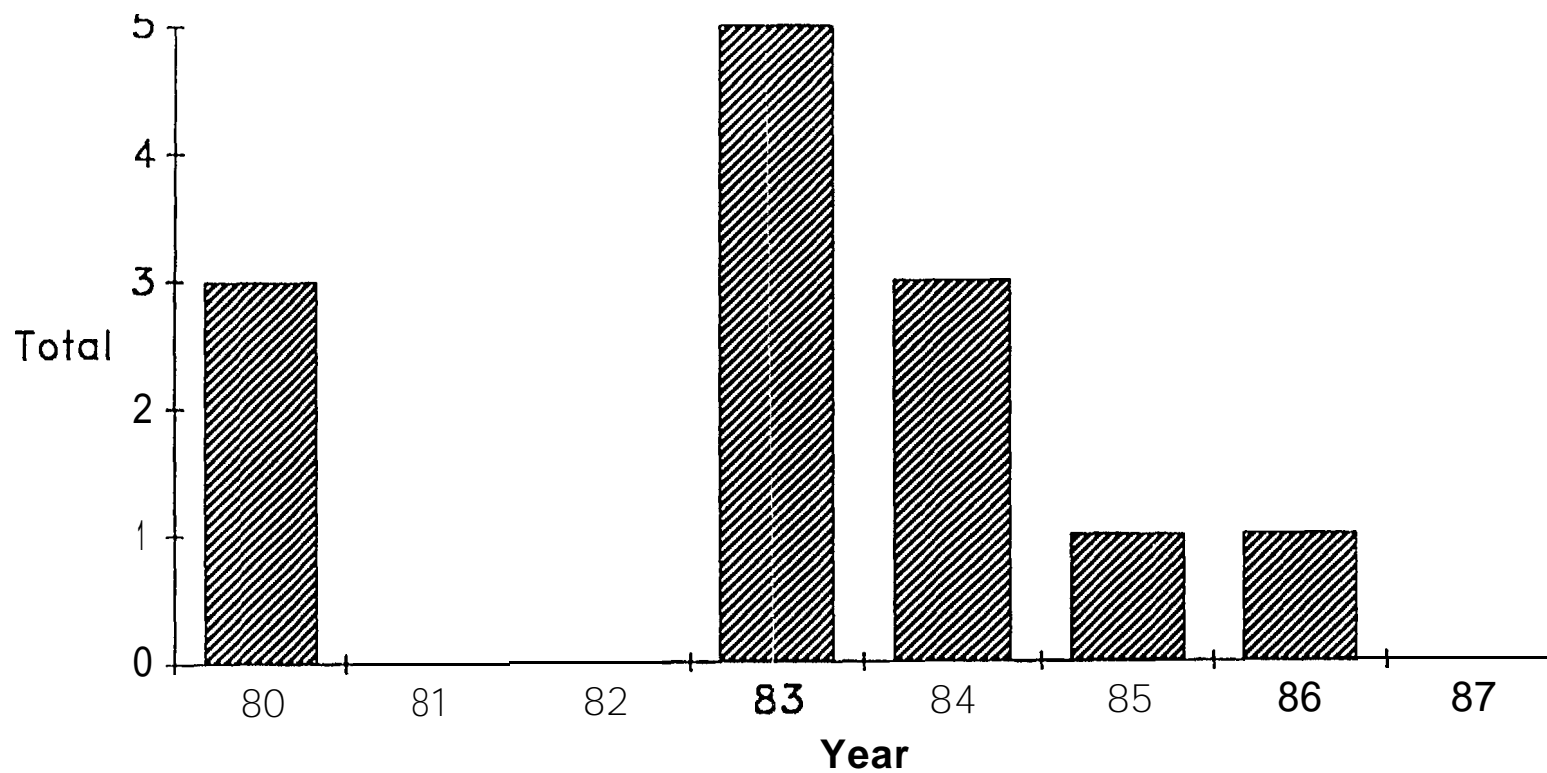


Figure 42
329

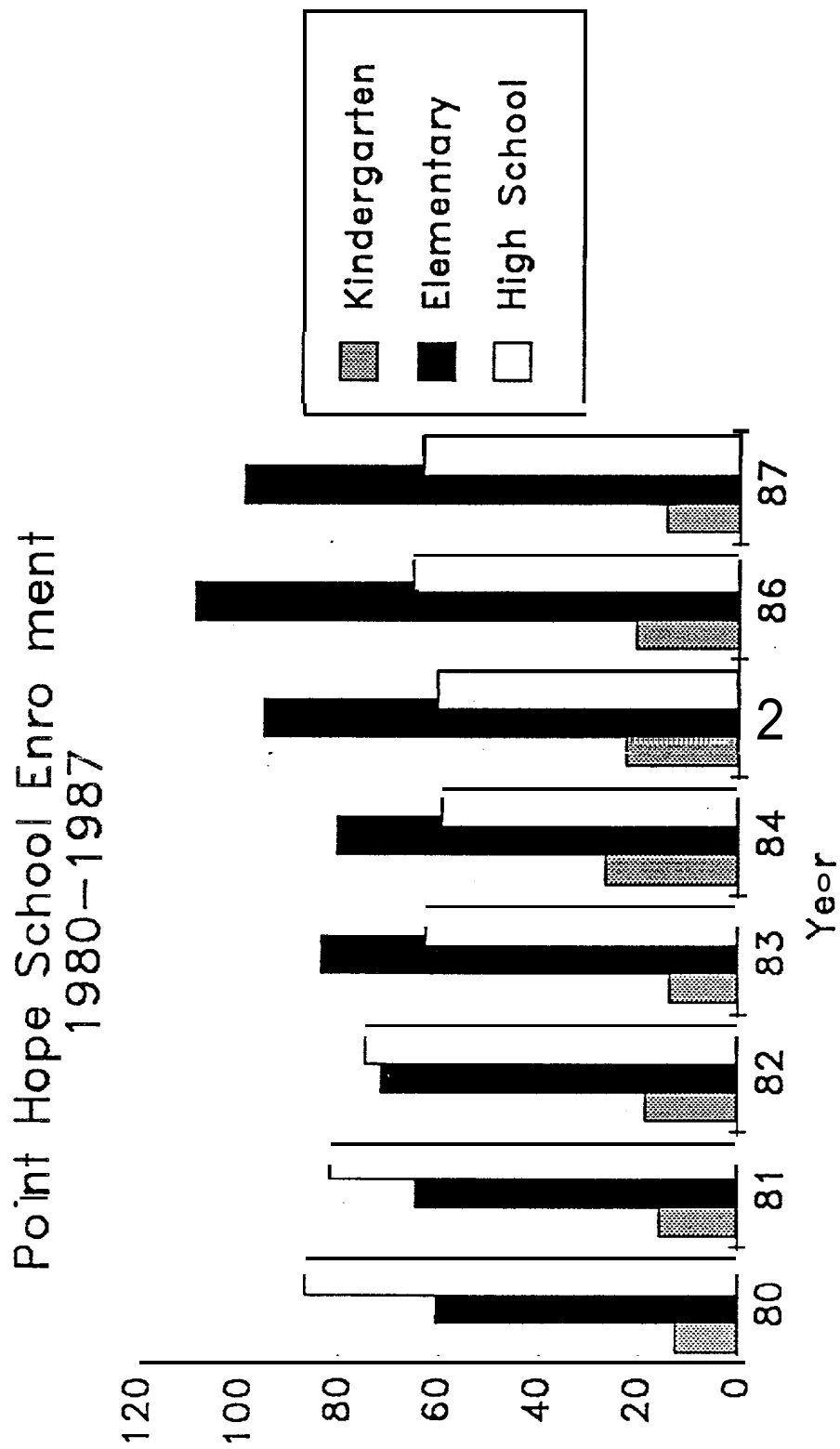
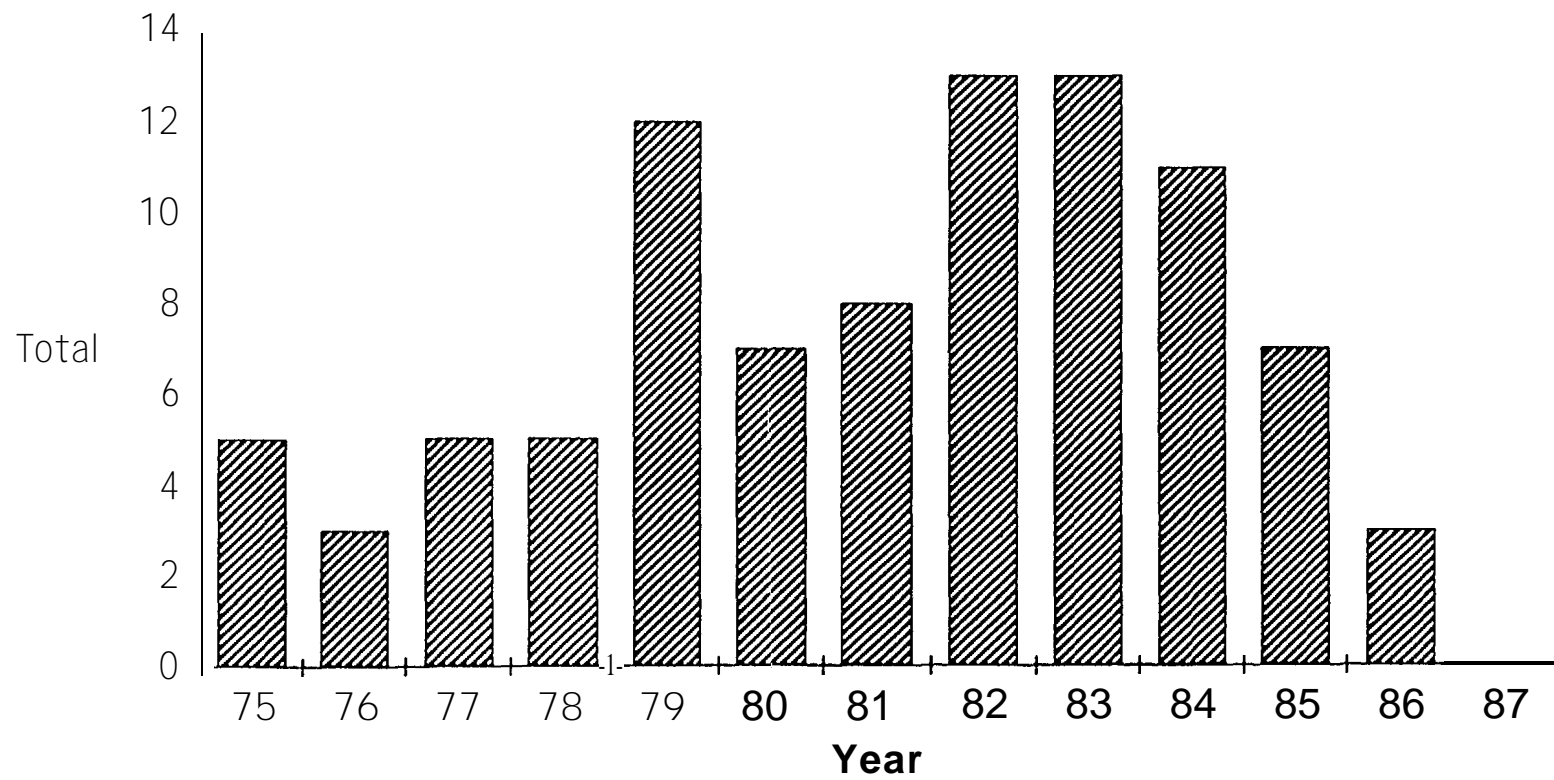


Figure 43

Point Hope High School Graduates 1975-1987



In this regard, the school is then observed to hold sort of a contradictory position in the village. At the same time that it is perhaps the most central and primary institution in the village, it is also one of the most marginal. All children, with a few exceptions, must attend school up to a certain age. For the majority, this precludes much activity of any other kind and certainly prevents learning subsistence skills in an intensive participatory /observational way. The primary occupation of children is to go to school. What they are taught is almost totally determined by people not living in the village, however, and to a great extent by non-Native professionals. Much of this is seen as not relevant for life in either Point Lay or Point Hope.

Many of the problems of the schools -- discipline, lack of achievement by students, attendance and tardiness, staff turnover to some extent -- stem from this contradictory nature of the school. Parents, if they do not see the relevance of **the** school to life in the community, are not likely to create a home environment that is conducive to academic achievement. Where staff and community work together (as reported by informants for Wainwright of the recent past) the contradiction is reduced and the problems become more resolvable. Where this cooperation is not as obvious, either through community "apathy" or a community recognition that such "compromise" inevitably requires more from the community than from the outside institution, the symptomatic problems continue. Statistics purporting to measure the degree and significance of those problems may show improvement, as in the case of Point Hope, while the underlying problems remain. This contradictory nature of formal institutions is not unique to the school district, as the relations between village residents and the local PSOS demonstrates. Rather, it is a fundamental characteristic of relations between the village **people** and those **actually** in charge of the institutions that control a good portion of their daily lives. To call this the question of local versus non-local control is somewhat simplistic, but is useful in this context.

While there is a local school advisory board, this board advises the North Slope Borough School District board which is free to accept or reject the advice of the village board. It is a point of frustration in Point Hope that the concerns and priorities of the local board often do not match those of the district. In two recent disputes, the Point Hope board was able to circumvent the district to obtain highly desired ends. One was the construction of new classroom space. The Point Hope school was able to obtain funding for this by going directly to the borough and not through the school district, which was the cause of some irritation on the part of the district. Another priority was to keep the school facilities open after hours for community use -- this was done through application for staff funding from the Mayor's Job Program when funds were not available from the school district. These are two examples of the **local** board getting what they wanted **in** spite of non-support of the school district, but often it is the district that is able to direct priorities.

The fact that the North Slope Borough School District directs priorities at the village level is manifested in a number of ways. For example, in Point Hope at the end of the 1988-89 academic year, the centralized school board effectively terminated the school principal. This was technically not a firing, due to the fact that principals, unlike teachers, work on a year-to-year basis and are not tenured. The district, seemingly (from the local perspective) can at any time and for any reason choose not to offer the current principal employment for the following year, and doesn't have to have cause to "fire" the person in order to not offer future employment. The way in which the principal's non-renewal was handled bothered the

members of the Point Hope school advisory council. It appeared to be a central board decision, and was **taken** without significant input from the local level. It is the position of the local advisory council that the position of principal is an important one because that individual charts the course of the school in the village. He or she is the direct liaison with the central district and with the other schools in the region. Especially troublesome to concerned individuals in Point Hope was the fact that the replacement principal for the Point Hope school was chosen by the school district with virtually no input from the village. This aroused strong feelings about a lack of local control. Given the local perception of the importance of the principal in the success of the school and school-community relations, the fact that they were not invited to be part of the selection process was a bitter pill to swallow.

In addition to direct influence on the development of individuals, schools have long been influential in other aspects of community life. The settlement pattern of **Inupiat** has been determined to a large degree by the location of schools. For example, **Wainwright** became a permanent settlement because a school was built there (**Luton** 1985). Barrow became a magnet for **Inupiat** from the interior partially because of the school there (**Galginaitis** et al. 1984). Attempts were made to build schools near **Inupiat** population centers -- **Wainwright** is probably an example of this, as is the school originally built at Icy Cape and later moved to Point Lay. The fact remains that the availability of schooling has greatly affected the distribution of people over the land.

This general pattern, however, is not the case in Point Hope. A permanent settlement existed at the time the school was built. The school at Point Hope undoubtedly had a considerable influence on families that lived on the land near Point Hope during a significant portion of the year.

The influence of the school is not limited to purely academic pursuits. Participation in school athletics is a very strongly motivated and rewarded behavior in Point Hope. Participation in sports, particularly in basketball, provides strong incentives for socialization to competition and performance. In general, events held at the school that feature the students are well-attended. School board meetings, on the other hand, are not particularly well-attended.

The process of obtaining an education in school for the development of post-school employment skills is a problematic one in Point Hope. Given the present structure of employment in the community, there is some question as to the skills needed to make a decent living in the village beyond those required of a competent adult in society. The vast majority of the jobs now held by **Inupiat** individuals in Point Hope did not require much **pre-training**, if any, and skills required for continued employment are learned on the job or through borough programs after employment. There are, of course, exceptions to this generalization. This general situation, however, provides an important contrast with the jobs that do require a substantial amount of **pre-training**; that is, jobs that have rigorous prerequisites before employment starts. These specialized jobs, requiring advanced formal education, are now typically filled by **non-Inupiat** individuals. An example of this type of position is that of a teacher at the school -- a position that requires a four-year college degree and a teaching certification. While teaching provides a significant number of good-paying jobs in the community, none of these positions are filled by **Inupiat** from Point Hope.

This is a problematic circumstance when considering long-term employment trends in the community of Point Hope in particular and the North Slope Borough in general. Jobs that require expertise only obtainable through education must at some point be

filled by **Inupiat** if the borough is not always to be dependent upon “hired guns” and if the village, in turn, is to be able to assert some local control over long-term educational policy and education-related employment. It seems likely that Barrow **Inupiat** will obtain these skills before the other villages on the Slope, and that these villages will rely on Barrow **Inupiat** and hired **non-Inupiat**. School teachers may become more **Inupiat**, for example, but computer expertise, grant writing, accounting, engineering, management training, and advanced health care provision would appear to be further down the line. It has been hypothesized by a number of individuals in Point Hope, including some members of the school staff, that as long as there are good-paying jobs in the community that do not require substantial **formal** training, and that there are few **local Inupiat** role models in professional positions, that there is little effective incentive for young people to strive to reach professional positions within the community.

Similarly, there are a number of problematic positions in Point Hope, such as the position of manager of the Native Store, that might be termed “paraprofessional.” On the one hand, from a maximization of profit perspective, it would be desirable to have a person in charge of the store with the most training and broadest range of experience possible. This is especially true, given the fact that the **Tigara** Corporation, the owner of the store, is experiencing tough times and is in the midst of bankruptcy proceedings. It was asserted at the 1988 annual shareholders meeting that the bankruptcy referee is cognizant of the day-to-day management of existing assets, and it is the expectation of the court that the person in the position of store manager be formally trained and have an established track record of management in other contexts. On the other hand, there is the very strong desire that business entities, and especially the local Native corporation, hire local individuals. This is found in tandem with the widely-held understanding that it is more important to provide employment for the village than it is to make any one enterprise profitable for the benefit of the corporation shareholders. As complex as these conflicting views of the position of store manager make the selection process, one must add the local view of what it means to be told that one must hire an outside manager for a local enterprise. To say that there is no one in the village capable of running the store is seen by many as absurd, particularly given the fact that local managers have run the store in the past.

Local management positions where current (frequently updated by outside means), specialized (including technically complex) knowledge is required provide special challenges for a village like Point Hope. There is the difficulty, for example, of the store being able to keep a **local** manager current on management skills, marketing techniques, new products, trends of change, and so on, from Point Hope itself. To get an infusion of knowledge by bringing in someone new (a packet of fresh knowledge **all** at once, as it were) is not an easy solution -- it goes without saying that hiring new management individuals is problematic for a number of reasons, not the least of which is the fact that there is no guarantee that the individual is going to adapt to life in the village, work well with the current employees, and so on. The opposite side of that coin is that to try and keep the skills of a local resident current is difficult -- this typically requires that the individual in question travel out of the village for continuing training programs and, in fact, there is often no mechanism for doing this.

Another way that knowledge through specialized training gets to both Point Lay and Point Hope is through the periodic visits to the communities by technicians based out of Barrow. For example, the fire hall, clinic, and utilities buildings in both Point Hope and Point Lay have relatively complex physical plants. Routine maintenance is performed by employees who are local residents. While these individuals also do a

lot of system “troubleshooting,” the borough provides for maintenance specialists to visit the villages from Barrow on a periodic basis. These specialists, in addition to providing preventative maintenance service, are also called in when there are major problems with the systems that cannot be resolved locally in a timely manner.

Ironically, **local** individuals who do go through extensive training programs have no guarantee that they will be locally employed upon completion (in Point Hope, like anywhere else, there are factors other than qualifications on paper that influence who gets a particular job). Nor, of course, is there any guarantee that local individuals who go through extensive training programs will elect to work in Point Hope upon completion or, even if they elect to work in Point Hope, that they will choose to work in the occupational area that they were trained for.

There are also difficulties associated with Slope-wide training programs that provide employment outside of an individual’s home village. For example, during the course of research for this project, one individual from Point Hope was enrolled in an extensive training program for employment at **Prudhoe** Bay. This program offered employment while the individual was undergoing advanced training; this individual chose not to continue employment or complete the long-term training program at Prudhoe because of family considerations back in Point Hope. According to industry sources, this is not an uncommon occurrence.

The fact that training, and even employment, that would assist in gaining a larger measure of **Inupiat** control over the economy and employment on the North Slope requires individuals to leave their villages is problematic in a number of ways. In other words, if one considers that at some level an important part of **Inupiat** identity is associated with place of residence, extended family ties, and even **local** subsistence, then one is faced with the paradox that to assert more **Inupiat** control over regional (and even local) affairs means that the individuals involved must become less **Inupiat**. While not normally articulated in this manner, individuals clearly do make choices that demonstrate the priority of family ties and village residence over **longer** term issues of “local control” or the like. These “big picture” issues are seen as important, and even critical, but individuals making important lifestyle decisions are often confronted with more immediately pressing personal and familial needs.

Developing leadership skills within the school system is problematic, for a number of reasons. First, the ability of the school to offer new programs is a function of staffing. There is no guarantee that the particular skills of the teachers will match the needs of a leadership development program. Second, there are individuals who during school age years may not be leaders, or may not be interested in learning leadership in a school context. Rewards for achievement and leadership in schools vary between Point Lay and Point Hope, but there is some indication that children in Point Lay who are ahead of their peers scholastically have their own particular motivational dilemmas to deal with. There would appear to be an **Inupiat** value of not being too successful at the expense of your peers; there is also a problem of motivating students to continue to improve on an absolute (extra-local) achievement scale when they have already surpassed their peers on a relative (local) scale. Third, the types of skills and behaviors that parents reinforce may be quite different from qualities that will be required in leadership when those children become adults, or they may be different from the types of skills that are needed on the regional, as opposed to the village level. Leaders are required to deal with constituents and opponents within the village in a different manner than they deal

with entities from outside of the village. A larger issue that comes out of this, and one that cannot be developed in the context of this report, is that it often appears that what is required for successful “leadership” in a village may be different from what is required for leadership at the regional level. Leadership at **the** village level, at least in the two villages in question, requires a leader to work patiently within the consensus formation process; at the regional level, especially when dealing with the economic entities at that level, successful leadership requires individuals to play political **“hardball.”** That is, leaders at the regional level (and at the local **level**, when dealing with outside entities) must be decisive, “take charge” individuals who are able to mobilize **people** and resources for their own agendas. In other words, they must be successful at behaviors that **are** censured in the village. To be successfully communicate opposition to offshore oil exploration, for example, an individual must presume to speak on behalf of the village, which is normally unacceptable behavior.

The villages of Point Lay and Point Hope vary from Barrow in the experience of young people’s exposure to specialized training programs, and to less formal exposure to borough institutions. Students in Barrow are able to take advantage, as residents, of programs that are only available to other students as temporary visitors, such as the vocational education programs offered through the North Slope Borough school district. According to Point Hope school staff, the problem is likely to be compounded if a solution of rotating a vocational (or other specialty) teacher between the schools in the NSB is tried, as there are difficulties associated with a teacher not being assigned to any one village, but moving every semester to a new place -- both for the individual teacher and his or her family, and the district. The compromise reached is to have the student from the outlying villages attend programs in Barrow, but these are only of limited utility because of their necessarily short duration. This continuing exposure, and the ability of any one student to take advantage of any number of the programs that are offered, provides a much different educational context for Barrow students than for other borough students. This differential access problem is recognized by the school district, but pragmatically there is little that can be done about it. It is similar in its structure to the provision of similar other borough services, such as health care and social services. There are just not enough people in any one village to support a service provision infrastructure of the scale that can be supported on a regional **level**; the logical **place** to house a regional level service provider is in the administrative and population center of the region -- Barrow. This concentration of providers in a single community, logical as it is from a fiscal perspective, contributes to tensions between the individual villages and Barrow. There is a feeling in both Point Lay and Point Hope that the villages in the borough are not treated like the equals that they should be, and that Barrow benefits from its relation to the villages more than vice versa.

In addition to the problem of differential exposure in the communities of young people to formal training programs, there is also differential exposure to upper level management of borough institutions. The outlying villages, such as Point Lay and Point Hope, face the difficulty that the young are not exposed to borough institutions in the same way that the young in Barrow are. The multiple role models, and the implied reasonableness of expectations of success found in Barrow are not found in the villages and this, combined with the fact that there are very few **full-time** paid leadership positions available, make training for such positions difficult.

LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE USE

This portion of the report consists of four sections. **The first** three are primarily the work of Dr. Lawrence Kaplan, a linguist specializing in **Inupiaq**. The last section is based upon field observations by the principal researchers. Dr. Kaplan notes that section three, “The Language of Point Lay,” can not be considered **definitive** because linguistic fieldwork was not possible (see preface). The findings in this section are based upon a limited number of tapes recorded for the oral history (biography) portion of this research.

Orthography and a Brief History of North Slope **Inupiaq** Writing

The first dialect of **Inuit** to be written at any length was **West Greenlandic**, written in the mid-eighteenth century by missionaries. A practical orthography was devised for that language by Samuel KleinSchmidt in the mid-nineteenth century, representing a landmark in Native American linguistics. Alaskan **Inupiaq** writing began with eighteenth century explorers in the Bering Strait area who first transcribed place names and lists of basic words in the dialects of that region. Some of the earliest examples of writing were done in the **cyrillic** alphabet by speakers of Russian. The earliest known writing on the North Slope also stems from explorers, beginning with a word list by **Beechey** from the 1820s. In 1885 Ray and Murdoch of the International Polar Expedition at Cape **Smythe** published a list of over 2,000 words, many showing features of the old Point Barrow dialect. Another important collection of **Inupiaq words** was made in about 1905 by Dr. **S.R. Spriggs**, a medical **missionary** in Barrow. Later, missionaries began writing **Inupiaq** for the purpose of translating religious writings, such as prayers, scriptures, and hymns. In 1923 a prayer book was printed for the Episcopal Church at Point Hope, probably the first publication in North Slope **Inupiaq**. This early writing involved individual attempts at symbolizing what the writer heard, usually according to the orthographic principles of the writer’s native language. Much of the **Inupiaq** writing of the period was thus English-based and in no way standardized. The quality varied tremendously with the writer’s ability to apply some sort of consistent principles in symbolizing what he heard. Some writers had a remarkable degree of linguistic skill and did quite well, so that their writings can be fairly easily interpreted by us today. Others were inconsistent and did not write in any systematic way, so that their writing is difficult to interpret.

An interesting chapter in **Inupiaq** writing involves the writing system developed by Helper Neck (**Uyaquq**), a Central Yupik **Eskimo** who wrote his language with **pictographic** symbols around the turn of the century. His pictographs soon became phonological and spread beyond the Yupik area. They became used by **Inupiat** in the **Kobuk** and Kotzebue areas, the first example of Native writing in **Inupiaq**.

The present standard orthography in use for **Inupiaq** was first devised in 1946 by Roy **Ahmaogak**, a Barrow man who later became a Presbyterian minister, and **Eguen Nida**, a linguist working with the Summer Institute of Linguistics and **Wycliffe** Bible Translators. The two worked together in Norman, Oklahoma, to analyze the sound system of **Inupiaq** and develop a writing system suitable to the language. Their orthography was phonemic and linguistically quite accurate. It has been revised as described below to give the modern

system currently in use. Perhaps the main criticism of this work is the fact that it was done with no eye to **compatibility** with writing systems in use for other **Inuit** dialects in Canada and Greenland. Today, pan-Arctic cooperation makes a common **Inuit** writing system desirable.

The original system proposed by **Ahmaogak** and Nida had the following vowels:

- Short vowels:	a	i	u
Long vowels:	aa	ii	uu
Diphthongs:	ai	au	
Vowel clusters:	ia	ua	
	ui	iu	

Their original **consonant** symbols may be arranged as follows:

labials	alveolar	spalatal	retroflexes	velars	uvulars	
p		c		k	k	stops
	t/s	t̥	s			voiceless fricatives
v	l	l/y	z	g	ġ	voiced fricatives
m	n	ii		ŋ		nasals

After **Ahmaogak** finished his work with Nida, he became minister at Wainwright and published several pamphlets, including translations of religious material and a primer, all in **Inupiaq** using the new orthography. When the **missionary** Don Webster came to the North Slope in 1959 to help **Ahmaogak** in translating the New Testament (published in 1966), he made several changes to the orthography. s was changed to **sr**, c to ch, and z to r to represent the voiced **retroflex** sound was significant, **since r** is used in all other **Inuit** orthographies to represent the voiced **uvular** fricative (**ġ** in **Inupiaq**). This is a major and important difference between writing in **Inupiaq** and that in related dialects and languages. One further change in symbols was adopted at an **Inupiaq** language conference in 1972: k was changed to **q**, making **Inupiaq** similar to other **Eskimo** languages on that point at least.

The modern writing system is now in use for the **Inupiaq** language throughout Alaska. **Inupiaq** classes at school teach this way of writing, many churches continue to use it, and it is found in other sundry uses within **Inupiaq** Alaska. English-based, non-systematic writing still occurs, for example, the name **Cully** Corporation, which would be spelled **Kali** in the standard orthography. Or the NANA Corporation's hotel in Kotzebue, **Nul-luk-vik**, would be written **Nullagvik**, meaning "place to stay overnight."

The era of pan-Eskimo cooperation was born in 1977 at the First **Inuit Circumpolar Conference** held in Barrow. Since then **contact** among Eskimo groups has increased, with new emphasis placed on old cultural and linguistic ties. **Awareness** of similarities in language among various **Inuit** groups has made differences in writing conventions appear glaring and **unnecessary**. In designing a **writing** system, the choice of one symbol over another to represent a particular sound is to a great extent arbitrary, dictated largely by considerations of familiarity, i.e., the way a given letter is used **in** the European language found in a particular area. **Inuit** writing in Greenland thus bears some relation to Danish, while in Canada Latin-based alphabets have a relation to English and French. Early German missionaries also played a role in Eskimo linguistics in Canada and Greenland. It was quite natural for German, French, and Danish speakers to choose the symbol **r** to stand for the voiced **uvular** fricative, while in Alaska **r** was used for a **retroflex** sound as in English. The **result** has created a degree of discontinuity in writing across the Arctic, even where the same sounds are present in the same words. For example, the word for “woman” is pronounced the same in nearly all Eskimo languages, and most of them spell it **arnaq**. Only Alaskan **Inupiaq** and St. Lawrence Island **Yupik** do not use this spelling, using instead **agnaq** and **aghnaq** respectively.

Members of the **Inuit Circumpolar** Conference have in recent years suggested changes in local orthographies to promote standard usage. Alaskan **Inupiaq** has the smallest group of **speakers** and writers when compared with Canada and Greenland, and it was thus recommended that **Inupiaq** institute spelling changes. Two possibilities existed: either Alaska **Inupiat** could elect to change their writing or else the ICC could adopt an auxiliary international orthography for use in **communication** by **Inuit** around the world. This auxiliary system would not replace current writing, which would continue to be used locally as speakers desire. The ICC in 1983 passed Resolution 83-16 which stated that the **Inuit** speak one language and that written communication is impeded by the lack of a common writing system, the adoption of which could have the result of strengthening use of the Native language, especially in Alaska. “Differences in the writing systems impose purely artificial barriers to potential **Inuit** language unity,” the resolution stated. The Alaska **Inuit** were therefore called upon to make the following changes in writing: 1) replace **ᑭ** with **r**, 2) replace **ᑎ** with **ng**, 3) replace **r** with **z**, 4) replace **sr** with **s**, 5) replace **ᑎᑎ** with **ring**, 6) replace **ᑎᑎ** with **ngg**.

These changes would correct the features that make Alaska **Inupiaq** hard for other **Inuit** to read and represent in some cases a return to symbols used by Ahmaogak and Nida in their original orthography of 1946. Despite the advantages for **Inuit** unity, many **Inupiat** are unwilling to change the writing system to which they have become so accustomed and which was developed by a beloved member of their community and used in translating the holy scriptures. Many of the **Inupiat** who have become literate in their language have done so at great effort and do not wish to learn a new way of writing. As a result the proposal was not put into use in Alaska, and the Ahmaogak-Nida writing system continues in use.

The Status of **Inupiaq** in Alaska and **Specifically** on the North Slope

The Status of Alaska's Native languages has undergone significant change over the past century. In almost **all** parts of Alaska, the use of English has increased while the use of Native languages has decreased. In some areas, the Native language has fallen off dramatically so that it is barely spoken today. This **is** the case **of Eyak**, traditionally spoken **around** Cordova but now known partially by only two people. Other Alaskan languages are still spoken by quite a number of people, although the vast majority of them are adults. This is the case of Alaskan **Inupiaq**, whose speakers are for the most part over the age of forty, with few or no children that speak the language. **Related Inuit** dialects are spoken by young children, however, in Greenland and **most** of Eastern Canada. Two other Alaskan Eskimo languages are still used by members of **all generations**: Central Alaskan Yupik and St. Lawrence Island **Yupik** are both used by many children.

The decline in Native language use must be attributed to a number of complex factors, **all** relating to the coming of outsiders to Alaska. The history of contact was different in each area of the state, and yet many common elements are present. The first colonists in Alaska were Russians, whose presence apparently produced no serious decline in Native language use. There are several probable reasons for this. First, the actual number of Russians in Alaska was never very great, and what Russians there were stayed mostly in the southern portion of the state. Second, there appear to have been no policies discouraging or urging elimination of the Native languages. Third, Russian colonization preceded the technological era, so the Russian language was not spread by mass media and modern means of transport. Overall, the number of Alaska Natives in close **contact** with Russian was not great.

The American colonization followed the Russian period, with the purchase of **Alaska** by the **U.S.A.** in 1867. By the 1890s large numbers of English speakers flooded into Alaska, largely in connection with several **gold** rushes, whaling, and **fishing**. During World War **II** military personnel arrived and many remained following the end of the war. The number of non-Natives in Alaska now far exceeds the number of Natives, who make up less than 15% of the total population. The English language **is** very strongly present, even in predominantly Native areas of the state. Schools, courts, and government agencies, as **well** as media and publications are overwhelmingly in English, although there is broadcasting in Native languages, notably **Inupiaq** language radio in Barrow and **Kotzebue** and **Yupik** radio and television in Bethel. There are also school programs in Native languages. In North Slope Borough schools, **Inupiaq** classes are taught daily for an hour. Airplanes have increased ease of travel. Residents of Alaskan villages which used to be quite isolated have been brought into **contact** with more and more people who do not speak their language. English has become the *lingua franca* which is used for communication among Natives from different language areas as well as by Natives communicating **with** non-Natives.

As American institutions came to Alaska, they of course brought more English, and this was true of the schools in a particularly important way. Many school **officials** believed that it was extremely important for Native schoolchildren to speak only English, for a variety of reasons. Most obviously, it would benefit their education, since instruction was exclusively in English. Many educators and school officials felt in addition that Native people would be better off speaking English, believing that Native languages were inferior forms of speech. This

unreasonable prejudice was probably due to the inability of these educators to respect a language they could not understand and especially that was not traditionally written, i.e., that had **only** an oral tradition and no widespread literacy. In the Western world education has been so closely identified with literacy that Native people were seen as uneducated, rather than educated and skilled in their own traditions. In school, children were discouraged from speaking their Native language and many were punished for it. Many adults tell stories of the **ill** treatment they received for speaking their Native language, even when this was the only language they knew. To this day many people harbor bitter memories associated with language in school.

This misunderstanding of Native culture on the part of white educators is important to the subject of fluency in Native languages. The negative attitude of some administrators and educators and their willingness to proclaim the superiority of English over Native languages has had a lasting effect on many Alaska Natives and is responsible at least in part for the declining use of Native languages in Alaska today.

The most obvious manifestation of the decline is found in the fact that most young Native people are no longer capable of speaking a Native language and know only English. A major factor that has given rise to this situation is that many parents speak English at home rather than the Native language, even when they are bilingual. Many Native parents are monolingual English speakers and do not have the choice of which language to speak with their children.

The phenomenon may be rooted, at least partially, in the school policies discussed above. Adults who were propagandized about the value of learning English over the Native language probably often assimilated this message and stressed English with their children. One **Inupiaq** mother says that she never wants her child subjected to the humiliation that she felt as a child for speaking her language in school. As a result she would be quite happy for her child to learn only English. Some parents also espouse the “practicality argument,” which says that English is a much more useful language in the modern world than **Inupiaq** and that children should be maximally proficient in English if they are to have access to all the advantages society has to offer. There is much truth to this argument, but learning English does not preclude bilingualism with **Inupiaq** as the home language. In fact, most of the middle-aged generation is fully bilingual and able to function successfully in both languages, providing an excellent model for their children and grandchildren. In many parts of Alaska, however, English is taught to the exclusion of the Native language, both at home and in school. This situation may also stem from negative attitudes presented in school. Even today, many school **officials** do not recognize the value of learning another language besides English and place little emphasis on programs to teach Native languages (or foreign languages, for that matter). On the other hand, a new breed of teachers and school officials do recognize the value of learning **languages**, especially as publicity is given to the idea that the U.S. lags behind the rest of the world in this area.

On the North Slope, parents have shown support for the teaching of **Inupiaq** in school. A survey was conducted about ten years ago which showed that a great majority of **Inupiaq** parents wanted their language taught in the school alongside English. This strong support

made it **possible** to fund an **Inupiaq** language program, with local teacher training and materials development components.

Bilingual education -- or more accurately, Native language teaching in school -- has had the positive effect of elevating Native languages in status, since they were earlier denigrated or simply ignored. There seems to be confusion, however, on the question of how children “acquire” a first language, which is one that they will learn to speak with native fluency. First languages are generally learned at home from one’s parents or primary **caregivers** or in some other situation where the child is immersed in language. It is usually not taught in a pedagogical way. While we all learn our native language through this “juvenile immersion” method, we may learn second languages through formal instruction -- or by immersion -- generally somewhat later in life. While everyone learns a **first** language, the success of second language instruction varies tremendously with the methods employed by the teacher and the motivation of the students. It is generally acknowledged today that methods based on comprehension and oral production work better than those based on translation, grammar, and vocabulary memorization.

Native language teaching in the **Inupiaq** area of Alaska is of the second language variety. First language “immersion” type activities at home take place largely in English, and the active language of children is thus English in almost all cases. Radio and television as well as peer speech are included in the “early language input” which helps determine what language(s) a child will learn. The most a **successful** school program could possibly be expected to do would be to impart some degree of **second** language knowledge to schoolchildren. It is very unlikely, or even impossible, that native fluency **could** be developed in a language which is only heard and practiced during one **class** period a day. If **Inupiaq** language teachers use memorization of vocabulary to teach language, rather than oral communication methods, it is even more improbable that pupils will learn to speak the language. (It is, however, possible to teach fairly fluent spoken language at school. There are special language immersion schools outside of Alaska whose goal is **to** teach fluency in a second language, but this involves having most or **all** school instruction in the language.)

Native language loss among younger generations of Alaskan Natives has given rise to non-standard English as an attendant phenomenon in most rural areas of the state. Children brought up in English by parents for whom English is a second language often learn many of the features of their parents’ English. The result is that they learn a Native **language-**influenced variety of English which has been called Village English. This English shows aspects of pronunciation and grammar that may be directly traced to the Native language of the parents or to other sources of non-standard English, such as whalers, trappers, or miners who were among the first whites to visit Native areas of Alaska. In linguistic terms there is nothing “wrong” with Village English, since linguists value **all** dialects of a language equally.

However, non-standard English is by definition at variance with what may be called “educated” or “standard” English. As a result, teachers feel the necessity of stressing standard English in the classroom, especially if students are to be prepared for college or occupations requiring writing or communication skills. Frequently, educators consider Village English a problem or a deficiency which must be corrected. If the original policies which discouraged Native languages and even recommended replacing them with English intended to give

Native people easy access to a variety of institutions within the society at large, the policy was a failure. Not only is the survival of many Native languages in Alaska now threatened, but also many children have ended up speaking Village **English**.

If **Inupiaq** is not the first language of young **Inupiat** on the **North Slope** or elsewhere in Alaska, it is unlikely that it will be retained as the first language of the region. School programs will foster some degree of competency in **Inupiaq**, and a well-taught program can even produce speakers of the language. Learning a language in school, however, will almost never give one native fluency, and this fact is crucial to understanding the situation of most Alaska languages today.

The above remarks address the history and current situation of Alaskan languages in general and of the **Inupiaq** language more specifically. The information presented above is based in part on experience in North Slope villages, especially in Barrow, Wainwright, and Point Hope. As for the particular case of Point Lay, it has been reported to be similar to Point Hope in terms of the **Inupiaq** fluency of its residents. The youngest fluent **speakers** are generally in their forties by now, with occasional exceptions of people in their thirties. The “language shift,” as linguists call it, from **Inupiaq** to English in younger generations has resulted from the sorts of influence described above. An **Inupiaq** school language program has the usual and expected effect of imparting some knowledge of the language without producing fluent speakers, a situation common with school second language programs.

In a recent article Louis-Jacques Dorais discusses the potential for **loss** of the **Inuit** language in the Eastern Canadian Arctic, where use of this language is generally much stronger than in Alaska. On the North Slope a monolingual generation of elders, those who speak only or nearly only **Inupiaq**, is followed by a generation of bilingual middle-aged people. This addition of a new language (English) where there was previously only one (**Inupiaq**) seems promising as first, but Dorais warns of “subtractive bilingualism” in the case of Canadian **Inuit**. “In the Eastern Arctic, a majority of the **Inuit** under 40 years of age are now bilingual, a very positive factor, objectively speaking, as these individuals are able to use two different linguistic codes. But when taking a closer look at how such bilingualism works, one is struck by the fact that very often the knowledge of English seems to displace, or even replace that of the **first** language, rather than simply compliment it. This is what linguists call subtractive bilingualism” (Dorais 1989:199). As applied to Alaska, Dorais’s article explains how the desired goal of bilingualism can turn out to foster **monolingualism** in English, rather than continued bilingualism in succeeding generations. Use of the Native language may be very much desired in theory, e.g., surveys, interviews, and speeches show strong support for it. Everyday life, however, has its own reality, and Native language supporters often find themselves on a par with the rest of the community, engaging in activities which promote English, e.g., speaking English rather than **Inupiaq** at home or in the community or allowing long hours of English television to enter their home.

Although the survival of **Inupiaq** as a spoken language in Alaska is gravely threatened because it is not being passed on from parent to child in the traditional manner, this is not to say the **Inupiaq** culture and identity will not be maintained in other **ways**. Many small groups around the world are experiencing language shifts in the twentieth century and discussing what degree of cultural assimilation, if any, this change must entail.

The Language of Point Lay

The Alaska **Inupiaq** language consists of two major dialect groups, North Alaskan, found in the area of the **Kotzebue** Sound, **Kobuk** River, and North Slope, and Seward Peninsula spoken on the Seward Peninsula and **offshore** islands and along the shore of Norton Sound as far south as **Unalakleet**. North Alaskan **Inupiaq** comprises two dialects, North Slope and **Malimuit**, which includes **Kobuk** and **Kotzebue** Sound. Seward Peninsula comprises the Bering Strait and **Qawiaraq** dialects.

In Point Lay, North Slope **Inupiaq** is the Native language which has been spoken by residents and their ancestors for generations. **The North Slope** presents a rather **complex** picture in terms of dialect difference, because there has been a lot of migration and population movement, especially over the past century. Nevertheless, several distinct dialects can be **recognized**. The **Nunamiu** dialect spoken at **Anaktuvuk** Pass, is in many ways transitional between the general North Slope dialect and the dialect **of the Kobuk River**. **Nunamiu** closely resembles the **Inupiaq** of the **Noatak** River, and indeed, many ancestors of the present-day **Nunamiut** came from that area. In addition, **Nunamiu Inupiaq** is virtually identical to the dialect of **Aklavik** in the Canadian Northwest Territories, since that village was settled by Alaskans. The **Nunamiu** dialect is illustrated well in the book **Nunamiut Texts**, published by the North Slope Borough Commission on **History, Language, and Culture** in 1987 and containing an introduction by Knut **Bergsland**, presenting salient features of the dialect.

The **Inupiaq** of Point Hope is also quite distinctive when compared with the majority North Slope dialect. First, there are lexical differences, which distinguish Point **Hope**: the verb stem meaning ‘awake’ is **iqiŋ** -- rather than **itiŋ** - as in Barrow. ‘Yes’ is **aa** rather than **ii**. **In** addition, there are phonological differences: Point Hope **Inupiaq** has no voiceless fricatives except **s**, and what are elsewhere clusters of voiceless fricatives are voiced: **siksrik** ‘ground squirrel’ is **sigrik** and **akʔaq** ‘brown bear’ is **aglaq**. The process of palatalization is different in Point Hope from the rest of North Alaska, and palatal consonants, while they occur, are not distinctive or **contrastive**. Whereas **ini** ‘place’ generally contrasts with **iñi** ‘hang up to dry’ in that the latter has a **palatal** nasal, there is no contrast for most Point Hope speakers. Assimilation of **t** to **s** or **ʃ** occurs consistently throughout the North Slope except in Point Hope, where it is irregular and somewhat marginal, even for the oldest speakers. Where there is no alteration, i.e., stem internally, the assimilation is found, e.g., ‘four’ is **always sisamat** rather than **sitamat** as in Seward Peninsula dialects which lack assimilation completely. But ‘he arrived’ can be either **tikittuq** or **tikitchuq** [tikitʃuq], and the latter form does not seem to **be** necessarily more conservative as in other North Slope **Inupiaq**. Plurals in Point Hope are quite distinctive, since they do not end in **-t** but in a voiced **alveo-palatal** fricative **ʒ**.

Since Point Hope is the next village down the coast from Point Lay, one might expect to find linguistic similarities, especially in terms of the special dialect features found in Point Hope. This is apparently not the case, however, and the particularities of Point Hope **Inupiaq** are not shared by Point Lay. The only feature mentioned above also found in Point Lay is the voicing of clusters of voiceless fricatives. Although this process is quite consistent in Point Hope, it is merely a tendency in Point Lay and also in **Wainwright**.

Otherwise, the **Inupiaq** of Point Lay appears to be linguistically quite similar to what is spoken in Barrow and on the majority of the North Slope. At first glance, this fact may appear surprising, since Point Lay is quite far from Barrow, and in Alaska this sort of distance usually signals significant dialect variation. Dialect variation ought to be greater in this case, and there are two possible reasons why it is **not**. 1) Point Lay **Inupiaq** speakers have mostly spent time living **in** Barrow and are influenced daily by the language of Barrow, heard on the radio and found in publications; Barrow **Inupiaq** may thus have strongly affected the original **dialect**, which has **all** but ceased to exist. 2) Most or many of the **features** of what we call Barrow dialect originated in Point Lay and the surrounding area, so that is actually Point Lay **Inupiaq** that has influenced Barrow.

The second **possibility** would appear to be the more likely. Although there has been some leveling of dialect features throughout **all** of the North Slope, and modern Point Lay speech may bear influence from other areas, it seems likely **that the** modern Barrow dialect bears a great deal of influence from Point Lay. The original dialect of Barrow was that spoken at Point Barrow, which was the oldest settlement in the area. During whaling days, large numbers of people moved to Barrow from elsewhere on the North Slope, and many came from Icy Cape and the **Utokok** River area. We know that the Point Barrow dialect has been largely replaced by other North Slope dialects -- only a few people speak Point Barrow today. It seems quite probable that the **Utokok** River/Icy Cape dialect is the one that took precedence in Barrow and is what we call today Barrow **Inupiaq**. The **Inupiaq** dialect currently spoken in Barrow -- and Point Lay -- is quite well documented and described in terms of phonology, **syntax**, and lexicon; there is thus no need to present a description of it here.

Language Use and Sociocultural Change

Use of **Inupiaq** in public varies widely by context. At some public gatherings it is used almost exclusively, and at others hardly at all. In Point Hope, for example, at the 1988 annual **Tigara Corporation** shareholders meeting, **Inupiaq** was the language of choice with very little of the meeting conducted in English. The one adult who wanted to speak at length and could not speak **Inupiaq** was at a marked disadvantage and, in fact, his inability to speak **Inupiaq** was the subject of a **self-deprecating** comment. The virtually exclusive use of **Inupiaq** was interesting, because there are a significant number of people who do not speak or understand **Inupiaq** well, especially the younger shareholders. This seems to be a way to assert the **Inupiat** identity of the corporation, as well as perhaps a way of the older shareholders to retain control. Based on a few comments, it seems likely that younger shareholders feel that they ought to know their native language, and this prevents them from demanding that corporation business matters be presented equally in English and **Inupiaq**.

Similar observations were made at a NSB meeting held in Point Hope. The NSB mayor said that things would be done in **Inupiaq** first, and then translated fully into English. Many things, however, did not get translated, meaning that monolingual English speakers were effectively disenfranchised. Interestingly, this contrasts to an analogous NSB meeting held in Point Lay, where most of the business was conducted in English. This provides a rare

example of outside (Barrow-based) **Inupiaq** speakers going **into** both communities and in one (Point Hope) conducting business in **Inupiaq** and in the other (Point Lay) conducting business in English. In Point Lay public meetings are always in English. On occasion there is something that must be said in **Inupiaq**, either as a joke to be hidden from or made at the expense of **non-Inupiaq** speakers or because someone is present who can contribute who does not know English. It is recognized in Point Lay that there are many more people who have trouble understanding **Inupiaq** than those who have trouble **with** English. There are a significant number of **non-Inupiat** Alaskan Natives living in Point Lay, as well as a few Caucasians. Most young (age twenty and below) **Inupiat** in Point Lay do not readily comprehend **Inupiaq** because they did not grow up hearing it in the home. If they are to be encouraged to come to meetings and participate, the meetings **almost** have to be in English. This is a **catch-22** of language retention that the residents in Point **Lay** are fully aware of but have no real answer for.

The school is a place where **Inupiaq** language instruction for children and young adults takes place and, it is hoped, where the pace of language loss can be slowed. However, in Point Lay it is **universally** agreed that the **Inupiaq** language program in the school has been ineffective. Major reasons for this **are**: the high rate of turnover of the **Inupiaq** teacher; the lack of training for this teacher; the lack of **integration** of what this teacher does into the other curriculum; and the irregular work habits of past **Inupiat** teachers. There is strong school board support for teaching **Inupiaq** (and other aspects of **Inupiaq** culture) in the schools, but it is not uncommon to observe less than whole-hearted adherence to this policy in the village schools. This is a complex issue and involves many different **issues**: educational philosophy, **NSB** politics, the practicalities of level of staffing and available money, differing village characteristics, and even the personalities of the **people** involved. It is not, however, a problem unique to Point Lay. Even with a teacher who was motivated, well-qualified, and conscientious, the **Inupiaq** program in **Nuiqsut** in 1984 was **not** as successful as it could have been (**Galginaitis** et al. 1984).

Perhaps the most common observation of village (outside of Barrow) schools is that in many cases they are trying to do too much, or expected to do too much. In the best of all possible worlds all students would have the options of vocational (or career) education, "college **preparatory**" education, and/or culturally enriched education as a minimum. In the practical world of a small village and a very limited teaching staff, it is rare if just one of these options can be presented well. A Point Lay teacher is by necessity a generalist -- he or **she** simply has too many different teaching responsibilities to allow for the luxury of specialization. The right to small, **local** schools has its price, and that price is most often the narrowing of choice. We are not qualified to say if the present lack of achievement in the Point lay school (and in **NSB** schools in general) is also due, at least in part, to the small size and village setting of those schools. Such achievement problems are evident in schools throughout America and there are any number of confounding factors. Certainly it is recognized on the North Slope that village schools are not educating students as well as they should be, which is one reason why a regional high school is once again receiving serious consideration.

In Point Lay, at least up to the present time, this has not created any large **scale** community problems. The most commonly expressed attitude is that it is not the role of the school to

teach **Inupiat** culture in any event. Parents are held **responsible** for the ability of their children (or the lack of it) to speak **Inupiaq**. Parents are held responsible for the transmission of subsistence skills. While language **classes** in the school are supported, sometimes it seems this is because of the professional jobs they create for local people in what is otherwise a nearly totally **non-Inupiat** environment. **The** field trips that the school used to sponsor to subsistence **harvest sites** (mostly fish camp) are remembered with fondness, but no one has wanted to take charge of such an undertaking recently (the last attempt was canceled due to extreme weather conditions). It may seem strange that parents are not held accountable by other villagers for the attendance of their older children at school, but are held **responsible** for their language and subsistence skills. This becomes clearer once it is realized that it is the expectation that the choice of whether to learn or not still rests with the individual child or **person**, but that the opportunity to learn is expected to be provided by the parents (or community) in the sphere **of** language and subsistence. Relations between the school and community have been said to be very good in Point Lay, but the School Advisory Council meetings are also acknowledged to be very poorly attended. It appears to be the case that the education the people of the village still value the highest in Point Lay is not the “book learning” of the school but the subsistence skills of the hunter.

During Episcopal Church services in Point Hope the prevalence of **Inupiaq** use varies from week to week and is, in part, dependent upon whether or not several **non-Inupiaq** speakers are present, or high-status individual **non-Inupiaq** speakers. For example, when the bishop’s assistant, the highest church official who visits the community on a regular basis, was in Point Hope, services were **almost** entirely in English. During “typical” weeks, **Inupiaq** was used predominantly throughout the **service**, particularly for the sermon, but there was some variation in this that could not be accounted for merely by examining the number of **non-Inupiaq** speakers present. Few **non-Inupiaq** speaking **Inupiat** individuals, other than young children, attend the **services** on a regular basis. As noted in the discussion of the church itself, on any given Sunday the congregation is in large part composed of elders and other older adults and their grandchildren.

In Point Hope, almost no people under the age of 22 use **Inupiaq** by choice, and when they do they are not fluent. People 30 and older are generally fluent in both languages, but English is the language used in almost all public contexts. Discussions with Elders are typically in **Inupiaq**, as well as some discussions between adults; **Inupiaq** is rarely heard being spoken to a child other than by Elders. The only jobs in the community that would appear to more-or-less require fluency in **Inupiaq** (other than for **Inupiaq-specific** programs, such as the bilingual program at the school) are those jobs that involve continual interaction with Elders, such as the Elder housekeeping positions. There are a number of significant (in terms of functions) adults in the community who do not speak or understand **Inupiaq**.

In Point Lay, few young people use **Inupiaq** as their language of first choice. Most students in the school are not at all fluent, while those between the ages of 20 and 25 are usually able to communicate in **Inupiaq**. People over the age of 30 are usually fairly fluent, but will still converse in English unless they wish to ensure privacy of their conversation from **non-Inupiaq** speakers, or unless the person they are speaking with does not know English very well. The few people in Point Lay over the age of 50 are all primarily speakers of **Inupiaq**.

SOCIALIZATION OF THE YOUNG

In general, children have a great deal of autonomy in Point Lay, at least in activities which pose no immediate danger. For the most part, children old enough to walk to school by themselves decide for themselves whether to attend or not. Few parents force their children to attend school. For the most part, students through the seventh grade are regular attendees. Above that grade attention begins to wander. There are any number of possible reasons for this but the point here is that it is the child who makes the decision, on a daily basis, to attend or not. Talking to parents about their children's attendance in such a case is not apt to be productive and may be considered rather inappropriate and too directive. Point Lay adults perceive the benefits of education and understand the school's position on attendance, but for the most part apparently value the child's freedom of choice more.

It is often remarked that **Inupiat** children are not disciplined and are given free rein in social situations. This is often true. During interviews it is not unusual to see an infant climbing all over its mother, pulling her hair, and so on. Children will interrupt adult conversations at any time for food, attention, or on an apparent whim. Community gatherings are the scenes of peer group activities. Young children commonly run around, make noise, and carry on in general. For the most part they are humored. At a public meeting where slides were being shown a young girl repeatedly tried to pull down the screen without any adult intervening to prevent this. When she was eventually dissuaded from doing this she repeatedly unplugged the slide projector. Even in church, a fussing child is generally left alone to figure out what to do. Only in the most extreme cases of disruption would such a child be removed.

The one village situation which children are not allowed to disrupt is **bingo**. People under the age of eighteen are not allowed to attend. There are no exceptions. Children are on occasion allowed in to give their parents a message, but that is all.

Another situation where children are disciplined, of course, is the school. During school proper this is quite understandable for most villagers. As most students of an age to object to the discipline of school have the option of attendance or not, there is very little community discussion about discipline in the school. What **is** an issue in the village is the use of restricting access to school facilities after school is over as a way to enforce discipline during school and attendance at school. As the school has pretty much the only extensive recreational facilities in the village, banning a person from their use for a given period of time is seen as a rather stiff punishment. These after-hours activities are not perceived by villagers as school activities, although until recently they were funded by the NSBSD.

There are several things that are different when a student **leaves high school in** Point Hope or Point Lay as opposed to the lower-48. First is the fact that those who do not go on to college are probably going to remain within the village, and that their social relations, at least in terms of the actors themselves, are not going to change all that much. Another difference with the transition out of high school in these villages as opposed to many other places in the United States is the contrast between the structure of the high school and the fit of that structure in the surrounding social matrix. In Point Hope and Point Lay, as elsewhere, the high school is an orderly, stratified (by status and age), and highly structured environment. It may be argued that the model of the high school matches more closely the broader social context within which it is set in the lower-48 than it does in Point Hope.

There are also a lot of extracurricular activities associated with the school, with the socially most important being athletics, and all other athletics pale in comparison to basketball. There is a difficult transition to be made after school is over for some of the athletes, particularly the talented ones. One year a young man receives much acclaim as a village basketball talent; as soon as the person graduates he is not allowed to go into the gym after the games for the high school dances. For a period he is the absolute center of village pride and attention, but is cast off for younger ones, like the older siblings who receive less attention and affection when a younger child comes along. School is also a mentally stimulating environment that features highly structured days. For those who do not have a job when they leave school, there appears to be a shift in daily rhythm. In addition to “hanging out,” sleep cycles seem to extend.

There are important differences between the schools in Point Hope and in Point Lay. **As a** smaller school in a smaller village, the students in Point Lay are not quite so isolated as they can be in the more structured Point Hope school. The smaller staff means that Point Lay teachers are more generalists than the teachers at Point Hope, and there is an observable difference in the way that the two staffs relate to their students and school. On the other hand, the very small size of each class in Point Lay means that peer groups are very **small**. This appears to be an especially serious problem in the high school, which has the smallest number of students. Not only **is** this a **small** age cohort in the village, but it is at this age that students begin to drop out of school and their parents tend to let them make the decision to attend or not.

There is another major difference between Point Lay and Point Hope. Teenagers in Point Hope form a category and a peer group. In Point Lay there are not enough of them to really do so. **Also**, in Point Lay there is no guide as to how a teenager should proceed, once he or she graduates from high school. There have been very few examples, and those that there are tend to be as negative as positive. In a very real sense there is a lack of modern role models for the high school students of Point Lay. Their parents went out to school, in an admittedly difficult situation, but a situation in which they were supported by the peer group of their fellow classmates, many from the North Slope themselves. Today’s Point Lay teenager is essentially isolated within his own village. Perhaps that is why so many of the students, when asked, will say that they prefer to be anywhere other than Point Lay, Point Lay, they say, is too small, with nothing to do. The preferred places are Anchorage, Barrow, and Point Hope in about that order. Nearly all end up staying in Point Lay, however, although at least one young adult has maintained himself in Anchorage for several years. Those students currently attending school away from Point Lay may eventually find jobs out of the village. Those younger people presently incarcerated are expected to return to Point Lay. The future in Point Lay is of sporadic employment until marriage, after which most men find a permanent job while women may or may not continue to work. If a man does not marry he may never work steadily. Women are not known to never marry or to live with a man.

Socialization from the Life Cycle Perspective

Socialization is a complex topic, especially as little exists about it historically except in normative accounts. These are almost useless to compare with present-day observational information. It is not that they are outdated, as the same normative accounts can often be elicited today. They do, however, often contradict directly observed behavior. This, of course, is the problem with any normative account and is

difficult if not impossible to adjust for in this case. What we will try to do is to describe observed socialization behavior in Point Lay.

Life Cycle as Locally Reported

A common conception of the modern **Inupiat** life cycle, at least for men, is that they spend their childhood within a family unit. They go to school (or drop out) and drift through their twenties and early thirties. They may or may not marry in this period. By their late thirties they have sown their wild oats and **settle** down in the village where they become respected citizens. This conceptualization received some support from the study of drinking behavior in **Nuiqsut** (Galginaitis et al. 1984). Drinking definitely was a young person's activity, although many men especially continued to drink even as old men. This model also receives some impressionistic support in Point Lay, where the twenty- to thirty-age group is indeed easy to type as hedonistic and irresponsible. Furthermore, many of the responsible men in Point Lay, typically now in their forties, relate that as young men they were quite wild and not very settled. However, such information is incomplete and often the result of selective perceptions. It is therefore best to view the generality of this model with some skepticism. Still, while the conceptualization may be at best a tendency, it is useful to bear it in mind when looking at socialization and age-specific behavior.

Life Cycle: Infancy and Early Childhood

Until a child can walk, it is seldom left alone. Occasionally a parent **will leave** such a child alone for a short period of time if no sitter can be arranged. **Also on** occasion a parent **will** be in no condition to provide appropriate parenting behavior. **In** these situations the child may be left alone. Once such a situation is evident to the community at large the authorities are usually called in (first the PSO and then social services in Barrow). By far the most common case is for the infant to be with his mother, or a sitter if the mother is going somewhere where an infant's presence is inappropriate. The only such locations in Point Lay are certain work sites (construction sites, Public Works, Utilities, the school) and bingo at the community building. Infants accompany their mothers almost every place else, in most cases riding on her back underneath her parka. Work locations where this is acceptable are the Native Store, the post office, the corporation office, day worker at the community building, and in the homes of the Elders for whom housekeeping services are provided. It is apparent that work sites are divided up not only into the less and more safe, but also into the more and less **non-Inupiat**. Children are much more likely to be taken into **Inupiat** defined contexts than into **non-Inupiat** defined contexts.

It is very common for an infant to be placated whenever he is fussing with whatever is at hand that will stop the behavior. This in essence allows the infant to eat and interact with his mother on demand. It is commonplace for an infant in Point Lay to become the center of attention. Other adults will generally talk to the infant, try to hold and/or play with him, and otherwise direct attention to him. Infants become accustomed to being the center of attention and to being cared for by a number of different people. Infants of course still have a preference for their parents, but also develop a hierarchical ranking of non-parents.

Young children are also relatively autonomous and as soon as they can walk are potentially much more difficult to care for. One advantage to the parent is gained

by this mobility of the child. He can now transport himself for at least short distances and can be told to "Go play **out!**" when he becomes too noisy or irksome inside. Even very young children are left to their own devices to play outside, especially if they are in the company of their peer group and one or two older children. Many such groups will contain no one over the age of five and would be the cause of great anxiety for many parents in the lower-48. It is apparently the small size of Point Lay and the fact that such a group is never out of sight or sound of some responsible adult that leaves the minds of Point Lay parents at ease.

In public situations a child is allowed to do much as he or she pleases. The community building is often the scene of many young children chasing each other, sliding on the floor, and creating a general disturbance. In theory, no young child is supposed to be at the community building without family supervision, but in practice this rule is often broken. The staff at the building do attempt to assign responsibility for unsupervised children to anyone who will take it, whether or not the adult is related to the children. For example, there were attempts made to place responsibility for various children upon the researcher. These children were the grandchildren of the head of the household the researcher first stayed in, and for whom he had been a babysitter in the past. These requests were made even though the children were at the community building long before the researcher in each case, and in spite of the fact that the researcher no longer lived in their grandparent's household.

Children are ideally welcome in any context except that of work, and even then they may accompany their mothers as long as they are small enough to be carried on her back. Once children are big enough to no longer be carried but not yet old enough to go to school they become more of a problem. Such children require constant supervision. If a mother works she often has difficulties finding someone to take care of her child or children.

Life Cycle: School Years

Older children, of course, go to school. Some children start as early as age three, but most first attend half-day Early Child Education (ECE) classes at age four. These classes do not generally allow a woman to work full-time, but it supplies welcome relief for those women with several young children. When children start attending school for full-day sessions parents have more time to work or engage in other activities. It is remarkable that the attendance of young children at school is quite high. School is fun for these children and they look forward to attending. By the time this enthusiasm wears off, in the late junior high or early high school years, the children are able to care for themselves. From the age of five on, then, children do not pose any significant scheduling problems for their parents on a daily basis.

Because Point Lay is relatively small and the NSBSD has limited resources, grades are by necessity combined. One teacher handles the combined ECE and kindergarten students, another the elementary (one through four, another the junior high (five through eight), and the fourth the high school (nine through twelve). The principal is available to help on an as needed basis. The first cohort is quite large, eleven in 1987-88. The second is relatively large, but smaller than the first (eight in 1987-88). The third had ten students in 1987-88, and the last also had ten in 1987-88. These numbers are somewhat deceptive, as for 1988-89 the ECE-kindergarten numbers increased to thirteen or so while the other numbers declined, especially in the high school (which was reduced to six enrolled students because of graduation and

people moving or choosing or being forced to attend school elsewhere). All four groups associate more commonly with their peer group than with other age groups.

It is to be expected that the education students receive in Point Lay is quite different from that received in Barrow. Teachers are more generalists than in larger villages. At the same time, the social environment of the school is also quite different from larger villages. The maintenance of the peer group within the school as the instructional group is quite different from what happens in Barrow or even Point Hope. Barrow is so large that classmates physically **live** (perceptually) quite far from each other. Few students walk any distance since Barrow has relatively frequent bus service. Age groups are not mixed in school in Barrow. In Point Hope, age groups are for the most part segregated in classrooms, but socialize together after school. The school is only one focus of this socialization, however, as there are other options available in Point Hope. The arcade has video games and pool tables. There is little for teens and **pre-teens** in the Point Hope community hall, but they frequently visit each others' homes. In Point Lay, on the other hand, the school is clearly the focus of much of the peer interaction for these age groups, although this is much less true of the older than the younger groups. After school it is sometimes difficult to convince these students to leave and they are often back as soon as the gym opens for recreation in the evening.

Life Cycle: Early Childhood Education, Kindergarten, and Elementary Students

These age groups can be treated together not because there are no differences between them, but because they share so many traits that contrast sharply with those of older children. They enjoy school, have good attendance, and interact in the same peer groups both within and outside of school. They are generally quite happy and full of energy. While several may have the reputations for being rather mischievous, none are thought of as "bad kids." After school, when finally ushered out the door, they either go home or play outside with their cohorts. If it is cold or windy out they will often go to the community building to see what is going on and to play with their cohorts. The community building closes at **5:00** p.m. for dinner, and as there is bingo three nights a week, this age group spends little actual time in the community building. On weekends one can generally find these children sliding and running in the community building in the morning. This is a common time for parents to sleep in but to send their children out. The television in the community is an attraction, as are the other children. These groups also play outside ("play out") on the weekends.

The pattern changes little in the summer, except that there are no classes and the gym is open for as long as the budgeted money will allow. These younger children are allocated recreational time in the gym but it is relatively short and early in the evenings. Once adult recreation begins the younger children leave the gym. During summer there is no set schedule for most people who do not work. They sleep, eat, and play when they wish to. Children are somewhat less free than their parents, as the parents do determine the timing of certain daily events. For the most part, however, even very young children are in remarkable control of their own schedule. These age groups do not roam the village at all hours, however, and most are actually homebodies. They also spend a great deal of time using the playground at the school. This is a wooden deck with a jungle gym and other apparatus on it. Many of the children in this age group have bikes and ride them as often as they can.

Life Cycle: Junior High School

In junior high school attendance continues to be relatively good. This age group clearly thinks of itself as in transition from young kids to “cool” teenagers, and in the upper range is beginning to imitate the behavior of older teens. They are developing or expressing tastes in music, clothes, and personal relationships. Cliques are much more prevalent than among younger students. None of this is that much different from similar age cohorts in the lower-48.

This age group cruises the village much more than do younger people. Often they are in the company of an older sibling. These cruising groups tend not to be mixed sexually. Most of the members of this age group are still quite interested in being children and their activities show this. They are experimenting with smoking and drinking, as this is usually the youngest age at which they can successfully obtain the required substances. Even the youngest **Inupiat** child who attends school knows what these substances are and what effects they produce, as ECEers quite commonly imitate smoking marijuana and drinking alcohol while playing. There may be some **non-Inupiat** children who are not so knowledgeable, but that would be the only exception. This age group is also sexually active, although it is not known to what degree. Any sexual activity involving children of younger age groups is thought to involve sexual abuse.

This age group could perhaps be best typified as a “tag-along” group. They are not quite old enough to be allowed to use Hondas and snowmachines, but can frequently obtain a ride from a high **schooler**. They are frequently put in charge of younger siblings and often take this charge with them rather than stay at home. For the most part the orientation of this age group is still to the village and they do not differentiate themselves from it. Behavioral problems become somewhat more evident in this age group as mischief becomes vandalism. However, this is not a very severe problem.

Life Cycle: High School

High school students in Point Lay are starkly different as a group from the other age groups. As individuals they display just as much variability. Teachers and even Point Lay parents, however, have no difficulty describing how they are different. Behaviorally they attend school with far less frequency than any other age group. Males often commit various unlawful acts for kicks (breaking and entering, destroying property by shooting it, “joyriding,” juvenile harassment). It is not uncommon to use drugs at this age in addition to alcohol. Nearly all high school girls in Point Lay will become pregnant before they graduate. Virtually no teenage girls will terminate their pregnancies. The suicide attempts that have occurred in the past two years in Point Lay have come predominantly from this age group and recent high school graduates (or dropouts). The strangest note of **all** is that none of these students is considered to be a lost cause even though they are probably the most morose group in Point Lay.

Parents in Point Lay do not really understand the way these teens dress, and the music they listen to. Parents have had a very different educational experience as well. The current high school class in Point Lay have spent their entire lives, for the most part, in Point Lay (which of course is also true for all of the younger students). Their parents and other relatives have a vast range of experiences outside of Point Lay to draw upon. These high school students have traveled as well, but have nowhere near the same experience of the land around Point Lay or the other

communities of Alaska that their parents had at their age. High school students are often much better traveled than their parents at the same age in terms of trips outside of Alaska. The **Cully** school provides several such opportunities a year. High school students in Point Lay, however, have never had to fend for themselves. They have the support of their family in the village and can ignore school if they want to. Their parents, sent out to school, did not have that option. Through television, records, and other media this age group is much more aware of the world than their parents had been. At the same time they have a lot less practical experience in dealing with people and situations; they are not nearly as street-wise.

The attire for high school students is blue jeans, shirt with light jacket, sneakers, and no hat. Even in the coldest weather most students prefer not to wear coats if they can avoid doing so. Younger students imitate this behavior to a certain extent, but this image is especially cultivated by males of high **school** age and in their early twenties. This group commonly adds sunglasses to the "uniform."

One area of common understanding which potentially explains why **non-Inupiat** interpret the behavior of these teens in more negative terms than do **Inupiat** is that **Inupiat** have also passed through a similar stage of disorientation where they had to learn about alcohol, drugs, and sex (although it was sometimes at a later age for those who are now parents). The **Inupiat** parents comprehend the angry use of escapist behavior and believe that it is something from which a person can recover, or perhaps is a choice that each person must be allowed to make for himself. Given the value that an individual should be given the right to choose for himself, this is even more understandable.

It is also regrettable but nonetheless true that by this time of their lives nearly every child has experienced domestic violence, quite possibly an unstable relationship between his parents, and the clash of values between his peer group and those of his parents.

Substance abuse, although clearly present in this group, has not proven to be as serious a problem as with other populations of high school students. Partially, this is due to the small numbers involved and the characteristics of those students. The comparison between last school year and the one before is instructive in this regard. In 1987-88 there was one senior, and he was the "big man" in the village, and he still is to some extent. It is his taste for "heavy metal" music that serves as the lead for most of the other teens in the village. His taste in clothes is imitated by others. For the most part he seems to take his cue from Music Television (**MTV**)-like rock videos. He was and is heavily involved with drugs and alcohol.

Other students, although they hung out with him and followed him around to some extent, did not obtain drugs from him. He is more a user than a supplier. On occasion he may share what he has, but not with younger peers. His main group of reference, especially now that he has graduated, is the young single men in their twenties. His nihilistic philosophy of life is not shared widely among that group either, but there are a few who subscribe to a similar overall world view.

The school actually had two seniors this year, but completely different from last year's senior. Whereas last year's student was rather self-centered, confident, and cocky, this year's seniors were shy and retiring. Last year's senior was an athlete whereas those from this year were not. One is the best student Point Lay has had in a long while and the other is a female who graduated but has little interest in school as such. Both graduated early, the male because he was not challenged and went to the University of Alaska at Fairbanks as an early admission, and the female

because she had enough credits to graduate and was pregnant. This comparison uses the characteristics most salient for village residents. Last year's senior clearly was the best athlete in his age group and one of the best in the village. Athletics are the standard by which young men are judged.

Next year there will be no upperclassmen in the high school. There was one junior this year, but he will be going to junior college next year. There were no seniors from Point Lay who could compete for this scholarship and the person chosen certainly has the ability to benefit from the opportunity. This leaves the high school with no real role models, which is a severe problem. Judging from the problems experienced by upperclassmen in the high school, it appears that the lack of role models when they are underclassman and of peers when they are seniors may warp their perceptions of themselves. Last year's senior states that Point Lay has nothing to offer him, that there is no potential wife for him in Point Lay, and that being in Point Lay is as good as being dead. Still, he continues to stay in Point Lay and in essence sabotages every opportunity he has to leave the village (being sent back from a job in Barrow and school in Fairbanks due to partying and substance abuse). This graduate clearly has not learned how to cope with new situations and may in fact have learned to avoid them. He has made **little** effort to change his behavior so as to "escape" Point Lay. It must be added that there are graduates who are now attending training programs and college outside of Point Lay, although so far the few graduates who have returned to Point Lay from such programs have not applied their special skills.

Last year's senior did attempt to go to college, as he would no doubt help the school basketball team. His first week was spent in socializing and getting high, however, and he was suspended before attending a class. He then returned to Point Lay, where he has been ever since. The summer before he had served as an intern with the NSB Planning Department and essentially had the same experience. Because of closer supervision, he did complete over half of the internship, but eventually was dropped because of irregular and undependable work habits attributable to drugs and alcohol.

Life Cycle: High School Graduates and Dropouts -- Young Twenties

Of the four or five students in the high school, at least one has effectively dropped out. Another is expected to graduate and to learn a vocation either on the job or at a trade school. Two girls are reasonable students and will also graduate eventually. Only one student is actually expected to take advantage of the college-track orientation of the school. He is a junior who will be attending college next year under an oil company scholarship program. He will also have two or three summers of oil-related work to go with his classes in petroleum technology.

Individuals who have recently graduated from high school in most cases do not have any marketable skills. Point Lay has recently graduated four or five students and thus actually has a relatively high rate of continuing education. Point Lay also has a number of recent dropouts and a few graduates who could not read. The program at the school is recognized to be failing for the average student. The exceptional student receives little challenge and does not learn anywhere near his potential. Thus, although there have been an increasing number of students taking advantage of post-secondary education it is not clear that this is due to the influence of the school. At the present time **all** young men with jobs in Point Lay are using skills that they learned on the job. This in fact is the standard **model** of learning (and teaching) in Point Lay. One learns by watching and doing. School as an educational process is still much of a mystery.

Since 1984, eleven people have graduated and at least one has been known to have dropped out. Of this number, one is in college, perhaps two are in technical school, and two are in jail (one of these has a full-time job to come back to, however). One is now married and is a housewife with little time for anything other than her husband and children. Four graduates and one dropout remain in Point Lay and work sporadically at seasonal jobs. One graduate had left Point Lay and is reportedly in Anchorage. Of this group, then, one has found a full-time job, two (including the man with the job) have established families in Point Lay, and three others are continuing their education. Six are still adrift, five still in Point Lay. In fact, only one of these individuals has left Point Lay other than temporarily for school.

There are of course other young men in Point Lay who have graduated from or attended schools in other villages. Their characteristics are roughly the same as for the eleven described above, as far as information about them is available.

In Point Lay it is commonly believed that marriage and the establishment of a family serves to settle a man down. It is assumed that men are sexually predatory and women are passive, if willing, sexual partners. It is the married woman's role to "tame" her man or to encourage him to grow **up**. Unmarried men in their twenties are for the most part seen as immature. Older unmarried men are judged by their accomplishments and **competencies**. It is notable, given this model of behavior, that this age group is indeed the nexus of drug behavior. Alcohol is the drug of choice for older individuals, but other drugs are more commonly used by this age group. Marriage is presumed to reduce the abuse of drugs, but clearly that only occurs in some cases. School-age people are recruited into this activity quite readily. In one case, the school recreation aide was also the biggest drug dealer in the village and was observed dealing in the school during evening recreation. He has since been replaced **in** both positions.

Most women have married, or have given birth to at least one child, during this period of their lives. They may marry a man their own age, but marriage to a man up to fifteen years their senior is not uncommon. This age difference at marriage is one carry-over from the past, when it was quite common. Men now in their forties are for the most part married to women in their thirties, and most men and women older than forty demonstrate this pattern somewhere in their marital history (they often have been married more than once due to death or divorce of spouse). Men in their thirties and younger more commonly marry women near their own age.

While it is not expected that men in this age group will obtain full-time jobs, it is not uncommon for them to do so. It is expected that men of this age group will attempt to learn the subsistence skills necessary to successfully harvest resources in their area. Normally they would do so by going out with more experienced hunters. Occasionally a man will be "self-taught," but such individuals are becoming rarer. A man in this age category is still considered young and few expectations are placed upon his consistency.

Life Cycle: Thirties and Forties

All women (except on rare occasions) and most men are married before the end of this period. People in their forties are expected to be solid citizens in the village. When they drink they are expected to stay home and not cause a public disturbance. In Point Lay, most men in this age group have full-time jobs, although this is not a community expectation. All men are expected to have some subsistence resource

harvesting expertise, although the extent to which they use it is quite variable. Few people in Point Lay are extremely active in subsistence activities, but all men share the ideology of the importance of the knowledge of these activities.

Some men are becoming fathers as part of a family unit in this age group, due to the age of marriage pattern. It is to be expected that this will happen at an earlier age in the future, given that women seem to be starting to marry similar age men rather than older ones. Married men are expected to be more stable providers than unmarried men, whether they are primarily subsistence-oriented or wage **labor**-oriented,

Life Cycle: Fifties and Sixties

A person in his fifties is well on his way to becoming an Elder. Many people reduce subsistence and other strenuous activities at this time, although there are plenty of people this age who are still quite active. People in this age group are commonly grandparents who baby-sit and otherwise help socialize their grandchildren. Wage labor activity is usually also reduced at this age. People of this age are given certain prerogatives and are assumed to speak from experience about the things that they know.

Life Cycle: Elders

Any person over age sixty is an Elder, although some people explicitly say that they do not consider a person an Elder merely because he is old. Usually, however, this is in reference to a **non-Inupiat** elderly person. Elderly **Inupiat** are presumed to be knowledgeable and are looked after to the extent necessary. In Point Lay Elders maintain their own households with the help of a number of NSB programs. They are also part of kin-based sharing networks and receive more than they give, but are not really part of any **multistructure** household unit. Households in Point Lay are now ideally composed of a couple and their children. The extent to which this will continue as the population of the village ages will be quite interesting to observe but cannot be predicted. Point Hope, with about the same percentage of Elders as Point Lay but a much larger absolute number, has a significant number of three or four-generation households which include Elders. Point Hope also has some **multi**-structure household units. The two villages presently differ in this regard. Population structure, economic resources available, and housing supply are all explanatory factors to consider and cannot really be predicted. It is probably unwise to consider Point Lay as a significantly different system from Point Hope at the present time, however, the specific situations are quite different. Thus, if we had to predict the direction Point Lay household organization would go, we would expect **Inupiat** households to become more like those in Point Hope (for a discussion of Point Hope households, please see pages 151-59).

Subsistence **Skill** Learning

The learning of subsistence skills is perhaps one of the most important aspects of socialization, since **Inupiat** identity is so tied up with subsistence activities. In the sections on subsistence and whaling we have discussed this **learning process**. It is possible to learn such skills as both a child and an adult. In many **respects**, the knowledge needed for subsistence activities is continually being degraded by technology. The minimum amount that a person needs to know is now considerably less

than in the past. Technology compensates for a great **deal**. However, many subsistence hunters are continually learning through their everyday experiences and it is still the case that the more one knows the more likely one is to be successful under conditions where others are not. Thus, it cannot be said that an intimate knowledge of the land will disappear soon. Indeed, it may be that the relative ease of harvest success (at least for certain species such as caribou) will encourage more people to participate in such activities and spread minimal knowledge very widely, allowing others to learn as much as they want to through their own experiences and those of their companions.

Relationships in the **Learning** of Subsistence Skills in Point Lay

Point Lay is not an ideal community to discuss the topic of relationships in the learning of subsistence skills, in an abstract or general way, for a number of reasons. First, its small size limits the actual scope of possibilities. Second, the relative newness of the community and the demands of wage employment (both to keep the community operating and to provide a living for the individuals involved) make it difficult for people to devote much time to subsistence activities. Third, most people do not have a great knowledge of the local area as yet, which combined with the lack of time makes for fewer opportunities to teach others this knowledge, which is a prerequisite for most subsistence harvest activities. However, Point Lay can certainly be discussed in terms of the actual relationships that have been observed in this regard. The general mode of information transmission has also been observed.

Point Lay has a very limited number of active subsistence hunters, perhaps as few as three or four (see the discussions on pages 421 and 461-62 for **more** information on this topic). Most other adult men will go out on an irregular basis to harvest only specific species in limited quantities. There are also individuals who do not actively hunt at all. Thus, the number of potential teachers for those who wish to learn subsistence skills is small. Combined with this is the fact that most of these active individuals still profess to be learning the terrain around Point Lay, as they have not lived in the area for that long a period of time. This does not preclude their training others at the same time as they are gaining a knowledge of the land, but may complicate matters as it increases the uncertainty level in situations of risk. The more inexperienced a group is, the more difficult it is to assess why things did not work out or to evaluate the results of trial and error in the field. Thus, there are times when the more active harvesters do not wish to take the inexperienced along with them.

Because of the demographic characteristics of Point Lay, the question of the degree to which kinship is related to the teaching of subsistence skills cannot be realistically addressed in the abstract. The most active hunters and their close relations **in** Point Lay do not have children old enough to go out on the land. Those adults with such children (or relations) are not that active in the subsistence harvest. In actual fact, the few teenage boys in Point Lay exhibit little inclination to learn subsistence skills other than shooting at targets or very small game on occasion. Young men (in their 20s) more actively seek to learn hunting skills but are often limited by the lack of available teachers. Thus, an examination of the teaching of subsistence skills in Point Lay actually reduces to an examination of task group composition (and formation). A discussion of the **preparation** for subsistence harvest activities will also be useful, as it also bears on the question of how the knowledge of subsistence skills is transmitted between individuals.

There are, of course, many different animals harvested by Point Lay people (no gathering of plant material was observed, but this is hardly surprising given the timing of the research -- only berries were mentioned in discussions). In the fall, when research began, caribou *were* the primary target of opportunity. There are several general "rules" for hunting in the village, most of which were first elicited in regard to hunting for caribou, but which also apply to most situations. There is no explicit forum for the promulgation or exposition of these "rules," which are a common-sense knowledge and are a part of any general conversation with a novice and an assumed baseline of information among hunters.

These include such "rules" as: (1) do not go out alone; (2) take a sled with full equipment, including camping gear, food, extra fuel, extra ammunition, extra clothes, and (if available) a **CB** radio and antenna; (3) do not leave one's sled in an emergency; (4) do not waste subsistence resources; and (5) tell someone in the village where you intend to go, when you are going, and when you intend to be back. Of course, there are situations where exceptions must be made and cases where the rules are not complied with, but they remain a set of guidelines to which most if not all Point Lay hunters subscribe.

The village ideal is to hunt with a partner, each with a snowmachine and sled. This is primarily for safety reasons should a machine break down or an individual be incapacitated due to an accident. Companionship is also valued. In actual practice, individuals go out alone as often as not, as long as they intend to remain in areas where they have been before. In most cases such individuals will also have an expectation that other people may decide independently to hunt the same general area, as on good hunting days most active hunters go out if at **all** possible and the usual use area is not **all** that large. Furthermore, once caribou are located in a certain area, most hunters will concentrate on that area first and look elsewhere only if unsuccessful there. As the results (positive or negative) of a hunt are usually rather quickly spread upon a hunter's return (positive usually more quickly than negative, of course), such guiding information is commonly available. Thus, hunters tend to be in proximity to each other even if they go out individually.

Hunters also sometimes go out without sleds, either because conditions make transport of caribou on a sled difficult or because the hunter feels no need for a full load of equipment. The second would be the case if the trip were merely a scouting operation or was to be confined to areas close to the village. People who went out alone were especially encouraged to take a loaded sled, but did not always do so. When two or more people went out, usually at least one took a sled.

Unfortunately for Point Lay and the research, there were very few caribou to be harvested in the area in 1987-88. Thus, observations were limited due to the restricted number of individuals who went out. In addition, there was an extended Search and Rescue (**SAR**) operation during this period which seriously curtailed subsistence pursuits. Some information was obtained through general discussions about subsistence, and through talks associated with the SAR. In fact, the SAR proved to be a crystallization of the "rules" given above because the person being searched for apparently violated most of them. He went out alone, without a sled, and did not tell anyone he was leaving. What will follow is a description of subsistence harvest observations made in Point Lay, information gleaned from working with the SAR operation, and other related observations.

There are perhaps three or four active harvesters in Point Lay (by general community consensus). The bulk of local households (and males), perhaps twenty, can be classified as "medium" in regard to subsistence harvest activity. The remaining

twenty or so households can be considered low harvesters. The actual number of households in each category varies depending on the time of year and who is in the village. Non-Native households are for the most part inactive in subsistence harvesting (with one or two exceptions), and are commonly absent from the village during summer. (These demographic dynamics are discussed in the population section.) For our purposes it is enough to note that there are few very active harvesters, a fairly large medium group and an equally large (but not entirely Native) low-or-no activity group. This categorization is an emit one, having been expressed by community members themselves. Additional support for this view came from the need for Point Lay to import "trackers" during the SAR operation, because no one in the village possessed the skill necessary for the search, given the age of the trail.

People hunt for caribou either alone (at least until the SAR, after which people no longer went out alone) or in small groups. Most of the time an "active" hunter or one of the more active of the medium hunter group will be involved. Active hunters were all middle-aged or older. Although some were younger, medium hunters tend to be at least twenty. These males were those generally recognized to have relatively developed subsistence harvest skills, although their knowledge of the land may not be great. Most have lived in Point Lay for a number of years. The inactive group includes males of all ages who were relatively new to Point Lay. Many tend to be younger (twenties or younger) and not part of a household with an older male. They may or may not have a consort, but in any event tend to be part of a less stable household. In addition, males below the age of twenty tend to be relatively inactive in subsistence pursuits, except for certain limited small game.

When hunters go out for caribou together, it is almost always with other experienced hunters. No training or apprenticeship relations were observed, except insofar as less experienced hunters accompanied those three or four most active males. What was being transferred in these cases was, for the most part, knowledge of the terrain around Point Lay and where to find certain resources under certain conditions. These **small** groups tended to be made up of heads of households or, when younger males went along, sons of a female head of household whose husband is either deceased or otherwise absent from the household.

This pattern was somewhat modified during the SAR operation. Much of this effort involved groups of men searching areas around Point Lay using **snowmachines** and afforded young inexperienced men and adolescents with the opportunity to accompany those more experienced. The search covered **nearly** the entire Point Lay use area (and actually more land than is used in some areas). Search groups were most commonly much larger than hunting parties (four to six) so that relatively inexperienced people could join a group with no penalty. In fact, as Point Lay is so small this was encouraged. The more experienced men were needed to lead and coordinate these groups but had to rely on the less experienced to do much of the searching. The instructions on where to go and how to look was training that many of the searchers said would later be useful in subsistence pursuits, as they now knew the land much better than before. Searchers did not hunt during the SAR but were constantly observing whatever signs of animals were present. There was also active questioning of the more experienced men about the subsistence potential of the area the group was searching.

The only instances of young men, not head of household, hunting caribou or other animals were when they went out in the company of their equally inexperienced peers. In these cases it was not always clear that hunting was the primary objective of the exercise. At least part of the exercise was to have something to do in the company of friends and to gain a bit more knowledge about resources locations. No big game

was observed to be harvested on such trips. For example, three young men (about seventeen to twenty-two) who took a break from fishing at **fishcamp** were observed to go look around the country up in the mountains just beyond the **fishcamp**. Their primary objective was to see what was there and to harvest animals as the opportunity arose. No harvesting was done, but they enjoyed themselves, went back to **fishcamp**, and eventually returned to the village with some fish.

Fishcamp is one subsistence activity which does involve an entire range of task groups. As stated above, young men sometimes go on their own. Other groups are formed on the same basis as caribou hunting parties but tend to be larger as **fishcamp** is a more social activity. The two commonly used **fishcamps** each has a small cabin, which users sometimes supplement by pitching tents. Fishing is usually best in the morning and for a little while in the evening, leaving plenty of time to sit and talk or explore the hinterlands. Still a third type of group is a family unit or one of the other types of groups with younger children included. Ice fishing is an activity where it is not difficult even for the very young to keep up, where the resources are not likely to be scared away by a clumsy amateur, and which can be learned relatively quickly. (The manufacture of jigging fish hooks is another matter -- see the related discussion of the production of subsistence-related equipment below). It is interesting that the only three women observed to go to **fishcamp** this year were adults who were part of family units. No young women or girls are known to have gone to **fishcamp**. No reason was given by local informants, but for the time period of the study **fishcamp** seemed to be first and foremost a male "fun" trip and not a family activity. Most of the young men who went to **fishcamp** were unattached and it is likely that single females would have felt uncomfortable in an isolated setting being alone with such a group. Even young married women have expressed this concern, although not in the context of **fishcamp**, and not in cases where their husbands would be present. There is also the pragmatic consideration that there are not many single women in Point Lay old enough to go to **fishcamp** independently of their families. Also, since few married men went to **fishcamp** it is not unreasonable that few married women went either. The data are simply too scanty to choose among these possibilities.

There is not necessarily any difference in skill level between a younger person and an older one in fishing, as some young men are as skilled as the experienced fishers. However, as a general rule, success is associated with age. This appears, however, to be primarily an experience factor. The more one ice fishes, the better one becomes. There is little formal instruction other than perhaps how to chop a hole and general directions on how to jig and impart a motion to one's hook. Much of even this is observational -- one models oneself after a successful fisher. A few general locational tips may be given on where to chop holes in likely places and at what depth to fish, but, again, experience and observation are the real teachers. The young children observed at **fishcamp** (below the age of fifteen) had little pressure exerted on them to actually fish. They were given hooks and poles and a little instruction, but were otherwise left to their own devices. They did indeed catch some fish but spent most of their time in other pursuits. The opportunity to learn was given, but the choice was left to the individual child. Once a person reaches the age where he can drive a **snowmachine** by himself, he can go fishing with peers and develop his skills at the rate he wishes.

The differences between learning to hunt caribou and learning to ice fish are presently quite distinct in Point Lay, but that is probably due to the differences in the two activities and perhaps the strange caribou season Point Lay just experienced. Ice fishing is a relatively simple activity with few critical decisions to be made quickly. Landing a **grayling** is not nearly as demanding a skill as dropping a caribou

with a- rifle. Chopping a series of **holes** and locating fish is quite a bit simpler than finding and stalking (or running down) caribou. Ice fishing skills can be acquired in a much shorter time than those needed to harvest caribou on a consistent basis. In fact, ice fishing can be primarily self-taught, whereas to learn to hunt caribou in this way, while possible, would take a long time and require extraordinary persistence and observational abilities. Perhaps for these reasons subsistence activity by those under twenty does appear to be quite low, especially for hunting caribou, and may be related to the lack of training for the young men. Some of the factors for this were mentioned above, and the role the school (for August through May) and special summer programs (for June to August) plays in this will be examined elsewhere.

Perhaps the most common way for individuals to learn about subsistence hunting is from the general talk which drifts around the village. This is usually related to what is going on, or perceived to be going on, in the village. For instance, during and after the SAR effort it was stressed that no one should go out alone, and that a sled should always be taken. Once subsistence activities resumed after the SAR, it was noted that individuals did not go out alone and that sleds were for the most part taken along. As time went on and the weather moderated (and especially during spring and summer), individuals began to go out alone again. Other stories are told about hunters who are very successful at bringing animals down but who have to leave them out on the tundra temporarily, either because they did not bring along equipment to transport them back to the village or some other reason. When they then go back to retrieve these animals, they frequently cannot locate them. Such stories were told about several individuals and whether they are actually true are used to illustrate two **points**: first that a hunter should always take a sled or means to transport his kill, and that a hunter needs to know the land, and how to get around very well. Such talk does not **help** teach subsistence skills, of course, but seems quite important for the transmission of the ideology of subsistence use and for ensuring the proper attitude towards the resources and a proper concern for safety.

It is important to note how these observations differ from how hunters who are now adults (either in the active or the medium categories) report that they learned how to hunt. The most knowledgeable couple has spent all or most of their adult lives in the Point Lay area, and thus are authorities on the local resources. One of the most active subsistence harvesters says that when he first returned to the village he spent two or three years traveling the land extensively with this couple, which is how he says he learned what he now knows. Most of the adult men who are at all active in subsistence pursuits tell much the same story. Their knowledge derives from trips in the company of more knowledgeable men. The men in their early twenties who are fairly active subsistence hunters differ from those who are not along this same experience dimension. These more active young hunters report that when they were younger they went out a good deal with the older couple (relatives) or their father or uncle (now deceased or otherwise removed from **the** scene). **This sort** of training was not evident while the research was being conducted, partially because the most knowledgeable couple has reduced their subsistence activities for health reasons (and were out of Point Lay for a considerable time). Whether this pattern has changed so drastically cannot be determined by such a short period of observation, but clearly the young seem to be receiving less subsistence training, at least of the “on-the-job” kind, than has been reported for the adults in the community.

Estimates of how long it takes to “learn the land” differ considerably, depending upon one’s informant and the way that the question is asked, or indeed, whether a question is asked at all or if the information is simply part of a more general

conversation. Asking specifically about this topic apparently increases its saliency to the informant and increases the ideological value attached to the answer. Such at least has been our experience in several North Slope villages. Thus, there is not one answer to this question, but many which are context-dependent. That is as it should be, however, because “learning the land” in an ultimate **Inupiat** sort of way is precisely like this. **Inupiat** know what is meant by the expression, but there is not any given body of information to learn to “know” the land. Knowing the land is not knowledge-based at all, but is more performance-based. A firm grasp of the geographic, environmental, and biological nature of the area is a necessary but not a sufficient condition to “know the land.” Such knowledge is more intuitive (or automatic) than analytic, although that is not to say that **Inupiat** cannot be analytical about their knowledge of the environment. To know the land means that a person is never lost, always knowing where he is in relation to where he wants to go. Such a person is confident of finding game when he goes out to hunt, although he also realizes that success is never guaranteed. Such people are said to exist, but this is clearly more a goal to be striven for than a state achieved.

Pragmatically, informants say that for an individual to successfully harvest caribou (that is, know where to look for them, be able to get to that locale and back without getting lost, and so on) takes about three to five years for an **Inupiat** who basically already knows how to hunt. Thus, this estimate represents the time it would take to learn a new spatial area only and not the skills of hunting per se. That there is more to these skills than the actual harvesting of animals is made **clear** when **Inupiat** remark that for a **non-Inupiat** the time estimate would be longer, of course (with hunters taking less time than non-hunters, but longer than **Inupiat** in any event). The harvesting of caribou is used as sort of the lowest level of subsistence learning to be recognized. That is, it is a skill that is relatively easy to learn and is one at which novices can be expected to have a fair chance of success (especially if they go out with more experienced hunters). Caribou are also one of the most important subsistence resources as they supply a large amount of the fresh meat in the village, are relatively abundant, and taste good. Informants say specifically that it is technology and the stupidity of caribou that allow for a fast learning curve and a high rate of success compared to other resources. Rifles allow a hunter to shoot from a distance, and caribou provide a large target. **Snowmachines** and Hondas are both adequate to find, run down if necessary, and transport a caribou. They are fast enough that a large area can be searched so that only a minimal knowledge of the area is needed for a successful harvest (the better a hunter’s search program, the less time he actually needs to hunt before harvesting an animal, of course). Caribou are reported to often not run away from approaching machines, either ignoring or sometimes even approaching them. This was actually observed to be true in **Nuiqsut** (**Galginaitis** et al. 1984) but no observational data exist for Point Lay.

The only reason hunting caribou is considered to take three to five years is the requirement that each hunter ideally be able to find his own way around and the variation from year to year as to where the caribou can actually be found. Since hunters learn through experience, they must observe the yearly and cyclical nature of caribou distribution over the land firsthand. Each hunter must also master a cognitive map of the land use area and the techniques of way-finding.

Fishing at fishcamp, at least from Point Lay, is hardly even classified as a subsistence skill. The actual fishing technique can be learned in a matter of hours (which includes learning to chop a hole, keep it clear of ice, and so on). Learning where to locate such a hole may take several days, but since Point Lay people use only two or three main sites for fall and winter fishcamps, once a person learns where fish are likely to be the knowledge is transferable from one year to another,

Making “Eskimo fishhooks” is a skill that requires a substantial time to acquire, but can be mastered in a matter of a week or so. In the past it has been taught in the school metal shop and that is where those young men who presently make hooks on occasion learned to do so. The most successful fishermen tend to use commercial **Mepps** spinners that have two of the points of the treble hook cut off and the barb on the remaining hook removed, rather than use handmade hooks. “Eskimo fishhooks” can be just as successful as commercial hooks, but experience has shown that commercial hooks are more consistent over time and are certainly less time-consuming to make. There are individuals who ideologically will only use an “Eskimo fishhook,” but they are in a distinct minority.

There is really only one aspect of **fishcamp** which is considered a hard skill to learn, and that is learning the route to **fishcamp** and back. This is similar to the situation for caribou hunting, where the successful act of harvesting is not the aspect of the task which takes the longest to learn. There are various degrees of learning involved as well. To follow the trail to **fishcamp**, after others have been there, is considered relatively easy as there are machine tracks to follow. If the weather **should** deteriorate while on the trail or at **fishcamp**, however, a person with only this level of knowledge would be in trouble.

The next level would be a person who knows more or less where the **fishcamp** is by knowing where it is in relation to various prominent landmarks in the surrounding area. This means that although at any given time he may not know exactly where he is or what direction to go, he is able to continue to travel confident in his ability to eventually recognize a landmark and to correct his course if need be. This is the minimal level of knowledge with which people will let others go to **fishcamp** with if there is the possibility they may be traveling alone. The two young men with whom the researcher went to **fishcamp** fit in this category. The trip to **fishcamp** took quite a bit longer than the minimally required time, but there was never any danger of being lost. In inclement weather there would be no question of trying to continue to travel, however, as guidance is mainly by visual landmark. Conceivably an individual in this category could be the first to go to **fishcamp** for any given season, but in practice this is discouraged. There is too great a chance of laying down a false, or at the least circuitous, trail for those who come after.

A person is not said to know his way to **fishcamp** until he can be trusted to lay down the first trail of the season, and this is recognized only when he can find his way from any point along the way by dead reckoning. There are in fact several different routes to **fishcamp**, and the best subsistence hunters can go by any of them. The easiest route to follow, but the longest, follows the coast to the mouth of the river upon which the **fishcamp** is and then follows the river up to the **fishcamp**. The most direct route cuts across inland. It is the overland route that people talk about when discussing who knows the way to **fishcamp** and who does not. Men who truly know the land are said to be able to find their way back to Point Lay from fishcamp in whiteout conditions.

Young people at fishcamp are under no compulsion to learn how to fish or to learn the land. One fifth-grader used a barbed treble hook during the period that the researcher was at **fishcamp** as he did not want to lose any of the fish that he hooked. It took him much longer to get his fish off the hook than for other fishermen (which is the reason for the use of a single **barbless** hook). This boy did not want to learn the skill of feeling the fish bite, pulling the line hard enough to hook it but not so hard or jerky as to pull the hook away, swinging the fish out of the water and the hole over the ice in such a way that it falls off the hook unto the pile of fish already caught, and putting the hook back into the water. No one criticized him for

this, or for his lack of concentration on fishing. He never fished for longer than fifteen minutes at a time. It was probably this boy's age which prompted this tolerance. The researcher was told that under no circumstances would an adult use a barbed hook, as it took too long to unhook fish, got one's hands wet, and was generally not worth the extra work. If you learned to fish a **barbless** hook correctly, a barbed hook actually dramatically reduces your rate of catching fish.

Point Lay **fishcamps** are, however, used as more than just fishcamps. As mentioned, there are cabins located at the two major fishcamp sites. These are used as regular "rest stops" on other hunting trips and as emergency shelters when necessary. As such, they often seem to be the first focal points outside of Point Lay for learning the land. There are other such locations with names and cabins (Icy Cape to the north, **Kutchiak** to the south, for example) but these are further away, not visited as often, and perhaps most important, are not locations to which individuals are taken as children almost as a matter of course. One of the **fishcamp** cabins in fact belongs to the school, although the school has not sponsored a trip to **fishcamp** in some time. Because of the high rate of family involvement at **fishcamp** in the past however, combined with the school sponsored trips, the cabins at **fishcamp** are key nodes on the subsistence resource harvesting map.

The two young men who took the researcher to **fishcamp** were using the **fishcamps** in this way. They went between Point Lay and the **fishcamps** several times that season, going progressively farther from Point Lay until they had penetrated the mountains to where **the** river became a stream. They went with the intent to fish, but also to explore. At least half their time was spent on snowmachines, looking to see what the surrounding land looked like. It was while they were out at fishcamp that the search for the missing Point Lay man took place, and they did in fact confuse the search for a while. One of their machines appeared similar to that of the missing man's and the tracks that they had laid out misled some of the searchers who thought they may be the missing man's until these young men came back and reported where they had actually been. There was some muted criticism that people should not be joyriding around the countryside when a search was going on. This was silenced by the simple observation that they had not then known that a search was in progress and that "They were just trying to be hunters," This was also used as a reason to excuse the fact that one of their machines had broken down and been left in the uplands after it had been made to go where it should not have been.

A remark should also be made here about the common observation that **Inupiat** say they often can find their way by using the wind, snowdrifts, and other environmental clues as references. Informants in Point Lay also mentioned these guides, but only as rather advanced methods. They also warned that when using the wind one had to be very careful for subtle shifts in direction, which would then cause a person misdirect himself. The river route to **fishcamp** was in fact used to introduce people to these environmental clues. It was pointed out to the researcher how the drifts on one side of the river were high and slanted while on the other they were small and steep, due to the prevailing wind. In whiteout conditions, a disoriented person would still know which way was upriver and which downriver simply by noting which side of the river had which sort of drift. The researcher was told this in one of the first lessons taught to people wanting to learn the way to **fishcamp** as well. Using similar clues away from the river out on the tundra requires a great deal more experience, but is not in principal greatly different.

The Crafting of Fishhooks: Point Lay

Ice fishing in Point Lay involves chopping a hole in river ice and dropping a line in with a (generally) unbarbed hook on it. What is known in Point Lay as an “Eskimo fishhook” is essentially a brass jig with a small bent nail used as the hook. These are made from whatever brass can be found of an appropriate size -- pipe, ashtrays, or whatever. A piece is sawed off, shaped, and polished. Holes are drilled in both ends (one for the line, the other for the nail/hook), and the nail inserted and bent. The nail stays in by friction, as no glue or heat is used.

Classes have been held in the past in the school shop on how to make such hooks, and many of the young men say this is where they learned to do so. There are also adult men in the village who are willing to supervise the making of such hooks by people who wish to learn. During our research, however, few people were making hooks as most had more than enough for their personal use.

The Crafting of Sleds: Point Lay

Sleds in Point Lay are invariably flat sleds (as opposed to basket sleds). They have a relatively simple design. Two side pieces of heavy wood are used for runners. These are cut to curve up in front and are shod with metal or (more recently) **teflon** plastic runners. Numerous cross-slats join these two runners and a long board running parallel to the runners on the underside of the slats is used to stabilize the sled. At the rear of the sled two uprights are attached to be used for handles and joined by a piece of plywood. Plywood is also used to reinforce the side of the sled near the handles. Sometimes a space is left behind the handles and plywood so that a person can stand on the sled and hold onto the handles **while** it is being pulled.

The researchers saw several sleds in the process of construction during the spring of 1988. No visible plans were ever present and the makers all disparaged such planning. Each builder started with an idea of the size of the sled he wanted and proceeded from there. For the most part he worked alone. The first runner/side piece was cut and shaped by eye and then used as a template for the second. The cross-slats were all cut the same length and nailed on, and then the bracing center board was put on. The runners were then put on. The handles were fashioned after deciding how high to make them and where to put them. The plywood was then applied between the handles and to the sides of the sled. **It** was in a “V” shape with the wide edge **on** the sled runner and the narrow part on the handle. Holes were then put in to attach the tow rope (or in some cases a tow bar).

One significant aspect of this process is that there were no observers. One sled was made in the woodshop during school, but this was unrelated to the sled made in the evening. The student had to complete some project to obtain the credit for the course and a sled was the agreed-upon project. There were apparently no young people interested in seeing how a sled was put together so that they could later build them when and if they needed a sled. It could be that sleds are simple enough that no one needs to be taught, but this lack of an interested audience seemed strange nonetheless.

This contrasts markedly with the woodshop evenings observed in April and May 1989. At this time there were several young men interested in various projects. One of these teenagers was in the midst of a sled-building frenzy. These sleds were very small, however, being about three feet long and two feet wide and intended to be used

for people to haul loads around the village. He had built one for someone in the village as a special order (for \$10 or so, plus the customer paid for the materials, another \$10 or so paid to the school). When others in the village saw the first sled this teenager received orders for several more. He made these in the ensuing weeks, at a rate of about one per shop night (about three hours). He made these sleds explicitly for the money, and by the time he had made the last one was very bored with it. By the time this fourth or fifth sled was built, the price had also increased to \$50 (which included the cost of materials). This reflected the teenagers reassessment of what his time was worth with an additional amount added on to compensate him for the boredom factor. The quality of his work had also deteriorated noticeably.

This seems to demonstrate that when there is a perceived need to build something, that individuals in Point Lay will learn to do so and apply themselves to the task. When such activity is unlikely to be rewarded, it is not found. Young men seldom if ever built sleds in Point Lay during the period of the fieldwork, yet those who needed to use a sled owned one. Older men tended to own more sleds per **snowmachine** than did younger men, but the data do not allow this assertion to be tested statistically. What could well be happening is that older men tend to have newer and more reliable machines than younger men, perhaps because they also tend to have steadier jobs (either through choice, necessity, or chance). Those men with more reliable machines tend to be the hunters who go out more often and who build sleds. When their machines are several years old and they want to buy a new one, they often give or sell their old machine to a younger man who wants a used machine because of the lower price. Old sleds tend to be packaged with used **snowmachines** because a machine without a sled is not really all that useful for subsistence activities. While this sequence is partly speculative in that it is not an informant-expounded formulation, segments of the sequence have been observed directly in Point Lay (no **snowmachine** has been observed to pass through this cycle due to the limited period of the study so far, but the few accounts elicited about present-day previously-owned **snowmachines** are consistent with this formulation).

The same observation applies to a “canoe” that the researcher saw an individual making in his home. There were other people present -- the maker’s wife for much of the time, and several of his older children were in and out during the course of the observations/conversation. The focus of the wife was on the conversation between the maker and the researcher (on non-boat topics for the most part and to which she was an important contributor), although she did in fact assist the maker when he needed one or two extra hands. She later went in to watch television with one of her children (a daughter). An older son who was in and out did not stay to watch, perhaps because the researcher was there, or because he had already discussed the process with his father, or perhaps because he wished to do other things. In any event, the maker did most of the work on the boat himself. As the craft was to be used primarily by the maker (the father), it was to be expected that he would do most of the work. As in most other activity spheres, the participation of others is optional. If his son had wished to learn to make such a boat, his presence would have been welcome. As he did not wish to be there, his absence was not remarked upon.

The canoe was to be a small craft, somewhat larger than a retrieval boat. The keel, bow, and stern were made of wood and shaped in a regular canoe fashion. The boat was longitudinally symmetrical but the bow and stern were different. The “rim” or top of the canoe frame and the ribs joining it to the keel were made of metal conduit for wire, which had been bent into the necessary curves using a bending tool. Again, there was no pattern before work began, although the maker had a clear idea of what

he wished the finished product to look like. The fabrication of the “rim” pieces was not observed, but the ribs were first bent to an approximate fit (as determined by eyeballing them), fit into place, and then adjusted accordingly. The second set of ribs was then bent to match to first set, and adjustments made to keep the two sides symmetrical. The maker had intended to cover the frame with **fiberglas**, but there was none in Point Lay and none readily available from either Point Hope or Wainwright. When some bearded seal skins became available he instead used these. His stated purpose in making the boat was to use it in egging, and especially in areas where deeper draft boats with engines could not go (which he said would be especially good for egging).

This suggests that a primary way of learning subsistence skills, as in many other Inupiat contexts, is trial and error on one's own, after a period of observation. Individuals see sleds every day in the village and their basic structure is rather clear. After several attempts to construct one, a person rapidly determines which aspects are the most difficult and improvises (or asks others about) solutions to these problems. The canoe, while a less common piece of equipment in Point Lay, seems to be similar. The design for the one the researcher saw being made was typical in form, but rather new in terms of material. The maker used available materials to solve problems of structure. It is this process of dealing with the construction of an object almost as a puzzle that seems typical. The more ingenious and elegant the solution, the more appealing it is to the maker. In this connection it is not inappropriate to compare the making of these objects to the art involved in carving ivory or etching baleen, as one of the common comments made by makers in all cases when joking about their work is to say that other people will look at the craftsmanship in the finished product and use it to judge the person who made it.

Subsistence Skill "Apprenticeship" in Point Lay

Until very recently, young Point Lay hunters sought the opportunity to go out hunting with a particular individual who was acknowledged to possess the most knowledge of the land. In his prime this man was considered the best hunter in the village. A considerable amount of knowledge has been passed on through this individual. Unfortunately, his health has recently deteriorated and he is no longer nearly as active. There is now no one person who performs the same role for the younger hunters. During the Point Lay SAR operation, individuals displayed distinct preferences for who they went out searching with, and these preferences were based, in large part, on the individual's knowledge of the land. This sort of interaction was not observed in Point Hope, because the opportunity for observations did not arise in the short field time available to us in that community, but we cannot say that it does not occur. There are several Elders in Point Hope who are acknowledged to have a great deal of information about the land.

Socialization and the Use of Namesakes, Inupiat Names, Non-Inupiat Names

In Point Hope, it is common to name a male child after his father. On the 1984 Point Hope census, there were a total of 36 households that indicated a male child named after the father. This number would appear to underestimate the frequency of the phenomena if compared to the total number of households in the community. One must take into account the fact that there are households where no or only female children are present. It is also common practice to name children after other relatives.

The use of **Inupiat** first names is not uncommon in Point Hope. Virtually every child the researchers came into contact with has an “Eskimo name,” whether it is the child’s **legal** name or an informal name, or whether the child is called primarily by the name. At times the **Inupiat** name is used as an affectionate nickname by grandparents, or is used in contexts where **Inupiat** is being spoken. Additionally, virtually all children have an English first name. In the 1984 census of Point Hope, only three children were listed by their **Inupiat** first name. There are indications that **Inupiat** first names have become more popular since then, but there are not enough data available to make this a general statement. In Point Lay, **Inupiat** names are generally not used for common usage except for a very few individuals. Everyone, however, has an **Inupiat** name. This may have been fostered by a past school yearbook, which as part of the standardized biography of each student gave his or her **Inupiat** name.

It is interesting to note as well that **Inupiat** names are frequently used as citizen’s band radio “handles” (call names) in Point Hope. Out of a list of 80 individuals or families who have call signs, many of which are simply numbers, fourteen are **Inupiat** names other than the family name of the individuals involved.

Socialization and Adoption in Point Hope

In Point Hope, adoptions vary in their structure and visibility. Different structural types of adoption are outlined in the section on household networks in Point Hope. In more than one instance the researcher was introduced to a child by a sibling as “my adopted brother.” Adoption cases have been observed and vary in their formality, and informal adoptions in the small sample appear to be common. Grandparent - grandchild is the most frequently observed, but the sampling universe is too unknown in Point Hope to make this a general statement. Preference for sex of an unborn child is to be the deciding factor in an adoption decision in one case observed. In this instance the mother is pregnant, and she has given birth to three boys already. The stated intention is to give the newborn away if it is another boy. Whether this actually occurs, it was discussed as a possibility to be seriously considered. There has also been a case observed where children have asked to be adopted by a **non-Inupiat** couple. This couple allows children to watch television at their house, often giving them food as well, and allows the children to draw and otherwise use their house for quiet play. It is their perception that “you could have as many kids as you want if you live in this town.” (The subject of adoption is also discussed in the kinship section: see page 159.)

Socialization and the Acquisition of Inupiaq

As a marker of cultural self-identification, language can obviously be very important. Beyond the learning of the language, the context of language learning and use is also of great significance. In Point Hope, **Inupiaq** is taught as a subject at the school, and it is the perception of those involved with the program that very little **Inupiaq** is acquired by most children in their homes. Children are frequently looked after by their grandparents, and it is these individuals who are most likely to use **Inupiaq** on an interactive basis with the child (as opposed to the child merely hearing **Inupiaq** being spoken by two adults to each other), but based on observations in a number of homes, even this use is limited.

The school language program has met with mixed results. It is very popular in terms of parents desiring that the program be taught. It does not stress conversational

Inupiaq, however, but primarily consists of learning **Inupiaq** lexical items. As a result, students' conversational skills are not typically considered good. There are no formal or informal extended conversations held with fluent speakers willing to help them learn within the program. In addition, the instructors in the program are not extensively trained as language teachers. The class does, however, provide a springboard for learning the language if a child is motivated to learn **Inupiaq** and no one in his or her own home speaks it regularly. The learning of English, obviously, is nearly all-pervasive, and not only in school. From the sample observed, it is the primary language of address to the children in their homes and it is exclusively used on television, a very popular entertainment source for children. In the school the language of instruction in all non-linguistic subjects is English.

Children hear **Inupiaq** in church services, but typically only young children (under the age of 10 or so) attend church with any regularity. Older children and young adults tend not to go to church on a regular basis, so exposure to **Inupiaq** in this context is of questionable utility for learning the language. It is, however, a context where **Inupiaq** is spoken and sung, and for adults it is an ongoing, public context that validates and reinforces its use outside of the home, and provides an ongoing use context in addition to merely interpersonal use. The church is also associated with the Point Hope of the past and with strongly held values that are associated with religious beliefs. It is also apparent that the church is associated with the Elders, so for many different reasons the use of **Inupiaq** in the church is symbolic of, and contributes to, cultural continuity.

Child's Relations with Kin in Point Hope

In Point Hope, grandparents are often the objects of a great deal of affection from grandchildren, and this affection is returned. Young children are treated with a lot of affection by virtually everyone, including both family members and non- or distant relatives. There is a marked change in the amount of displayed affection, however, as a child gets older. One event that precipitates the decrease in affection displays is the birth of a younger (and apparently cuter, according to local perception) sibling who then becomes the primary focus of affection and attention of adults.

When children are old enough to go outside more or less on their own, they spend a good deal of time with other children approximately their own age visiting various houses. On especially cold days children are likely to go to houses that they do not otherwise visit often. The idea seems to be one of "any port in a storm" and the children typically use the opportunity to get warm and often to be fed. There are "aaka" and "aapa" (grandmother and grandfather) households that also seem to have a **magnetic attraction for children, and where children spend a** disproportionate amount of their time away from their own home. Some houses are a great deal more fun for children to visit than others.

Responsibilities and Leisure of the Young

In Point Hope, the young appear to have very few responsibilities. In the sample of houses observed, female children are expected to help with housekeeping when they are teenagers, and in fact perform a considerable amount of work by the time they are in their late teens. This is also the pattern found in Point Lay. Babysitting is also considered a responsibility of older female children. In contrast, the male children in the families observed had very few responsibilities, with the exception of being

boyers in whaling camp in their early to mid-teen years. The amount of responsibility assigned to a child varies from household to household and between siblings in the same household. In some of the families observed there are siblings who obviously enjoy favored status within the family in terms of receiving affection and not having many responsibilities; whether this is an artifact of the sample size is unknown.

Watching television is one of the most frequent leisure activities of the young in Point Hope. Visiting was also common, and when children visited the home the researcher was staying in, which did not have a television, the favorite activities were drawing, eating, and playing cards. Outdoor activities include sliding on the **snowpacked** streets polished slick by traffic. Children used **all** forms of sleds and materials to slide on. In the winter of 1987-88 the favored makeshift skis were **fiberglas** trail stakes meant for marking the trail to Cape **Lisburne**. Other favored activities are climbing on abandoned structures in the community, especially those that featured adjacent snowdrifts that could be used for sliding.

In Point Hope young children are also allowed to drive **snowmachines** and **three-wheelers**, and this is a popular activity. For older children sports is a strong focus. Basketball is by far the most popular participation sport. Volleyball is gaining in popularity, and in the NSB volleyball tournament there were enough players to form three Point Hope teams.

For the subsistence pursuits observed in Point Hope, the young lend minimal assistance. It is very important to note, however, that the researcher was in the community during the dead of winter when little subsistence was going on, and during whaling season when the community was primarily focused on that pursuit.

Travel of the Young to Other Communities

Children from Point Hope and Point Lay travel to Barrow for school programs, and a good number of the children travel to other villages on sports teams. Due to the expense of travel, however, it is not unusual for adults to travel out of the village without their children. **Adults** travel to Barrow quite frequently in a variety of official capacities, and it is not unusual for the adults to travel alone for these trips. A number of "private" trips outside the village often are taken without children. For instance, it is uncommon to take children along on the shopping trips some of the adult women take or when individuals go to other villages or towns to obtain alcohol. Interestingly, children begin their lives in travel when women from Point Lay commonly go to Barrow or Anchorage to give birth.

Attitudes of the Young Toward Tradition and Remaining in Point Lay and Point Hope

Two areas of traditional learning that children were observed to engage in were the learning of Eskimo dance and the learning of **Inupiaq**. Eskimo dance is taught at the school, and part of several school assemblies were devoted to the children dancing. They clearly enjoyed this activity, as did several young adults who danced at the community Thanksgiving celebration. **Inupiaq** language is taught in the school as well. As discussed elsewhere, it is met with lukewarm reception, possibly as a result of its not being a conversational skills class, but rather an exercise in memorizing words and phrases. At school assemblies, children often perform skits

that consist of lines memorized in **Inupiat**, and when they perform well, the audience expresses its appreciation. This is especially marked, interestingly enough, when a **non-Inupiat** child is involved.

The only good figures available for Point Hope that indicate young people leave the community are college enrollment figures. This figure has fluctuated between six and nine students per semester for the last two school years. This represents a very substantial number of the seniors who have graduated from high school over the past four years (twenty-one total). Virtually all of the young people of high school age interviewed expressed an interest in leaving the community; this was confirmed during discussions with school staff. It is the impression of the latter, however, that more students express an interest in leaving the community in the near future than who actually do. As is the case in Point Lay, an apparently large proportion of children who express an interest in leaving the community do not have a realistic idea of what it takes to make a living outside of Point Hope; they have the desire to leave without the pragmatic knowledge of how to realize their desires.

Socialization and Household Dynamics: Point Lay Compared to Point Hope

The crux of this discussion boils down to one key generalization. Preteen children in Point Lay are less demanding of adult attention and can better amuse themselves (either **alone** or in play groups) than children in Point Hope. This is admittedly an observation made by Point Lay (rather than Point Hope) parents and school teachers, and by **non-Inupiat** visitors to Point Hope. Barrow children are more similar to Point Hope children than to those of Point Lay. This is based on our own observations, as well as informant reports. It does not mean that Point Lay children are always well behaved and never cause problems. It is remarkable that children in Point Lay do respond to verbal instructions (and the word “no”) in a way that children in Point Hope do not. This applies to **non-Inupiat** as well as **Inupiat** children.

One informant in Point Lay used the small size of Point Lay as an explanation. In many respects the people of Point Lay make up one large family, especially in the near past before the move to the present site of the village when there were perhaps forty to sixty people and ten houses. Reportedly, everyone looked out for everyone else and children were seen as a valued resource. There were in fact traceable biological relationships between many of the village residents. This closeness and the fact of growing up together were said to form the basis for why children are better behaved and seemingly more independent in Point Lay than in Point Hope.

There are other possible factors we would like to point out here. Families and households in Point Lay are small in comparison to other villages on the North Slope. The largest household includes perhaps six individuals, and there are certainly no households with more than nine members even during temporary visits from relatives. Point Hope, on the other hand, has more than a few large households. In smaller households it is possible that children receive as much close attention from their parents and other adults as they wish without being overly demanding. In a larger household, with more people to share the parents with, this is perhaps not possible. Alternatively, it may be the case that children in a small household learn early that they will often be on their own (when the adults leave) except for the company of their peers. Visiting to other villages is important to all residents of Point Lay, but perhaps especially to young adults.

Another potential factor contributing to **observed differences in** the children of the two communities is the absence of any real television presence in Point Lay. For various reasons, Point Lay has never had good cable television service and cable reception is presently confined to a few non-scrambled stations. Furthermore, most of the households do not receive even the limited number of cable stations as the cable system has had very little maintenance, with the result that the Alaska satellite channel is all that most people receive. Very few children will watch this channel for very long, except for the few cartoons shown on the weekend and the nature (animal) programs. VCRs have just begun to enter **Inupiat** homes in Point Lay. When research began very few existed in the village. Since then at least four have been purchased. This increases exposure to horror/slasher/sex films, which seem to be the preferred type, but the extent of this cannot at present be judged. In Point Hope homes, the television seems to be turned on all the time, and if not being “actively” watched, it provides background sounds. Very few times when one goes to visit is the television turned off, or the sound on it turned down, to facilitate conversation. Sometimes the host will ignore the television completely; other times when the audio indicates that there is obvious action, attention will be diverted from the conversation and toward the TV screen.

Games and Socialization

Games, at least children’s games, may be considered as contexts for socialization or for the learning of physical skills. “Eskimo games” are popular at festival times in both Point Lay and Point Hope, and are valued for their cultural content. We will first consider these types of games, and then turn to the structure of adult games in Point Lay and Point Hope.

Point Lay Eskimo Games

Every participating individual (and many who do not participate) is a member of one of the two teams competing in Eskimo games. Those games which require two competitors are run on a “king-of-the hill” principle. One player from each team competes at a time. The loser is eliminated from the game and the winner keeps playing until he loses. In this way even the best player at a certain game may become worn out and lose, so that the person who wins the contest which eliminates the last player from the other team is not necessarily the best at the event. This is a truly team competition and could involve quite a bit of strategy as to which player competes when (and against whom), and how **early** in the game. It was reported that in Point Lay players played in strict order, from the youngest to the oldest. This was observed to be generally true for those below the age of 20. For older people, this rule was not much taken into consideration. A team wins a point by eliminating (beating) all the members of the other team willing to play. Most typically, all members of a team who are present will play if pressed hard enough, even if the chance for success is very small.

For games which involve individual accomplishment, each player is given as many trials as he desires. Order of players is the same as above -- by age for the young and more variable for adults. The point is won by one team when one of its players establishes a record that no player on the other team can beat and the members of the other team concede this fact.

There are several standard positions for games, but one of the most common is sitting face-to-face with the legs crossed or interlocked. Which leg goes where is determined by which hands are competing. If it is right hand against right hand, one's right leg goes over the opponent's left leg. For left-hand competition, one's left leg goes over the opponent's right leg. For asymmetric tiebreakers the players reach a mutual understanding. For a listing and brief description of the games observed in Point Lay see Appendix B.

Other Games

Games other than Eskimo games have been observed at some length in Point Hope and Point Lay. Bingo is perhaps **the** most noticeable social activity in Point Lay (and in Point Hope as well). It is played frequently (normally three times a week in Point Lay, five or six a week in Point Hope), involves a significant portion of the adult Native population of the village (up to 50% on any given night), and is a common subject for village conversation. Although there were people who never went to bingo, almost everyone knew what went on at bingo and who was usually there. The following discussion deals with bingo in Point Lay. The mechanics in Point Hope are somewhat different. Actually, in January 1988 Point Lay bingo also underwent a reformation and some of the characteristics changed as well. As this seems to be part of the larger cyclical pattern of bingo (reform, fall into sloppy practices and maybe even abuse, reform, and so on), it will be discussed after this initial description.

Bingo is played at the community building (often referred to simply as "Community") in the large central room, which is not really conveniently laid out for bingo. Space is wasted compared to bingo **halls** in other towns. On the other hand, the room is multifunctional and is used for many other **social** events besides bingo. There are a number of rectangular folding tables which are set up for bingo (these tables are normally only used for bingo and community feasts). Bingo will be described and discussed at what may appear to be far too minute a level. However, bingo is one of the local mechanisms of redistribution, is perhaps the main source of recreation in the village, is used as a way to raise funds for community projects, and is one means by which a number of people can at least potentially earn money each week. Perhaps most important is that bingo is under local control and is run totally by local **Inupiat**. It has a minimal structure imposed on it by state of Alaska regulations, but is otherwise purely a local institution. It is also easily observed and is important in one way or another in almost all other institutional contexts. Most other institutions involve people who participate in bingo, either as part of the structure or as an active participant. The contrast provided by those who are not merely heightens this point.

The Structure of Bingo

Bingo is officially run by a bingo committee, elected at periodic meetings open to any adult in the community. At the time of our fieldwork all seven members were women. The number of members varies from time to time, as people tend to travel quite a bit. Bingo elections are held periodically, as needed and when they can be organized. Members of the bingo committee tend to be otherwise active in the community and are active bingo players. Several of the jobs at bingo **must** be filled by bingo committee members. The **Cully** Corporation acts as a sort of sponsor for the bingo committee, but the bingo committee is itself responsible for running the operation and deciding what to do with the proceeds. This is similar to Point Hope,

where the **Tigara** Corporation is paid a nominal rent of \$50/night for the use of part of their building by whatever group is sponsoring bingo that night. No actual rent is paid in Point Lay for the use of the community building, but the bingo workers are supposed to clean up after the activities.

In Point Lay there are nine paid jobs for every bingo session -- or at least nine slots, all of which are usually filled. These positions are known as caller, cash sheet, collectors (2), treasurer, Vegas (2), Early bird, and softcards. The caller calls out the balls, and announces each new game. He is also responsible for checking to make sure all the balls are present and in good shape. He writes the numbers for "early bird" on the blackboard behind him and makes sure that the appropriate lights on the bingo tally board light up (or else he announces "no light" -- there were about four such numbers in Point Lay). He checks each bingo in conjunction with the collectors. The cash sheet is responsible for keeping track of each individual's bingo account. This will be discussed at greater length below, but in brief, bingo in Point Lay is played on a paper account basis for the most part. An individual need not handle money so long as he has a positive account (and winnings are credited to the account). The person who handles the cash sheet, then, keeps track of how much to subtract from each person's account for each game (or number of softcards bought in advance, or stacks of **pulltabs**, or **dabbers**, or cash taken out of the treasury) as well as how much to add for each win. The collectors are responsible for collecting the money from each player for the proper number of cards and giving it to the treasurer, or for writing the amount of credit they are using and conveying that information to the cash sheet so that it can be deducted from the proper account. The collectors must also inform the treasurer of the total amount of credit "in play" for that game. The treasurer receives all cash money paid for cards and counts it. He adds in the credit in play, and calculates the house take and the payoff for a hardcard game, or simply announces the total amount for "Winner-Takes-All." The treasurer pays off all hardcard winners by giving their winnings to the collectors (who transfer them) or by informing the cash sheet of the amount to credit the winners' accounts. The treasurer also sells bingo **dabbers**, when available, keeps track of the coffee fund, and in conjunction with the cash sheet gives out small amounts of cash in exchange for bingo credit. Vegas individuals are in charge of selling the lottery cards ("Vegas"), and confirm and then redeem winning cards. One person could probably handle the job, but having two insures that mistakes do not happen very often. As most of the cash (or credit) flow is generated from Vegas, this precaution is well worthwhile. Earlybird is in charge of selling the "Early bird" softcards and keeps track of the amount paid into the game, as this is also the amount paid out (another "Winner-Take-All"). The cash sheet must be informed of **all** credit transactions. The Earlybird individual also pays off all Earlybird winners directly, or tells the cash sheet how much to credit each winners account. Softcard does the same for softcards sold for the three nightly "specials." These are fixed jackpot games, with higher payoffs than normal games. The first two specials usually each have a **total** payoff of about \$200 (there are three progressive bingos on each special; for example, "two straight" for \$20 followed by "half a card" for \$50 followed by "coverall" for \$100, **all** on the same cards). The last special is the jackpot game for high stakes if all the numbers on a card are covered within a certain number of called numbers. Otherwise a consolation jackpot of \$100 is paid and the large jackpot is rolled over to the next night. The mechanics of this will also be discussed below. The softcard individual must keep track of how much is paid in for each game (cash and credit) so that the **profit** from each **game** is known. The softcard individual also pays off the softcard winners directly, **or** informs the cash sheet of the amount to credit the winner's account. The cash sheet must be informed of all credit transactions.

General Introduction to Bingo

Bingo in Point Lay is always scheduled to start at **7:00** p.m., except in the most unusual of circumstances. Normally bingo is held three times a week -- Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. Workers sign up on a sheet posted in ‘Community’ for that purpose up to a week ahead of the day they wish to work. An individual may only sign up to work one session of bingo a week, and must be a member of the bingo committee to work as cash sheet, Vegas, or softcard. In actuality, it is quite common for the sign-up list to be incomplete, so that not all jobs are known to be filled prior to the start of bingo. The only exception to this is the position of caller, where there must be someone signed up for bingo to be held (but as happened at least once, this person is not necessarily the person who actually calls or even works that night).

All workers are supposed to arrive at **6:00** p.m. to help get ready for the start of bingo at **7:00**. This involves putting up the folding tables, unstacking and arranging the chairs, checking out the ball draw machine, and most important of all, counting out Vegas. Vegas cards are essentially instant-winner lottery cards and they generate most of the revenue for bingo. If Vegas should run out during the course of play, another box will sometimes be brought out and workers will have to help stack whenever they have spare time. On a busy night this can be difficult, especially as most of the time most workers are also playing. After bingo is over, the workers usually stay and clean up.

How Bingo Works (Worker Roles)

Caller. The mechanics of calling is not very different from the job description. The caller has a list of hardcard games (bingos) that he is to follow in order, but has some discretion as to whether to follow it totally. This list will vary from night to night, but generally contains the same sorts of games. The caller also must combine this with the schedule of softcard games, which is not written down but which does not vary from night to night. He announces the game before drawing a ball, and ideally announces what the next game will be as soon after the last bingo as possible. The caller writes the number of the first ball drawn for any **hardcard** game on the blackboard as a record for earlybird bingos. He then proceeds to draw balls until a bingo is completed. Once a bingo is claimed, one of the collectors will examine it, read the numbers to the caller, and the **caller** will confirm that they all were indeed called. Once this is confirmed the caller will write the last number called for that hardcard game on the **earlybird** blackboard as well. Free doorprize games are played at **8:00 p.m.** and **9:00 pm**, on a **single** softcard **grid**, with no numbers **being** added to the **earlybird** board. **Softcard** “specials” are played after each of these doorprize games (on softcard sheets which normally have three or four grids each), which **follow** the same procedures as hardcard games but also do not contribute numbers to **earlybird** prices. The jackpot softcard game is usually started around **10:30** (the normative ending time for bingo is **11:00 p.m.**) with the “earlybird play-off” (the numbers drawn to complete the last earlybird **softcard**) coming just before that. In addition, there are one or more “Winner-Take-All” **hardcard** games during the evening that seem to be part of the regular schedule.

Collector. Aside from the caller, the collectors are the most obvious of the workers at bingo in terms of their immediate connection to the task of putting on the game. The actual job of collector is not difficult, but can be quite busy. For those paying for hard- or **softcards** in cash (or “Vegas” cards), the collector merely makes sure that the payment is enough and gives it to the treasurer. No note or record of how many cards are being played or what payment has been made is kept in such cases except in the case of **softcards** and certain games like “Winner-Take-All,” where the winnings are related to the amount of money taken in. In such cases, the total amount wagered is kept track of by totaling the money given to the treasure and the amount wagered through credit accounts. For “cash” players, therefore, there is no record of payment except for the collector’s memory. For those playing on “positive credit,” the collector writes down on a slip of paper the dollar amount of cards being played by each such person every round. Usually these amounts are relatively stable through the evening, and the same people play on credit, so that the slip of paper quickly resembles a form and can be done between rounds pretty quickly. Players are usually identified by first name or initials. Occasionally a player will want to pay with Vegas instead of credit, especially if bingo has no cash (the most common situation), in which case that player simply does not have an amount written under his initials for that round. The slip of paper is then given to the cash sheet, who subtracts from the peoples’ accounts the appropriate amount and returns the paper to the collector. The game is then played. Once a bingo is called, the collector looks at the card to see if it looks like a proper bingo. If so, he then reads the numbers off and the caller checks them. If all are “called numbers” the bingo is called good and preparations for the next game begin. In most cases there is not enough cash available to pay winners or bingo must retain the cash available, so the winner receives (at least part of) whatever cash and Vegas had been paid in plus a credit to his account for the remainder. The collector is responsible for seeing that the winner receives whatever cash and Vegas payment is available, and the treasurer then tells the account keeper how much to “plus” the account in addition.

Treasurer. The treasurer handles the “cash” paid for hardcards and the computation and payoff of hardcard winners. The treasurer also is in charge of the sale of bingo merchandise and the coffee fund. For hardcard games the treasurer totals the cash paid in the credit used, computes the payoff, and gives the proper amount to the collector to give to the winner. If part of the payoff is in credit, the treasurer will say how much the credit is, and the collector will tell the cash sheet “plus amount to individual X” (or sometimes the treasurer will tell the cash sheet). The treasurer also usually pays off the “lucky numbers” called out during the night.

Earlybird. Earlybird sells the **softcards** devoted to playing the “early bird” games of bingo. **Earlybird** keeps track of the cash and credit paid in for these softcards so that he can take care of the payoff. As is the case for hardcard games, this can be in “cash,” credit, or a combination of the two. Sometimes players using credit will tell the cash sheet first, in which case the cash sheet will tell Early bird. Other times players will do the reverse, and the information will flow the other way. Players do not seem to buy “early bird” **softcards** from the collectors.

“Early bird” is a form of bingo designed as a way to encourage people to come to bingo early. In its pristine form, only one “early bird” game is played a night, or at least no new “early bird” game is started until after a certain time (for example, ninety minutes before the end of a typical session) and “early bird” **softcards** cannot

be purchased past a certain time. **"Earlybird"** is won with an ordinary straight bingo, but the numbers are not drawn all at **one** time. Rather, the first and last numbers from each **hardcard** game during that night's session are used. Thus, "early bird" games can go on for quite some time. Since the jackpot is usually large relative to most during the night (often being a fixed amount regardless of number of cards in play), and the appropriate **softcards** cannot be purchased by latecomers, it does have an effect on attendance in places where this form is maintained. In Point Lay, however, the form has been changed so that "Earlybird" is played throughout the session. Indeed, the game immediately prior to the big jackpot game is always an "earlybird play -off," which is made structurally necessary by this change in standard "early bird" procedure. The strategy of playing and attendance is altered by this change as well (discussed under "payoffs" below),

Softcard. **Softcard** is in charge of the **softcards sold** for the playing of the "specials" (three a night -- at **8:00 p.m.**, **900 p.m.**, and the final jackpot game). As with "earlybird," softcard keeps track of the money and credit paid in and takes care of the payoff. In the case of **softcards** there is also a house take (usually) that must also be accounted for. The same coordination as for "Early bird" is required with cash sheet. In addition, collectors sell **softcards** for "specials," and coordinate with the treasurer and cash sheet as described above for hardcard games.

Vegas. **Vegas sells Vegas cards and redeems winners**, after verifying them. They are in charge of opening the boxes and stacking them on the tables, but always have the help of the other workers in this task. The most important function of Vegas is to insure that people take what they pay for and pay for what they take. Vegas is where most of the money from bingo is generated and represents a tremendous cash flow.

Cash Sheet. There is little to the task performance of cash sheet that is not implied in the job description. Credit may accrue to an individual by his winning a game, finding a winning Vegas (although large Vegas winners are almost always paid off in cash), a transfer from someone else's account, or the direct payment of money (or the writing of a check). Debits can result from paying for hardcards, **softcards**, and/or Vegas. Debits also result from the withdrawal of cash (usually relatively small amounts only), buying bingo **dabbers** or other bingo merchandise, and the transfer of credit to another's account. The cash sheet advises a person when his credit is close to zero, apparently mostly as a courtesy and to avoid trouble and embarrassment. The only time players and the cash sheet interact directly is when players need to know how much they have on account. Cash sheet is acknowledged to be the most thankless job at bingo.

How Bingo Works (Vegas)

Physically, Vegas are cards ranging from about 1.5 x **2"** to 1.5 x 3" with from three to five perforated windows. These sell for .50 or \$1.00 for each card. The buyer opens these windows (by pulling the tabs) to see if he has a winner. For example, one game uses poker as an analogy, and has five windows. Opening the windows reveals a poker hand, for the most part a very low poker hand. Another game, using a slot machine analogy, has three windows. Vegas are usually sold in stacks worth \$10.00. Some Vegas is left unstacked so that small winners (below \$10) can take their winnings in Vegas rather than in cash (usually not available) or credit. Such games usually have a profit to the runner of the game of about 32% of all the money spent on the cards.

This game is popular because individual cards are cheap and the top payoff is high. Most .50 Vegas games are disliked because payoffs are low. There is a general perception that there are too many non-winners in this game, but this is not a serious enough problem to keep people from playing (and the ratio of winning cards/non-winning cards is not that much lower than for other games). In a typical bingo night perhaps two sets of Vegas will be used up, generating a profit of \$1000 to \$2000. Players prefer to have two types of Vegas to choose from, at least initially. Some nights as many as three or four sets of Vegas are opened.

Especially if they win, people who play Vegas must have a bingo credit account, simply because they cannot always get cash. They will say "Take x amount of stacks off my account" or the Vegas worker will say "Take x amount of stacks off Y's account." To add to the confusion of the terminology, not all Vegas cards are put in stacks worth \$10.00 each. They are kept loose and are used to pay off small Vegas winners who want to be paid in more Vegas. The absence of cash fosters this, as \$1.00 or \$4.00 added to a credit account is very little, and the chances of winning more are small, so this also reduces the ultimate need for bingo to have cash.

When it happens that all the big winners from Vegas have been found, interest in buying the rest understandably drops. In these cases, if there are still quite a number of stacks left, the price will be halved or the payoff doubled (or both). This will usually be enough of an inducement to **sell all** the cards. People may buy not so much to win as to finally get rid of all the cards and as a civic duty, especially those who have "found" the big winners. A new batch of Vegas is not brought out until the old batch is gone. At reduced rates, there are often enough small winners left to make it well worthwhile to play. In the rarer cases where there are still quite a few big winners unclaimed and relatively few stacks, it is recognized that the odds of "hitting" are much better than before. The only reason there is not always a rush to buy in these cases is the fear that perhaps not all the big winners that have been found have been redeemed as yet. The Vegas people do announce how many big winners have not as yet been redeemed when hawking their wares and prefer that winners be redeemed promptly. Big winners must be redeemed that night, but small winners (below \$10) may be kept for an indefinite length of time and used as cash.

The popularity of Vegas can be judged by the fact that as soon as bingo is open, people buy Vegas. The first game of bingo may be delayed while an entire line of people buy Vegas. Bingo never starts before 7:00, even if everything is ready well before that time. The official announcement at 7:00 is "Vegas is open" by one of the Vegas people. Only then does the caller announce the game to be played. Usually it is delayed a little so that the first people buying Vegas are not too far behind on the numbers. Some people play only Vegas, but most play both bingo and Vegas. Attendance is much better when there is Vegas than when there is not (perhaps 1/3 to 1/2 of the time).

Bingo Payoffs

Hardcard games pay off 2/3 of what is paid in, with bingo retaining 1/3. I was initially told that hardcard bingos paid a fixed amount, regardless of the number of cards in play. If this was so when the research first started, it was changed soon

thereafter. Such fixed payoffs would have meant that **hardcards** were paying **out** more than players were paying in. "Winner-Take-All" **hardcard** games are an exception, as the winner is paid **all** the money paid in. The average nightly take from **hardcards** seemed to be \$150-200.

Earlybird **softcards** are essentially "Winner-Take-All." "Special" **softcards** are fixed jackpot payoffs, so that bingo could conceivably lose money on them. This seldom happens, as people prefer to play for the relatively large jackpots (even if the payout is proportionally less than for smaller pot games). This style or strategy of play will be discussed at some length. The nightly average take from **softcards** is difficult to estimate as it depends upon the number of people playing and whether someone hits the jackpot, but seems to be **in** the range of \$400-600. **Fieldnote** estimates for different nights range from \$250 to \$1000.

Vegas does not have a single payoff rate, since each different game has a somewhat different structure. The range of payoffs is 68.5% (**KABOOM**) to 81% (**SEVEN & EIGHTS!**). The average nightly profit is \$1000 (bingo workers' estimate) with a field observed high estimate of \$2400.

There are also a series of player-run "side-bingo pools" that are set up on the longer bingo games (mostly the specials). These are for the earlier bingos that will occur (first straight and usually one other) before the one that will take longer to complete that the official prize is for (coverall, for instance). The normal price to get in is **\$1** per person for each such pot set up, **no matter how many cards that** person is playing. Thus, these pots are never more than the total number of people present (maximum of about \$30) and can **be** lower as not everyone chooses to go in. People like to win these pots, however, because they win all the money in the pot, and it is all cash or Vegas winners. Bingo money cannot be used to go into such a side pot except by exchanging it for cash with the treasurer and cash sheet.

Behavioral Observations

Movement of people is more fluid and frequent in Point Lay than in Point Hope (where observations have been quite limited) or **Nuiqsut** (**Galginaitis** et al. 1984). Physically, people move freely rather than remain fixed in place. In terms of playing, people also "sit out" games and then start playing again more freely than in the other two places, where people tended to play every game until they were through for the night. Prices were fixed in Point Lay at \$.25/hardcard, with no break for multiples of 3 (3 for \$.50, 6 for \$1.00 in Point Hope and **Nuiqsut**). Frequent use is made of "**softcards**" and these are more expensive than at the other two villages (\$1.00/grid **rather than** \$1.00 **per** sheet **with** 3 or 4 grids on it). "**Sof tcards**" are normatively played on a regular on-the-hour or set schedule as in the other two villages, but the schedule in Point Lay is often irregular due to a late starting time or "caller error." These **softcards** are used to play "specials" for a higher prize than a normal hardcard game, and almost always use a bingo which takes much longer to complete. **Softcards** are also used to play earlybird bingo. The object is to complete a regular straight bingo using the first and last called numbers of the hardcard games played. In **Nuiqsut**, there was a time past which no more **earlybird**

bingo sheets could be purchased. In Point Lay, “early birds” were sold until the last one was completed, just prior to the big jackpot game.

Children and high school students are not allowed to be at bingo, but there were instances when this broke down, revealing that the great amounts of time some adults spend at bingo may have consequences within their family units. When young children were concerned, it seemed to be a matter of the child looking for attention from the parent. Other instances involved teenagers looking for adult support to help resolve some situation occurring in the adult’s household in that adult’s absence. The specific situation could be one of many different types, and relatively serious to very minor.

Attendance. We have observations from 29 different nights of bingo in Point Lay, probably over 50% of the total possible. Very few (perhaps six) of these, however, were “gavel-to-gavel” in coverage. Taken together, however, they leave the following impressions:

- (1) Women clearly outnumber men at bingo (in all but 3 observations).
- (2) Women tend to go to bingo earlier than do men.
- (3) Women tend to stay longer at bingo than do men.
- (4) Men mostly play bingo when the pots are larger.
- (5) Mens’ attendance is more affected by the supply of Vegas than is **womens’**.
- (6) Those who attend bingo do so regularly, and all others seldom -- very few people attend only once in a while.

SAR and Bingo. The primary rationale for bingo is that it helps support community functions that would otherwise be underfunded. In Point Lay common uses for bingo committee money are to help defray expenses for medical transportation, to provide food for those in need, to provide support for SAR and other village organizations, and to help put on community events (buy presents for all children and Elders at Christmas, for example). Bingo is very effective in this regard. In fact, only bingo seems to be very effective in this way. While it is true that the Girl Scouts are very successful with their cookie and calendar sales, their efforts are limited both in scale and time. There is no community-wide organization other than bingo which raises money for community needs. This is likely to be related to the observed fact that no other activity or organization in Point Lay involves nearly as many of the adults as bingo. Of the two meetings held to discuss the SAR effort in Point Lay, that held before a session of bingo was very well-attended and increased support for that SAR effort markedly. The meeting held on a night separate from bingo was only attended by those already active in SAR. The only events drawing more participation are special, episodic ones such as community feasts on holidays or school presentations. Church services held when an Episcopalian functionary comes to or through Point Lay are attended by only about one-half to two-thirds of the number who regularly attend bingo. The only regular church services in Point Lay are those of the Bible-Believing Baptists, and no **Inupiat** attends services there with any regularity. The Baptist minister, however, has just arrived in Point Lay.

Bingo and the Economy. Perhaps most unique about bingo in Point Lay is that one bingo worker is in charge of what amounts to an account book **of** individuals' winnings and losses. Each person must put a stake into this "bank" to have his/her name put in the book with an amount, but from then on no money need change hands until the individual loses all the stake (when "**recapitalization**" is needed) or the individual decides to cash out. Winnings are credited to an individual's account. The two collectors ensure that the account keeper knows who is playing what amount each game, and each person's account is "minus-ed" the proper amount. This seems to be a good adaptation for a periodically cash-poor village which is small enough that everyone is known well enough for such accounts to be kept. Vegas cards (lottery instant winner tickets) are also used as money, in that the lower value winners (\$.50, \$1, \$2, \$5) which are redeemed or used to pay for bingo or more lottery tickets, are themselves used as payoffs for bingo. This system is known not to exist in **Nuiqsut**, Point Hope, or Barrow. It is, however, significant in several respects.

First, it represents a creative general adaptation of a common model (used at the village stores in both Point Lay and Point Hope, and probably more generally) of "positive credit" to an activity where cash flow is vital for the operation of the activity, but the lack of physical cash threatens that activity.

Second, it locks players into the system because of the very problem it is a reaction to. There is seldom any way to "cash out" when one has a large positive balance. This has fostered the creation of the "bingo dollar" in Point Lay. A positive balance in one's bingo account can be used to pay bills at the store or village corporation, given the proper authorizations. People also use "bingo dollars" to repay personal debts.

Third, it maintains bingo as an undercapitalized and cash-poor organization, which at times can barely meet its cash obligations. Workers are often paid in bingo credit and the ordering of Vegas, the largest money-maker, must sometimes be put off until there is money in the checking account rather than merely a reduction in the positive credit extended to residents of the village.

Bingo also reveals some of the villagers' perceptions about money, probability, and spending patterns. Individuals who want to make money at bingo buy quite a bit of Vegas cards. They remember the winners they hit and tend not to subtract the amount of money they had to spend to win that amount. It is common to hear players say they play until they run out of money, but they attribute this to being unlucky (not hitting a big winner before their money runs out) rather than to inevitable long-term (and the most likely short-term) probability. Probability is applied to bingo in certain cases so that it is clear that people understand at least the basic underlying principles -- they realize when their chance to win is increased. (When not many Vegas cards are left but few winners have been found is a good time to buy Vegas; when a good number of earlybird numbers have been called but there has been no bingo as yet is a good time to buy Early bird.) Players do not seem to realize that in the long run they must lose.

There are reasons that can be advanced for this, of course. Heavy bingo players tend to be regular bingo workers, so much of what they lose is actually recirculated bingo credit. In fact, most workers play even as they work (the caller is confined to Vegas, but the others can play all games). Workers who do not play are seen as

strange, perhaps antisocial, and certainly tight with their money. There is little to do in Point Lay for recreation and the inevitable losses at bingo are sometimes seen as the price of an evening at play. Employment is at a very high level in Point Lay, and wages are fairly high, so losses can usually be borne. The ideology of losing money to be used for the common good also is used to explain this behavior.

Bingo in Point Lay after January 1988

A new head of the bingo committee was elected just after the beginning of the year. Informants reported that he was good with figures, and had served before with good results. In fact, various people charted the deterioration of bingo from the time he gave up the management of the organization the last time. Be that as it may, it took him some time to think the situation over before he decided to assume the headaches of the position (community members were exerting pressure on him to do so). The position, while it is paid for the most part, is one that requires a good deal of work. Supplies have to be ordered, records kept, and the game organized. With bingo three or four times a week, running the entire evening, the time commitment is considerable. This man also had a job with Cully Fuel, so his schedule was rather full. Luckily, his job has a good amount of “dead” time (although at times it is also the busiest job with the worst working conditions in the village).

Various reforms were instituted at this time. Only members of the bingo committee were to be allowed to work at bingo. Their pay scale was reduced and the number of positions cut back. The restriction on who could work was later relaxed when they had trouble finding workers. The sale of Vegas cards was more controlled, with the purchaser no longer being allowed to pick the stack desired, or to pick up the stack directly. The Vegas cards themselves were kept in glass candy jars until sold. The use of “credit” was much reduced (but picked up again over time as cash became more scarce in the village) and the frequency of cash payoffs increased. The public image of bingo as an operation immediately improved with the appearance of cash payoffs,

Bingo in Point Hope

Bingo in Point Hope has some distinct differences from the game as played in Point Lay. It is played in part of the building owned by the village corporation. Bingo is run by a number of non-profit organizations which rent the hall in turn for a nominal \$50 and do all the work themselves. Workers are paid out of the profits of the night, but sometimes donate their earnings to the organization running bingo that night (as they are members). The cards, especially the **softcards** for the specials, cost much less than in Point Lay, and the payoffs are as large or larger. The reason for this is clearly that attendance in Point Hope is much greater than in Point Lay (due to the much larger population base to draw upon). It is remarkable in Point Hope that women outnumber men at bingo by about four or five to one. This is clearly also due to the size differences and the other recreational opportunities open to men in Point Hope. Pragmatically, in Point Lay bingo would not be feasible if men did not attend at a greater rate than they do in Point Hope.

VILLAGE ECONOMICS AND HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Employment in Point Lay

This section will discuss employment in relation to" residential household composition in Point Lay for the month of December 1987. Seasonal variation does occur, and **will** be discussed elsewhere. This variation is, indeed, evident -- in June 1988 two of the permanent service jobholders quit to take seasonal construction jobs, and three "outsiders" from **Kivalina** and Anchorage were hired for such jobs, while there was the beginning of an influx of "outsiders" for seasonal construction opportunities.

Point Lay Caucasian Employment: Males

In December 1987 there were 19 Caucasian males enumerated in Point Lay (Table 25). Although none could be really classified as long-term residents, there are eleven who may be considered "long-term transients." Some have been in Point Lay for eight years or longer and one for less than a year, but all share the characteristic that they are employed year-round, either by the NSB or as a special case (the missionary and his son). They are all in Point Lay for an indefinite period of time. The six "short-term transient" Caucasian males came to Point Lay as part of a job task that usually lasts several months, and upon completion plan to leave the village. Part of the reason these people are seen as short-term transients is that the jobs they are working on are relatively short-term. In point of fact, such a "short-termer" could conceivably remain in Point Lay a considerable length of time by working various short-term jobs in succession. That person's residence would still be tied to the availability of short-term work, however, which is not guaranteed to any extent. "Long-termers," in contrast, **all** have jobs in the service sector which have continuity from year to year.

One of the salient facts about being a male and Caucasian in Point Lay is that one is employed. Only one Caucasian male does not work, a mentally-impaired 17-year-old. The real difference between the "short-termers" and the **"long-termers"** is that the first group stays in Point Lay only as long as the task requires, while the second is part of the day-to-day service sector and so is more residential. **"Short-termers"** consist of three sorts of men -- NSB employees on specific missions (repair clinic facilities, talk to villagers about NSB business, etc.), or contractors and employees of contractors working on a specific project, or researchers whose stay is determined by the scope of the research. There always seems to be a "short-term" contingent present in the village, but the roster is in constant flux. By contrast, the **"long-termers"** roster is relatively stable (school teachers stay at least a year unless there are real problems, Public Safety Officers are at least, in theory, stable for a year or two at the minimum, and those **in** service **jobs** have no fixed term).

It is important to note that school teachers and Public Safety Officers can be transferred at any time by superiors in Barrow. They may also request transfers, but this need not be acted on. To a very great degree, villagers can have a direct effect on the careers of these people and, as a result, they must be very responsive to community expectations. Community relations, therefore, are sometimes more important than job performance, per se, and are always at least as important. This sometimes leads to tensions between mandates from Barrow and what the **local** community wants -- and there is sometimes a difference in perception between the community as a whole and the local PSO or" teacher as to what Barrow's policy really is or means.

Table 25

Employable Caucasian Adults, Age 16 and Over, Point Lay, Alaska - 12/87
Arranged by Ethnicity, Sex, and Age

Employment	Age	Sex	Ethnicity	Job Code
NSB Itinerant Health Nurse	??	F	?	NSB HSS
Fill-in	26	F	c	MIsc
	27	F	c	
NSB School District (aide)	32	F	c	NSB SD
	33	F	c	
Cook at Cully Camp (paid by UPCO)	35	F	c	CAMP COOK
NSB School District (sec. and aide)	37	F	c	
NSB School District (janitorial)	44	F	c	NSB SD
NSB School District (teacher)	47	F	c	NSB SD
	50	F	c	
	56	F	c	
NSB Maintenance	37	M	c	NSB BRW
NSB School District (teacher)	31	M	c	NSB SD
	17	M	c	
Kunnichuk Project Foreman	26	M	c	MJP KUN
NSB Utilities	29	M	c	NSB UTIL
Pso	31	M	c	NSB PSO
Kunnichuks	32	M	c	MJP KUN
Seasonal	32	M	c	MISC
Private Contractor/Consultant	32	M	c	MJP KUN
Coal Stove Installer	33	M	c	Cs
NSB School District (teacher)	33	M	c	NSB SD
NSB Public Works	36	M	c	NSB PW
NSB School District (teacher)	36	M	c	NSB SD
Impact Assessment	36	M	c	IAI
Alaska Fish & Game	41	M	c	F&G
NSB School District (head of plant)	45	M	c	NSB SD
NSB School District (principal)	47	M	c	NSB SD
Preacher	53	M	c	CHURCH
NSB Utilities	53	M	c	NSB UTIL

This is not to say that PSOS and teachers have the same relations with the village. PSOS are not insulated from the community the way that teachers are by a level of administrators. Additionally, teachers, in the performance of their duties and related tasks, only interact with adults who have children the age of the grade they are teaching and the children themselves. PSOS come into contact with the entire community and, due to the nature of their job and the structure of the community itself, will eventually cross paths in an unpleasant way with virtually everyone, or a close relative of everyone, in the village.

There are differences in the policies generated on the borough level, and their implementation on the village level, in a number of areas. This process is readily apparent in both the areas of public safety and education. In public safety, for example, there is correct “police style” of handling all situations. For any given incident that comes to the attention of a PSO, that officer, when deciding on an action, must weigh at a minimum the following factors:

- o The law as written (the “letter of the law”)
- o The interpretation of the law (the “spirit of the law”)
- o Department policy
- o Local expectations
- o Individual judgment

One aspect of law enforcement in North Slope villages that characterizes them, as opposed to **law** enforcement in more urban areas, is the degree to which an officer has to adjust his enforcement style to meet **local** conditions and expectations. Given that **an** officer is likely to find himself working alone for a good deal of the time, he must exercise not only a good deal **of** judgment, but he must also solve difficulties on his own that would in other contexts be solved by specialists. As one officer put it: “Out here we are everything. Back home [where he had previously worked as a police officer] you had a crime lab, full-time investigators, things like that. Out here you are it.” Individual officers vary in their attitudes of what it takes to get the job done, even on such basic issues as dress. One officer interviewed, for example, feels that it is counterproductive to wear a uniform in the village. According to this individual, village residents know who he is anyway. Typically, he wears a baseball cap with the Public Safety Department logo on it, but “civilian clothes” otherwise. He carries his department handgun, but not on a **gunbelt** on his hip, preferring instead to carry it in a shoulder holster under a vest or jacket. His reasoning for this arrangement is that people know that he is armed, and to wear the weapon out in sight all of the time in a small village is insulting to the people. Some other officers interviewed have quite different views on these issues, and **feel** that wearing a uniform is more professional, and therefore more desirable.

There are also situational factors that officers must take into account in the villages if they are to get along, and these may run counter to formal officer training or department policy. In an incident in Point Hope a number of years ago, a new officer in the village took an adolescent girl into custody in conjunction with a relatively minor incident and, in accord with formal policy, handcuffed her. Her father was a prominent individual in the community and took great personal offense at this. This incident subsequently made life in the community difficult for the officer. While he followed policy, he clearly violated local expectations and further compounded the problem by not knowing the social structure of the community.

If this incident were to have happened in an urban area, the officer in question would have probably remained anonymous to the family and, in any event, would have had others in the department on site to explain policy. In the villages of Point Lay and Point Hope, the individual officer is answerable to **local** residents -- as an individual -- for his conduct, whether or not it is in accord with written policy from Barrow.

School staff must also meet local expectations independent of formal policy and, like Public Safety Officers, are held responsible by local residents, as individuals, for their actions. School staff in the villages, for example, are held accountable for such things as school curriculum, teacher housing policies, and the availability of school facilities to the community in general. Individual school administrators or staff members who must implement borough policies that are unpopular may have their careers in the villages shortened in much the same way that PSOS at times are.

In contrast, given adequate job performance, those working in the service sector make their own decisions about staying or leaving. For the most part, if an individual decides to leave such a job, it is not to take a similar job in another village. Rather, it is either to leave the village for another region of Alaska or the lower-48 or to take a different sort of job in the village. The one case known to the researcher is a man with a permanent service job who quit when temporary construction projects started there. He plans to leave Point Lay when the temporary work is over, and will be able to draw unemployment during his relocation. This would not have been possible if he had simply resigned from his permanent job. The temporary job also pays better than the permanent job and has attractive work conditions. In effect, this man has redefined himself as a "short-termer." In point of fact, this is exactly the sort of job he held when he first came to Point Lay, and it was his transition to permanent employment for the NSB that solidified his residency and social position in Point Lay. By reversing the process he seems to be resuming, or preparing to resume, his status as an outsider. The village perception that outsiders are interested in Point Lay mainly for short-term opportunities and economic gain is also enhanced and reinforced by this process.

Of the eleven "**long-termers**" perhaps four are perceived by the villagers as "residents," even though it is recognized that they may well leave Point Lay once their working days are over. The missionary and his son could fall into this category if they stay in Point Lay for a while, but they have not been in the village long enough yet. Of the four under consideration, two are married to **Inupiat** women and hold service jobs. A third holds a service job but is married to a non-Native woman. The fourth works for the school but in a capacity which requires him to be in Point Lay for the summer when all other school personnel are out of the village. This, combined with his length of service, makes him the most visible school employee for many of the villagers. Indeed, for many things concerning the school a Point Lay resident will go to him as a first contact rather than to the principal. He is married to a non-Native who also works at the school. They make no claims of wishing to stay in the village past retirement. Of the two Caucasian men married to **Inupiat** women, one takes few roles in the village outside of his work and the Fire Department. He is one of the two Caucasian men to be observed at bingo (the other was a marginal visitor whose behavior patterns were perceived by the community as cause for some concern). The other Caucasian man married to an **Inupiat** woman was absent from the village for the entire period of the project, but the fact that he was still considered a resident, was out of the village for reasons beyond his control, was planning to return soon, and had occupied several key positions before

he left the village, combine to make him truly a long-term resident. Even he apparently has no stated commitment to the village, however (which, given the fluidity of **Inupiat** population movement, should come as no surprise).

The Distant Early Warning Line station in Point Lay employs a number of **non-Inupiat** males, and occasionally **non-Inupiat** females, who rotate through the facility on a very short-term basis. These individuals do not interact with community residents, or even typically enter the community other than to pick up mail, and are thus not otherwise included in the community employment discussion. The station has recently provided temporary employment for one **Inupiat** male resident of Point Lay who was hired to maintain heaters in temporary housing units at the station during the summer of 1987. This was clearly an exceptional case, and the employment was terminated when the construction season ended and the temporary workers' quarters were shut down. One other **Inupiat** male is hired to work at the station on a seasonal basis, but this individual is otherwise a resident of Kotzebue, not Point Lay. **Inupiat** residents of Point Lay do not socialize with the regular workers at the station or otherwise visit the station to any significant degree.

Point Lay Caucasian Employment: Females

Caucasian women display a somewhat different pattern. The short-term work possibilities in Point Lay are almost all in "male-oriented" areas -- primarily construction. Few women break into this niche unless there is a severe labor shortage. In 1987, one Caucasian woman married to an **Inupiat** man had worked on a temporary project. During December, however, she did not work outside of the home. Thus, the **normal** state of affairs seems to be for Caucasian women to work full-time and permanently (service jobs) or not to work for wages at all.

There were 10 Caucasian women enumerated for December 1987 (Table 25). Four worked for the school. One worked as the **Cully** Camp cook, two had no permanent jobs but filled in at others (when someone took a break or temporary positions), and three did not work for wages. One of these three was the companion of a very short-term male construction worker. One was the wife of the missionary whose religion and skills precludes much outside wage activity, The third is an older woman who filled in when called upon to do so, but this is very seldom. In addition, she has two children in the village to aid her.

The only female "short-termer," as the term is used in the discussion of male Caucasian employment, came to Point Lay in the company of one such male. All other female Caucasians were "long-termers" (there were additional short-term visits by female Caucasian NSB personnel, but none noted for the time of this census in December). Just as there were two Caucasian men married to **Inupiat** women, and they seemed to be accepted by the community more than the others, so the two Caucasian females married to **Inupiat** men are perceived by other villagers as long-term and perhaps permanent residents. In fact, villagers assume that it is more likely that these male **Inupiat-female** Caucasian couples will remain in the village than that the male Caucasian-female **Inupiat** ones will. A third woman, the older woman mentioned above who sometimes fills in, came to Point Lay as the wife of an **Inupiat** resident and is the mother of one of the Caucasian women married to **Inupiat** men. This older woman is currently divorced from this man, but both still live in or around the village. This older woman is perceived by many in the village as a source of problems and discord; yet, because of her past marriage and the marriage of one of her daughters into the village, she also seems to have an accepted right to live as a permanent resident. She has made a clear choice to do so, and is one Caucasian who

has retired in Point Lay. This status will be tested, however, if and when her children leave Point Lay. Since the married daughter is likely to stay indefinitely and other family members come from California to visit periodically, this test may never occur.

One of the two married female Caucasian **"long-termers"** is employed by the school as a teachers' aide. In actuality she is a certified teacher and remains in the aide classification by her own choice. This benefits both the school and herself. Although she is underpaid for the work she actually does (helping the school's budget), she has the flexibility to pursue the subsistence activities and relatively frequent travel that regular teachers cannot because their contractual agreement commits them to not missing class days. This decision on her part is a clear indication of an intent to remain in the village. Her husband has a permanent job in the service sector and is an important village political functionary as well. This couple has one child, and they have indicated that fairly soon (perhaps after next school year) at least the woman and child will spend a year out of Point Lay. The woman would pursue her education and the child would attend school in a more challenging academic environment than is found in Point Lay. They would go either to Anchorage or to the eastern U.S. to be near the woman's parents. It is unclear whether the husband would also go, but it would appear not and the couple would retain their Point Lay residency. This couple also owns a home outside of Fairbanks, which they visit occasionally, but which is currently rented out.

The second married female Caucasian **"long-termer"** also indicates that she intends to stay in the village, but in a different manner. Her husband has a permanent job in the service sector. She has no permanent job, partly due to her having four children, two of which are quite young. In the recent past, she has worked on one of the temporary construction projects. She is thus able to work for a short period of time and when the job is over to remain in the village, something that a **"short-termmer"** cannot do. Her children commit her to her marriage and by extension to living in Point Lay. She is also the only Caucasian female observed to attend bingo.

We would argue that these three Caucasian women who have married into the village are seen as more long-term residents than other Caucasian women (even though one has subsequently been divorced, her ties through her daughter continue to legitimize her place in the village). The one strictly "short-termmer" has been discussed above. The remaining six Caucasian females are then all "long-term" transients -- three work at the school, one is the cook at **Cully Camp**, one is the missionary's wife, and the other is the wife of a Caucasian working in a service job who herself has no steady job. We will discuss each in turn.

The three who work at the school do not really form a cohesive group. One is a teacher, one the wife of a teacher who herself has worked in support positions, and the third is the wife of the plant manager who worked as a custodian and helper. The teacher was also the principal's wife. Thus, she was relatively well-known in the village, but is seen as strictly short-term. She and her husband are expected to stay in Point Lay two or three years, until they retire. The second teacher's wife was perceived as very transient and, indeed, her husband has been transferred to Barrow. The wife of the plant manager benefits from the same factors which make him the most visible member of the school's staff. Given the male emphasis of work and politics in Point Lay, however, she is not as salient an individual as her husband.

The cook at **Cully Camp** would be expected to be relatively transient, as the camp is only open when there is a need to house the workers coming into Point Lay from outside to work on temporary construction projects (or for NSB personnel who cannot

locate other lodging). However, since the camp runs so long as any project is operating, and for the short slack periods in-between, it is actually a fairly **long-term** job. This is especially true since for the year of the project (1987-88) the NSB Mayor's Job Program provided some work during the winter. This is the normal time for the camp to close, but it was kept open for much of this time.

The missionary's wife has been in Point Lay for a relatively short period of time. She has no desire to work for wages outside of the home, as her religion holds that it is improper for a woman to exercise control or direction over any male. Most of the administrative positions that exist in the village would not be acceptable to her (and her husband) in any event. She does not have the skills needed for temporary construction work. It is expected that fulfilling the role of the missionary's wife will occupy her time for the most part.

The female half of the only non-school 'Caucasian couple in Point Lay is an interesting case. She and her husband have been in Point Lay for eight years or so. She has no permanent position, but tends to be the first person to be called to substitute for individuals in permanent (and responsible) positions who wish to have a break for vacation, have a baby, travel for business, or similar circumstances. At times this woman has filled three such temporary positions simultaneously. Examples of what she is called upon to do are the village coordinator position, the airline representative, and the coal mine coordinator. Although her husband would prefer that she not work outside of the home they both appreciate the extra income. She also is an extremely energetic person who **likes** to see things get done and so often is hard put to restrain herself in a subservient role to males in the work context. Combined with the common Caucasian perception of action in the village being largely inefficient **and slow**, this makes for her observed pattern of work. She is mainly "unemployed" but has a clear perception of village needs and modes of operation.

Point Lay Inupiat Employment: Males

There were thirty-nine **Inupiat** males over the age of fifteen in December 1987 (Table 26). Of these, four were old enough to retire (a special early retirement at 55 and three others aged 64, 65, and 82). Of the thirty-five remaining, only seven or possibly eight (20.0% or 22.9%) had no sort of wage income. This is an employment rate of at least 77.1%, compared to one of 73.1% for adult **Inupiat** women. Permanent, full-time jobs account for 18 of these jobs, or 51.4% of the total male labor force (compared to 33.3% for women). Thus, in December a higher percentage of women than men were working at part-time or temporary jobs. This makes sense, as the existing construction projects were relatively small and working conditions were not very pleasant. Thus, only nine men had such temporary jobs in December. Permanent full-time jobs are 66.6% of the total "male jobs" in the village, and employ 51.4% of the adult male work force. Permanent full-time jobs are 47.4% of the total "female jobs" in the village, and employ **33.3%** of the adult female **Inupiat** work force.

The average age of part-time and/or seasonal **Inupiat** male wage earners is much lower than that of permanent, full-time employees -- 26.1 years old as compared to 36.8. The mean age of adult men not employed was 26.6 years. Whereas the part-time distribution is all in the range of twenty-one to twenty-nine, except for one man of age forty-two, the unemployed group is **bimodal** with four men in the range sixteen to twenty-three and four in the range thirty-eight to forty-three. Clearly, these two groups display different characteristics. These data are consistent with the local

Table 26

Employable Male Inupiat Adults, Age 16 and Over, Point Lay, Alaska - 12/87
Arranged by Ethnicity, Sex, and Age

Employment	Age	Sex	Ethnicity	Job Code
	16	M	I	
	17	M	I	
	21	M	I	
Seasonal	21	M	I	MISC
Kunnichuks & Coal Stoves	18	M	M	MJP KUN CS
Kunnichuks & Misc.	21	M	I	MJP KUN
NSB Maintenance & Kunnichuks	22	M	I	MJP KUN HM
NSB Utilities	22	M	I	NSB UTIL
Kunnichuks & fill-in	22	M	I	MJP KUN
Seasonal	22	M	I	MJP KUN
NSB Public Works	23	M	I	NSB PW
	23	M	I	
NSB School District (rec. aide)	24	M	I	NSB SD
NSB Utilities (clerk)	28	M	I	NSB UTIL
Kunnichuks & Coal Stoves	28	M	I	MJP KUN CS
Kunnichuks	28	M	I	MJP KUN
Kunnichuks (coal mine)	29	M	I	MJP KUN CW
NSB Public Works	33	M	I	NSB PW
NSB Utilities (night watchman)	33	M	I	NSB UTIL
Cully Fuel	33	M	I	CULLY FUEL
NSB Utilities	34	M	I	NSB UTIL
NSB Public Works	35	M	I	NSB PW
NSB Public Works	36	M	I	NSB PW
NSB School District (maintenance)	37	M	I	NSB SD
NSB Utilities	37	M	I	NSB UTIL
	38	M	I	
	38	M	I	
Coal Mine Coordinator	42	M	I	COAL
NSB Housing Maintenance	43	M	I	MJP HM
	43	M	I	
Cully Officer	43	M	I	
NSB Utilities	44	M	I	NSB UTIL
Cully Corp President	46	M	I	CULLY CORP
NSB School District Maintenance	46	M	I	NSB SD
NSB Utilities	49	M	I	NSB UTIL
Retired	55	M	I	RETIRED
NSB utilities	60	M	I	NSB UTIL
Retired	64	M	I	RETIRED
Retired - never worked for wages	65	M	I	RETIRED
Retired	82	M	I	RETIRED

perception that jobs are given preferentially to those who most need them. The criteria most often given are: (1) resident of the village (the longer the better), (2) head of household, (3) size of household, (4) lack of other income, and (5) reliability and dependability. Other, and not explicitly expressed, criteria are being male and **Inupiat**. This is especially true for the permanent, full-time jobs. The household provider is clearly seen as a male role in Point Lay in the wage context as well as the subsistence one.

Point Lay **Inupiat** Employment: Females

There are twenty-nine adult female **Inupiat** in Point Lay (Table 27). Two are of retirement age (sixty-eight and sixty-nine) and so can be excluded. Of the **twenty-seven** remaining, nineteen (73.1%) have some form of employment. Of these nineteen, fourteen could be full-time, permanent jobs. Empirically only nine actually were full-time. Thus, ten **Inupiat** women have essentially part-time jobs. None is seasonal in nature so all can be considered "permanent." However, there is high turnover in most of these temporary positions and once women leave them there is a good chance that they will eventually be cycled back into them. There are simply not enough people in **Point Lay** for this not to be the case. Even the full-time jobs have what would be considered a high rate of turnover, at least on the basis of our observations for the period of September 1987 through June 1988.

The distinction between "full-time" and "part-time" jobs is essential here. They are empirically classified in the table of "Jobs Held by **Inupiat** Women, Point Lay, Alaska: December 1987". An examination of this table reveals that certain jobs classified as "part-time" would be expected, by a person with no other information than the job title and duties, to be full-time. Most of these cases have explanations -- some more indicative of the state of wage labor in Point Lay than others. For example, the part-time health aid was an individual who could have worked full-time, but in fact went to the clinic very seldom and so did not work much at all. This was a personal characteristic, as the other health aids were highly motivated and more committed. The house cleaners for the Elders, however, were (and remain) good indicators of wage labor in Point Lay. The NSB provides the money to pay people for up to forty hours per week to clean the homes of Elders, and to do other tasks for the Elders as required. When the program was first implemented, individuals were hired to take care of kin. The reasoning behind this seems to have been that typically relatives looked after the Elders before the formal program, and if anyone was going to get paid for doing it, it should be those who were already performing the service for free. This arrangement did not meet the expectations of those running the program. When direct kin were working for each other, the job apparently was less instrumentally approached, and things were done only when needed, rather than being treated like a full-time job. No matter who was hired in Point Lay, that person never worked forty hours in any week, and the houses most in need of help (those where the kin did not help as often to begin with) were those that received it on the most irregular basis. The program was then faced with having employees charging for full-time work, and the job still was not getting done. It was commonly agreed that this was because the work was not pleasant and the pay was too low (\$15/hour under the Mayor's Job Program), but clearly other factors were operating as well that had to do with formal employment relations between close kin. Young Point Lay women would not do it and older Point Lay women worked only as long as they really needed the money and were being paid regularly. If payment was at all delayed or the need for money reduced, the women would not work.

Table 27

Employable Female Inupiat Adults, Age 16 and Over, Point Lay, Alaska - 12/87
Arranged by Ethnicity, Sex, and Age

Employment	Age	Sex	Ethnicity	Job Code
NSB Health Aide	19	F	I	NSB CHA
School Store - minimal	16	F	I	SS
	18	F	I	
	21	F	I	
NSB Health Aide	22	F	I	NSB CHA
	23	F	I	
Cully Corp. Secretary	24	F	I	CULLY CORP
	24	F	I	
Cully Corp Secretary	25	F	I	CULLY CORP
Misc. Pickup Work	26	F	I	MISC
	26	F	I	
	26	F	I	
Misc. Pickup	27	F	I	MISC
School cook	32	F	I	NSB SD
NSB House Cleaner (some)	35	F	I	MJP HC
Native Store Clerk	35	F	I	STORE
	36	F	I	
NSB Clinic (cleaner ?)	38	F	I	NSB CLINIC
NSB Village Coordinator	38	F	I	NSB VC
actually gone to Barrow	40	F	I	STORE MGR
Cape Smythe Agent & NSB aide	42	F	I	NSB SD AIR
NSB House Cleaner (some)	43	F	I	MJP HC
NSB House Cleaner (some)	43	F	I	MJP HC
NSB Health Aide	44	F	I	NSB CHA
School Cook	44	F	I	NSB SD
	46	F	I	
Post Office Manager	46	F	I	POST OFC
Retired - never worked for wages	68	F	I	RETIRED
Retired (?)	69	F	I	RETIRED

It was not until several young women from **Kivalina** moved to Point Lay in June 1988 (along with several young men coming to work on the summer construction projects) that dependable **housecleaners** became available. The difference seems primarily to be that there are so many fewer jobs in **Kivalina** that \$15/hour is a reasonable rate of pay for these women. The work is also task-structured differently, and this helps to make the operation more efficient. They work two or three to a house so that they can socialize as they work, share the least desirable aspects of the work, and spend less time in any one house. While this may seem a more instrumental relationship than having close kin paid to look after Elders, in fact the Elders homes are better cared for, and kin are still expected to look in on the Elders as they have done in the past, although individuals vary in their dedication to this task.

There are also subtle changes in the relationships between people who live in the households of Elders as a result of the housekeeping program. For example, when a new guest in the house of an Elder and his family began to wash dishes, he was told that "someone is paid to do that." What was implied in the statement, based on further interactions, was that not only do you not have to wash dishes in this case, one shouldn't wash dishes. The individual who is paid to do the housekeeping chores around the house has to justify her employment, and if there is nothing for that person to do, it will create difficulties. . There are undoubtedly relational differences caused by this change in tasks within the household. If family members who used to contribute to the household through the performance of tasks no longer contribute in that manner, one would expect that interpersonal relations within the household would be changed. It would be desirable to have "before and after" data on contributions, because it is now difficult to separate out idiosyncratic variation from trends when Elders are asked about how much (or little) people contributed to their care in the past as opposed to now. There are also compounding difficulties in perceptual differences between generations.

In Point Hope, the Elders cleaning program works a bit differently than it does in Point Lay. Rather than have a team of cleaners, it is more typical to have a single cleaner assigned to an Elder's house, and when there is a lot to do the workers will team up. The workers also see an important part of their job to be socializing with the Elder(s) and keeping them company, not just cleaning the house. For example, in one case known, an Elder was resident in a household with her grandson's nuclear family. Also present at the time was a non-Native house guest. The grandson and his family left the village for a trip of several days duration, and during this time the "cleaning" person checked on the Elder during the evenings. If the house guest was going to be out of the house for the evening the worker, in addition to seeing to the needs of her own family, would spend some time with the Elder to make sure that the Elder was not just left alone, and was prepared Native food if desired.

Another issue that suggests itself in the Point Lay experience with the housekeeping program is the expectations individuals in Point Lay have regarding job choices/availability and rates of compensation. Borough direct and indirect employment has created expectations about wage scales and the availability of employment that very likely will not be met within the foreseeable future. According to the supervisor of the North Slope Borough census (conducted by the NSB Planning Department in 1988), the absolute number of jobs available on the Slope is not likely to decline dramatically in the near future. In fact, there are more steady jobs available in the borough now than there have ever been (although during the CIP construction phase there were more employed persons). There is, however, an anticipated problem with employment rates in the not-too-distant future. The borough population is a young population and is growing, and there is a significant "bulge"

in the age group that is due to enter the labor force in the next few years, sharply increasing the number of persons who are seeking employment (**Nebesky 1989:personal communication**). Given that there are no anticipated new sources of major employment on the horizon, this is considered the biggest problem facing the borough planners in the coming years. Given the present population composition of the two communities, this will apparently be a much more acute problem in Point Hope than in Point Lay.

Expectations regarding rates of compensation are tied to perceptions of job availability. Clearly Point Lay people are unwilling to accept relatively low-paying jobs (less than \$25.00/hour -- the **CIP** scale for a carpenter or beginning heavy equipment operator or truck driver, which virtually all male employees feel they are trained as or at **least** able to do) or to do work that they find distasteful or uninteresting. It is also clear from talking to employers, and from observation, that the work habits of the work force in general, and the more transient (construction type) employees in particular, are not very good. Given the reduction in **CIP** work, it is unlikely that the supply of \$25.00/hour jobs will continue at the present level. The NSB is continuing to support this level of compensation for the permanent jobs, but will have to convince people to work for less for other types of employment, such as the "Mayor's Job Program." In Point Lay this is difficult, as the scale is \$15.00/hour for these jobs, and recently a contractor had to essentially combine two of these jobs (resulting in a single position earning \$30.00/hour) before anyone would come to work. This perception also influences the desirability of employment outside of the community. Certainly, no one (not even college students) from the village **will** want to go to Anchorage and work in a fast-food restaurant, for example. It is not clear what effect these expectations have had on "non-employment" type enterprises, such as the production of crafts. In Point Lay, the craftwork that is available is priced very high, except when compared against the \$25.00/hour wage scale. The price of crafts in other villages is quite a bit lower.

These wage expectations in Point Lay create problems for certain other types of jobs as well. As noted for the NSB housekeeping program, the employees usually quit in less than six months, and it was clear that Point Lay residents thought that the rate of pay was too low, or the work involved too unpleasant, for them to take the positions. Similarly, the school experiences a very high turnover rate in its teacher aide positions, as well as in the evening recreation supervisor position. Until the last portion of our fieldwork, **Cully Corporation** had some problems retaining a dependable group of fuel delivery men. All of these jobs share certain characteristics. The pay is relatively low, the duties are considered at least somewhat unpleasant at least part of the time, and the need to be dependable "cramps the style" of many of those hired to fill these positions, who tend to be young adults. It is interesting to note that those who are married are part of a stable couple are considered by employers and fellow villagers to be much more dependable than those who are single.

The school's problem with the reliability of its **Inupiat** female employees may be related to the time of year of the field observations, as there were many other demands on the time of these individuals. On the other hand, the school staff has indicated that this does appear to be a pervasive problem. Whether it is due to the nature of the work or the personalities of the women involved, or is a reaction to the personalities of the non-Native school staff, is not known, but appears intrinsic to the part-time nature of "Miscellaneous" work -- babysitting, supervising the community building when it is open to recreation, and the like. Similarly, the student store was open only five or six hours a week.

There seem to be few significant age differences between the **women** who work **full-time**, those who work part-time, and those who do not work at **all**. The average size of a residential household for those employed full-time (nine cases) is 4.33 persons, for those employed part-time (ten cases) is 3.6 persons, and for those not employed (seven cases -- the two Elders are excluded because of age and one other woman because of absence from the village) is 3.83 persons. All three groups contain families with very young children. The not-working group is younger overall than the other two groups -- an average age of 26.43 with a range of 18 to 46, compared to average ages of 34.66 and 32.27, with ranges of 22 to 46 and 19 to 44, for the two employed groups. It thus appears that the unemployed **Inupiat** women's group is made up of young unmarried women (2), young women just starting to have children (4 - two of them with male partners in their own household, two as single parents in the household of a parent), young women well on their way to bearing a large number of children (2), and a single middle-aged woman of 46 who is widowed, has mostly grown children, and an independent income. If she is excluded from the group, the average age for this group goes down to 23.17. Being young and having several young children thus seems to hinder wage employment for **Inupiat** women in Point Lay.

There is an obvious lack of babysitters in the village, and the families with several young children are especially hard pressed to find someone willing to provide **childcare**. Those people with more relations in Point Lay generally have an easier time of finding people to babysit. Peer groups and friendship patterns are also likely to be important. Of course, much depends upon the activity requiring a baby sitter. Daytime and early evening social activities are usually with one's relatives and friends and can include quite a few individuals, including children. Subsistence resource harvesting activities are likely to be less encompassing. Bingo, card parties, and other late night social activities generally exclude children. **Short-term** baby sitting differs from longer-term commitments, and payment has also become a factor.

In Point Hope, it is common to have grandparents look after children. In Point Lay, while there are few individuals in the category "Elder" there are actually 11 grandparents (10 of them **Inupiat**). The perception of fewer arises because they are still relatively young and their grandchildren are for the most part young. Still, only about 1/9 of the adult population are grandparents, and as such they appear to have been utilized less widely as babysitters -- or everyday caretakers -- of their grandchildren or other children of similar age. The implications of this difference between the two communities is not clear, but there are some suggestive data. With respect to socialization, the children in Point Hope engage in particular activities with their grandparents that they do not typically engage in with other adults. First, older adult caretakers are more likely to speak **Inupiaq** to young children than are younger adults. It could be hypothesized that the amount of time that grandparents spend with children (as primary caretakers) will influence the **Inupiaq** language loss rate. From observations of contexts in Point Hope when children actually not only hear **Inupiaq** but are addressed in **Inupiaq**, this would seem reasonable, and it would lead to hypothesizing different loss rates for Point Lay and Point Hope, all other things being equal. It is difficult, however, to control for the "all other things." To confirm or **disconfirm** the hypothesis would also take a rigorous methodology that is beyond the scope of this study.

Second, the presence of grandparents in households with young children could be hypothesized to have an influence on the learning of traditional reciprocity behaviors. Providing for Elders is one of the most commonly verbalized of traditional values. If children were present in the home when various **non-co-resident** kin (and non-kin) gave to co-resident Elders, one might assume that this

would be a stronger reinforcement for the learning of that value than if the child were to observe only giving to non-co-resident Elders on a sporadic basis. Again, however, there are methodological difficulties associated with attempting to assess whether or not “all other things” are being held equal. In Point Lay, the opportunity to give not only to Elders, but to a number of different related Elders including grandparents, is less than that in Point Hope.

Third, it is common for grandparents in Point Hope to take grandchildren to church services at the Episcopal Church and, in fact, it is apparently the most common way that children are brought to church. This is obviously a different situation from Point Lay where there is no continuously active church that draws an **Inupiat** congregation. In Point Hope the Episcopal Church is definitely seen as an **Inupiat** institution. As noted in the discussion of the church, the congregation and leaders are **Inupiat** and the **Inupiaq** language is utilized for much of the service. According to VanStone (1989:personal communication), the church is the context that is most unchanged in 1989 from the time of his field research in 1955-56, the only ongoing social context (as opposed to annual festivals, etc.) that has remained more-or-less stable. It could be hypothesized then that grandparents taking their grandchildren to church may be an important component of building not only an **Inupiat** identity for their grandchildren, but for giving them some sense of continuity with the Point Hope of the past. One could also hypothesize on the implications of differential access to related Elders between Point Lay and Point Hope for the learning of a number of different traditional values as well, but the most serious difficulty with such hypotheses is that “all other things” are not equal between the two communities. One of the most serious differences is the fact that in Point Hope there is a continuity of families and traditions in a single location and traditional values, such as giving to Elders, which have been manifested between individuals who have known each other over their lifetimes. Point Lay as a recently resettled community is composed of **people** who have lived elsewhere and have come together from a number of different places for a combination of different reasons. Some knew each other well before they came to Point Lay and some not at all. While reciprocity behaviors are observed in Point Lay and are based on a similar verbalized value system as in Point Hope, they operate in a different long-term behavioral context.

Point Lay **Inupiat** Male and Female Employment Compared

Inupiat men more commonly hold full-time permanent jobs than do **Inupiat** women, largely due to the sort of job opportunities available in the village, most of which are defined as “men’s work” (Tables 28 and 29). In addition, there is the cultural norm that men are the natural providers for the household and do the “hardest” work while women are the keepers of the household. Certainly, the characteristics of jobs held by each sex support this contention (Table 30).

Furthermore, the pattern of women working virtually year-round, whether it is **full-time** or part-time employment, and doing the same sort of work for full-time and **part-time** jobs, seems quite different from the male pattern. Males who work full-time are employed primarily in the local service sector. Those who work part-time are actually seasonal workers who, for the most part, do different sorts of things and work full-time for a limited period of time. No men have permanent part-time jobs and few men exhibit the pattern fairly common among women of turning a full-time position into a part-time one. The apparent predominance of male full-time employment is thought to be partially an artifact of the time of year. December was not a peak of construction or other temporary project activity. Thus, there were not

Table 28

**Jobs Held by Inupiat Males, Point Lay, Alaska
December 1987**

Permanent Full-Time	Age	Part-Time or Seasonal	Age	Not Employed Ages
NSB Utilities	22	3 Types of Jobs:	16	
NSB Utilities	28	Construction	21	17
NSB Utilities	33	Coal Mine Project	21	21
NSB Utilities	34	Misc. (Community)	22	23
NSB Utilities	37		22	38
NSB Utilities	44		22	38
NSB Utilities	49		28	43
NSB Utilities	60		28	43
NSB Public Works	23		29	
NSB Public Works	33		42	
NSB Public Works	35			
NSB Public Works	36			
NSB School District	24			
NSB School District	37			
NSB School District	46			
Cully Corporation	46			
Cully Fuel	33			
Average Age	36.8		26.1	26.6

Table 29

**Jobs Held by Inupiat Women, Point Lay, Alaska
December 1987**

Job Description	Age of Woman	Full-time or Part-time
Certified Health Aid	22	Full-time
Cully Corp.	24	Full-time
Cully Corp.	25	Full-time
Store Clerk	35	Full-time
Clinic Cleaner	38	Full-time
Village Coordinator	38	Full-time
Store Manager	40	Full-time
Certified Health Aid	44	Full-time
Post Office Clerk	46	Full-time
School Store	16	Very Part-time
Certified Health Aid	19	Part-time
Misc.	26	Part-time
Misc.	27	Part-time
NSB school (cleaner)	32	Part-time
Elders' House Cleaner	35	Part-time
NSB School (teacher)	42	Part-time
Elders' House Cleaner	43	Part-time
Elders' House Cleaner	43	Part-time
NSB school (cook)	44	Part-time

Table 30

Employment Classifications, Point Lay, Alaska

Male Full-Time

NSB Utilities
NSB Public Works
NSB School Maintenance
Cully Fuel (delivery)
Cully Corporation (President)
NSB Housing (maintenance)
Recreation Supervision

Female Full-Time

NSB Health Aides
Native Store Manager and Clerk
NSB School Cook
Cully Fuel (records)
Cully Corporation (office work)
Post Office Clerk
NSB Village Coordinator

Male Part-Time

Construction
Coal Stove Installation
Coal Mining
Recreation Supervision

Female Part-Time

House Cleaning
Babysitting
NSB Health Aid
Recreation Supervision

that many job opportunities for the men without permanent jobs. The pattern for women does not show nearly as much variation, although some women work on some of the summer projects. A good deal of the temporary summer labor is provided from people outside of Point Lay, but some full-time permanent male employees quit their permanent jobs to work on construction for the summer.

Point Hope Employment and Income Statistics

The North Slope Borough conducted a survey of employment in Point Hope in 1986. Responses to the question of primary occupation are found in Table 31; this information is also displayed in Figure 45. Employment categories are "in Table 32 and Figure 46. While this survey is supposed to represent the-entire village, caution in interpreting the data based on this survey is in order, given the high rate of "no response" answers to the questions. Also, caution is indicated by the response to the category "professional" in Table 31. Forty-two persons self-reported their occupation as professionals; clearly there are not that professional positions in the community. It can safely be assumed there are other problems based on self-reporting as well.

This same North Slope Borough survey requested information on levels of income by household. The levels of income indicated are displayed in Table 33. This information is also displayed in Figure 47. Information on the number of people who work more than one job is displayed in Table 34. Information on housing payments is displayed in Table 35; marital status of head of household is displayed in Table 36. Duration of employment in Point Hope is displayed in Figure 48. Seasonal variation of employment in the village is displayed in Figure 49.

Table 31

Primary Occupation Point Hope, Alaska

February - March 1986

Primary Occupation	Respondents
Professional (Lawyer, Doctor, Teacher)	42
Manager (Businessperson, Administrator, Elected official)	20
Clerical (Office worker, Secretary)	23
Craftsman (Foreman, Carpenter, Plumber, Electrician)	46
Operator (Heavy equipment operator, Machinist, Truck driver)	20
Service (Babysitter, Hospital, hotel, or restaurant worker)	29
Laborer (Semi-skilled, general construction work)	14
Armed Forces (National Guard)	2
Artisan (Ivory carver, mask- or basket-maker, skin-sewer)	2
Trapper, hunter	3
Houseperson (takes care of family)	20
Not in labor force (retired)	1
No response	18

Point Hope Employment Distribution February – March, 1986

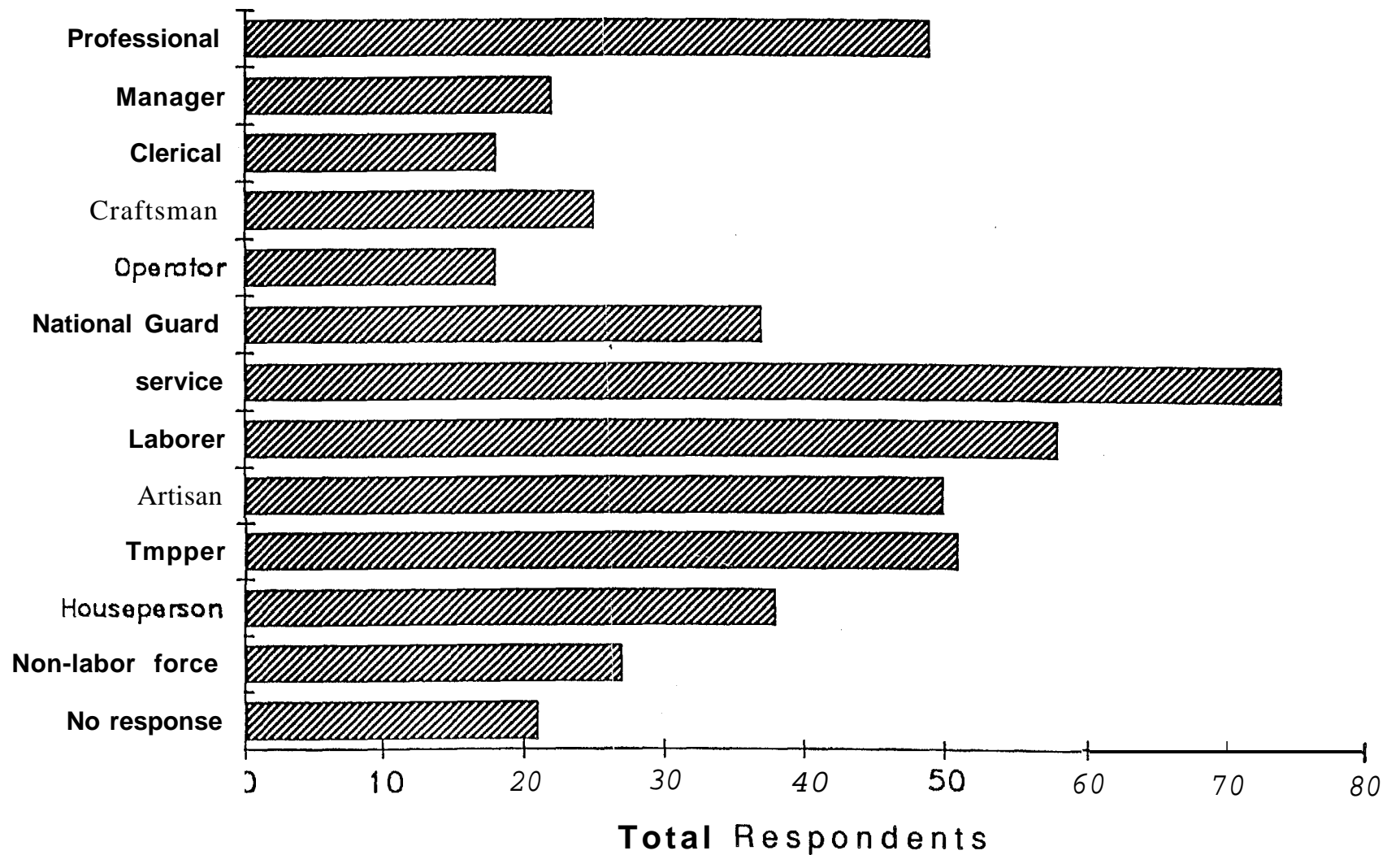


Figure 45
402

Table 32

**Sources of Employment
Point Hope, Alaska**

February - March 1986

Employers	Respondents
Federal Government	3
State Government	2
North Slope Borough	43
North Slope Borough School District	62
Village Government	0
Village Corporation or subsidiary	56
Private construction company	5
Oil industry	1
Transportation	2
Communication	0
Trade (sells goods)	2
Service (provides assistance)	5
Finance, insurance, real estate	0
Other response	1
No response	56
Don't know	2

Point Hope Employment Categories: 1986

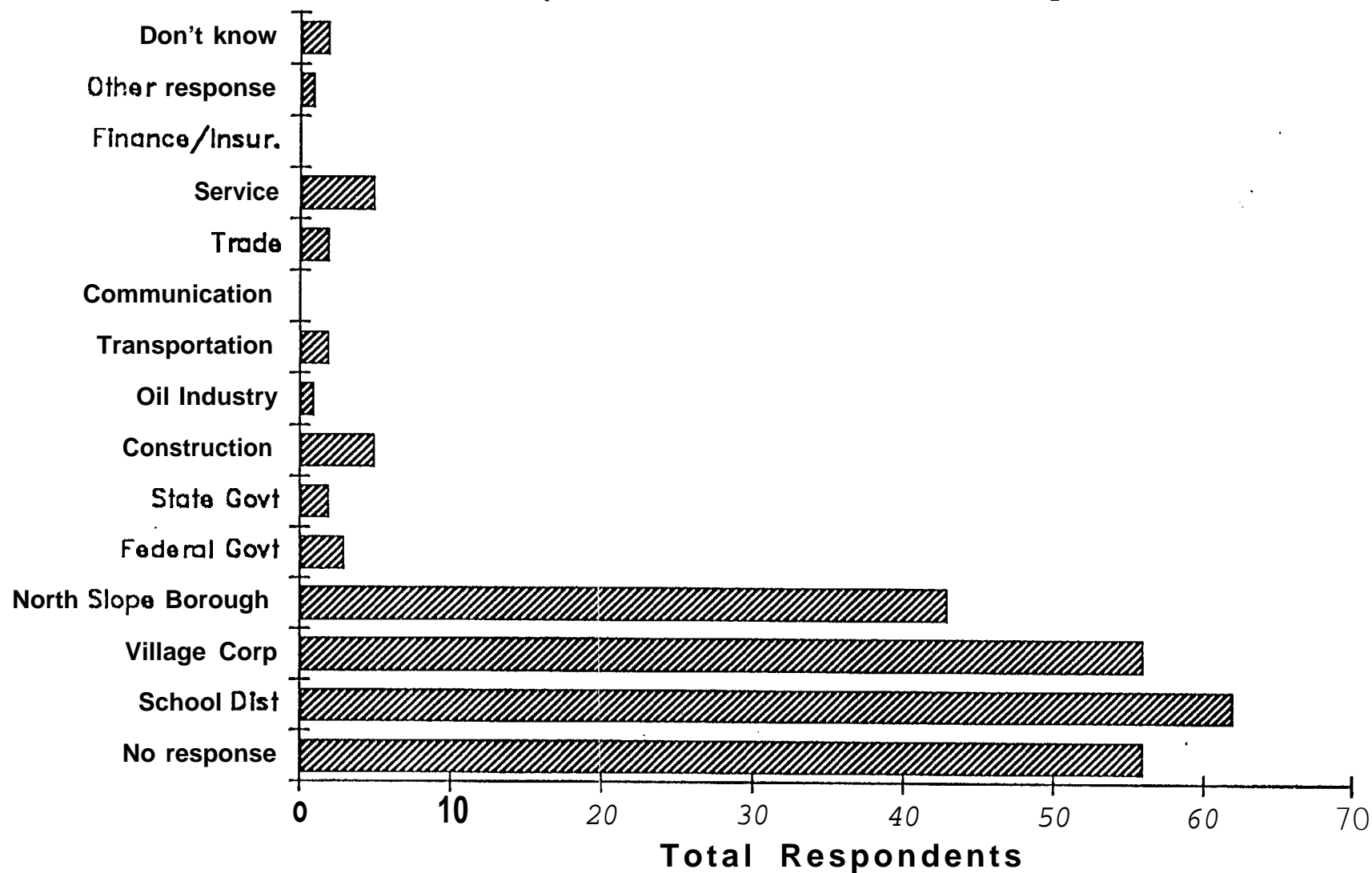


Figure 46

Table 33

**Total Gross Income
(before taxes and other deductions)
Point Hope, Alaska
1985**

Income Level	Respondents
\$00,000-14,999	73
\$15,000-19,999	13
\$20,000-24,999	10
\$25,000-29,999	10
\$30,000-34,999	12
\$35,000-39,999	11
\$40,000 “ 44,999	12
\$50,000-54,999	9
\$55,000- 59,999	1
\$60,000-64,999	2
\$65,000-69,999	1
\$ 7 0 , 0 0 0 - 7 4 , 9 9 9	0
\$75,000 or over	2
Refused, don't know, or other response	73

Table 34

**Number of People Worked a Second Job
Point Hope, Alaska**

1985

	Respondents
Yes	45
No	107
Don't know	1
Other response	7
No response	81

Point Hope Income Distribution February – March, 1986

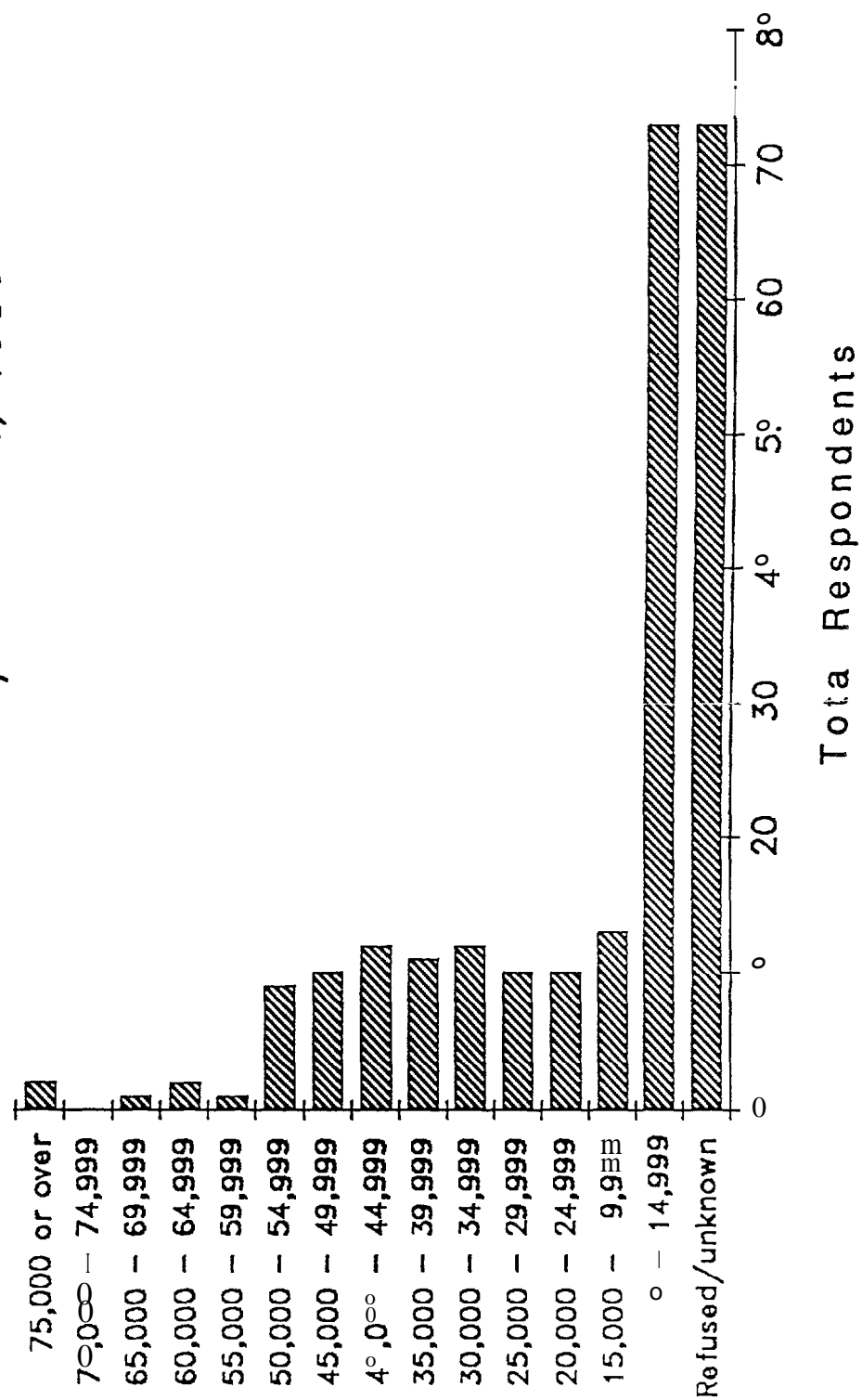


Figure 47

Table 35

Monthly House Payment
February-March 1986
Point Hope, Alaska

Monthly Payment Range	Respondents
\$001.00 to \$100.00	61
\$101.00 to \$200.00	10
\$201.00 to \$300.00	20
\$301.00 to \$400.00	1
\$401.00 to \$500.00	1
\$501.00 to \$600.00	1
\$601.00 to \$700.00	2
\$701.00 to \$800.00	6
\$801.00 to \$900.00	1
\$901.00 and over	1
No monthly payment or no response	27
Don't know	2

Table 36

Monthly House Payment
February-March 1986
Point Hope, Alaska

Marital Status of Head of Household	Respondents
Married	70
Separated	3
Divorced	3
Widowed	7
Living with another adult	10
Other response	8
No response	34

Point Hope Duration of Employment: 1986

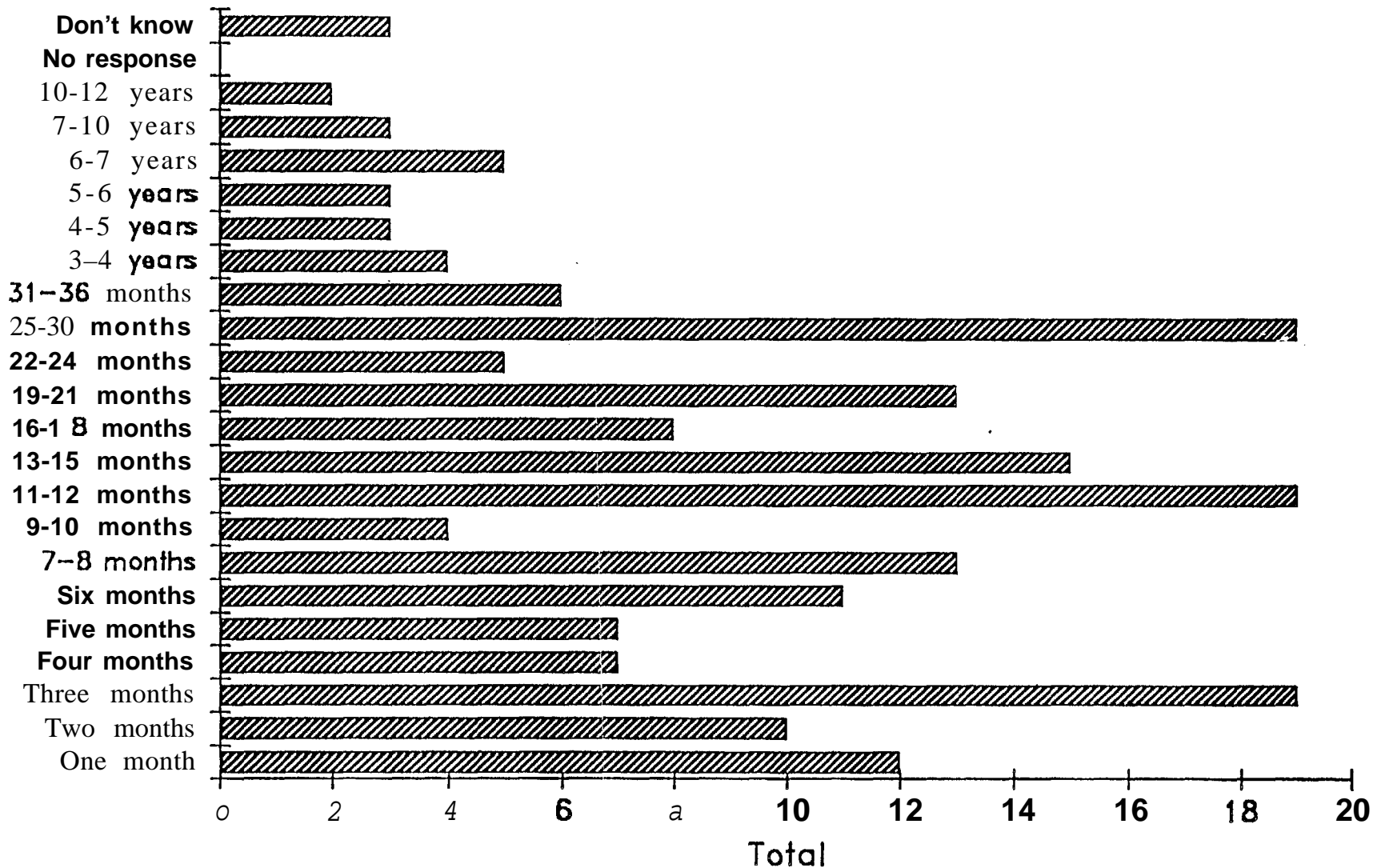


Figure 48

Point Hope Employment by Month: 1985

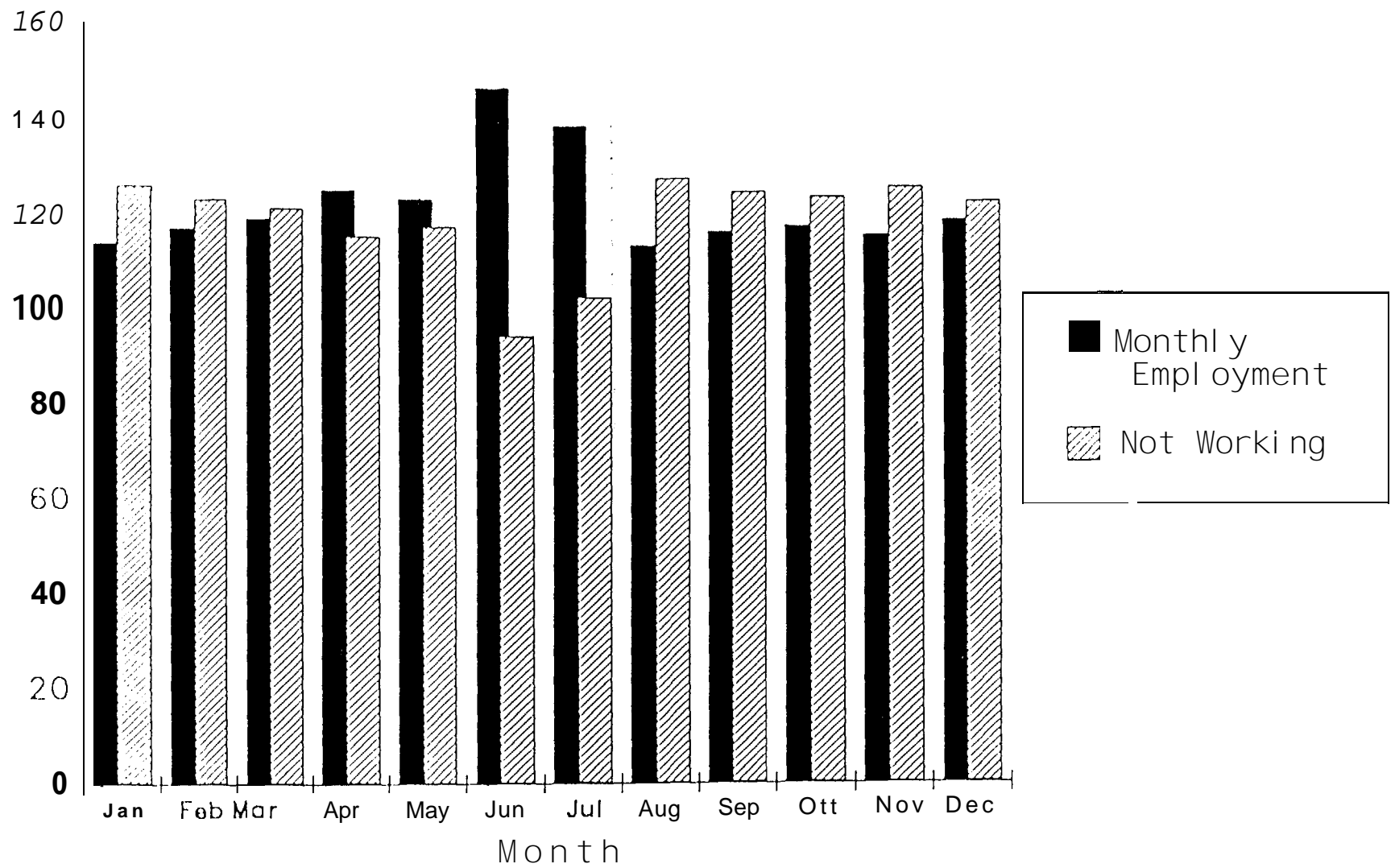


Figure 49

Employment and Household Structure

For the most part, as seen in the population discussion, households are defined by co-residence in Point Lay. As noted above, most households are nuclear in structure and orientation. For most purposes, each housing unit is independent of all others. This is not to say that sharing, visiting, and other social activities are not important or that households are totally economically independent. Rather, each household considers itself as a self-contained unit upon which other units may draw, but which sees to its own needs first. The reality is not this stark of course, but such is clearly the behavioral model. The behaviors seen, to some **extent**, contradict “Social Indicators” study key informant interview data gathered in other communities, and statements on sharing in Neakok et al. (1985). It is important to note, when generalizing from the Social Indicators study and other reports based on **self-reported** behavior, that Point Lay was not a Social Indicators study community, and there is the very difficult problem of comparing sources that are based on **reported** behaviors with information that is based on observations of the behavior itself.

Clearly the ideology of sharing and reciprocity is still verbally maintained in Point Lay today. Behaviorally, one can make the argument that redistribution of subsistence harvests support the actuality of this model. However, also behaviorally, couples establish their own households as soon as they can and most households derive a great deal of their support (almost all over **50%**) from wage income or transfer payments used to buy food and other commodities. Money is not shared (although informants say that it was **when** Point Lay was first resettled in the early 1970s). Point Lay may very well be different from other NSB communities in this regard, at **least** at present. If so, this is not necessarily a permanent change, as an increased dependence on subsistence resources could swing the pendulum back the other way. It is critical to keep in mind that characterizing the **Inupiat** individuals resident in Point Lay today as “survivors” of a traditional culture is both simplistic and inaccurate. They are contemporary Americans, as modern as any, trying to make their livings in the best possible way they perceive to do it. They share with each other, but not money, and in the Point Lay of today, money is much more predominant than subsistence (except in ideology).

Households in Point Lay are organized much more like those in the lower-48 than like those of more “traditional” times. There are indeed times when Elders who cannot hunt for themselves do not have subsistence food to eat. This is at times due to relatives not having subsistence food to give them, but at other times it is often simply because it is **not** given to them. In any event, never is the village as a whole out of subsistence food, and if “we are all one family” were an operative behavioral model in all situations, an Elder would never be out of subsistence food. There is no way to know if this is a profound change or a mere aberration, however, due to atypical demographics (compared to other villages) and an “overactive” wage sector. Just as generalizing from the Social Indicators study data to Point Lay is problematic, generalizing from Point Lay to other communities, even when supplemented with information from Point Hope, is problematic. The economic characteristics of households are summarized in Tables 37 and 38.

Table 37 “.

Group Characteristics, Point Lay **Inupiat** Women - 12/87 •

	Full-time Job	Part-time Job	No Job
Average HH size	4.33	3.60	3.83
Average age	34.66	32.27	26.43
% of group with young children	55.6%	40.0%	57.1?40 **
# HHs in group	9	10	7
Someone else in HH has steady permanent job (% of group)	44.4%	40.0%	57.1%
% HHs with no steady permanent job	0.0%	60.0%	42.9%

* Two HHs are counted twice -- one as both part-time job and no job, and one as full-time job and no job. The two elderly women, and the one woman absent from the village for the total period of field work, were excluded.

** If pregnancies are included, these figures are 55.6%, 40.0°/0, and 85.7% as the pregnant women in the first two groups already have children, whereas those in the last do not.

Table 38
Residential Household Types and Employment

		Residential Household Type		
		Mixed	Caucasian	Inupiat
Permanent Job	4*		7**	19***
Temporary or Part-time Job	0		2****	10*****
No Job	0		1*****	3*****

- * 2 HHs with two permanent jobholders (1 of the “mixed” HHs is out of Point Lay but the male head of HH is drawing his salary on disability)
- ** 4 HHs with two permanent jobholders
- *** 4 HHs with two permanent jobholders, 5 with females as the primary wage earner (2 with female head of HH), 6 “unmarried single male” HHs
- **** Cully Camp and a very transient construction worker in a separate HH
- ***** 3 female head of HH, 1 “unmarried single male” HH
- ***** All have Elders as head of HH, all are 1 or 2 person HHs

The most notable exceptions to the virtual independence of households in Point Lay are the households of the elderly, of which there are three **Inupiat** and one Caucasian. Within even this category there is a significant range of relative independence. The elderly Caucasian lives by herself for the most part. One of the **Inupiat** households is an elderly couple, another is an elderly man and one of his granddaughters, and the third is an elderly woman and one of her sons. The Caucasian woman and the first **Inupiat** household could be considered independent households. However, like the other two, these people receive considerable aid from other households in the village, especially from relatives (mostly children and in-laws). The Caucasian woman lives in her own house part of the time and with her married daughter the rest of the time. The elderly **Inupiat** couple maintain their own home and care for their grandchildren fairly often but receive subsistence food and other assistance. This couple is still very active themselves in subsistence pursuits, and until recently, was perhaps the most active in the village. The other two households cannot be considered to be independent. The younger person living in each household is the primary caretaker of the older, in the sense that they make certain the household is supplied with enough fuel, gas, food, and so on. In fact, the elderly woman takes more care of her son than vice versa. The woman also has a married daughter and teenage grandsons in the village, and it is this family unit which provides the most help to her. In addition, she has frequent female visitors who talk, play cards, and style each other's hair. The elderly man, on the other hand, depends heavily on his live-in granddaughter. He also receives considerable assistance from a son and the son's family in Point Lay (it is his daughter who lives with the elderly man). He also receives frequent shares in subsistence harvests. In December, none of the residents of these households worked for wages. They did receive income from Social Security and other transfer payment programs, and are the beneficiaries of various NSB programs. These households account for all of the "No Job" households in the village.

"Elders living in own house" may be a special category of residential household that is not, in most cases, independent of other village households. To what extent is this true of different categories of households? The categories most likely not to be independent are single-person and/or unmarried-person residential households, and those with only temporary or part-time jobholders in them. We will examine the cases in each of these categories in relation to this question.

There were seven "unmarried single male" households in December 1987. Two of these had two men living together, one was a man living with his young son, while the other four were one-person households. Six of the seven households (and 7 of the 9 men involved) were supported by full-time permanent jobs. All live in relatively good housing (for the North Slope) -- all structures are physically sound and have electricity. Four are older **NSB-style** (originally one large room) houses. Two are old Naval Arctic Research Laboratory units -- one had been used to house the Naval Arctic Research Laboratory generators out on the spit and the other was used by the caretaker of those generators. The seventh unit is a trailer. The last three units are rather small, but still quite comfortable. By no means could they be considered "marginal" housing units. Such structures do abound in Point Lay, but they are not used at present. To repair them would require some plywood and windows, and the

connection of electricity, but in many cases repairs would be straightforward. Overall, these residential householders thus appear to be quite affluent.

The one household with only a temporary job was living in a housing unit rent-free (family owned). It is questionable whether this was indeed a separate household, as he took many of his meals elsewhere. The other six, however, would seem to meet all the criteria to be considered independent households. None are isolated from other households in the village, of course, and only the older men do a great deal of cooking. The younger men eat a good deal of convenience food and hamburgers from the **Cully** Camp. The older men especially may eat a few meals at the homes of relatives, but not on a regular basis and for the most part relatives assume that they prefer to be left to their own devices. These men do not make regular contributions to the households of others. Most are financially well off, unless there are "hidden" expenses such as drugs, alcohol, or gambling. The first is completely illegal, of course. The importation and sale, but not the possession, of alcohol is illegal in Point Lay. The only legal gambling in Point Lay is bingo, but high stakes (and low stakes) games are held on a regular basis. These households are relatively affluent, however, and are not, as one may have suspected, outlying satellites of larger households trying to preserve a little bit of privacy in marginal living conditions.

This, then, leaves those households classified as being supported by temporary or part-time employment. The one single-person household in this category has been discussed above, and seems not to be an independent household. The one Elder's household in this category does appear to be a separate functioning household, due in large part to the variety of income sources used by the residents.

Five of the remaining eight households are young families. Three of these five households are fairly new to Point Lay, while the two others have lived in the community for a longer period of time. The three newer families live in housing for which they do not have to pay rent. The Point Lay IRA Council owned five housing units in December 1987 (and acquired a sixth later one) which were available on a first come-first serve basis, tempered somewhat by need. They tend to be used as "starter" units for new families. Household expenses are reduced utilities, food, clothing, and incidentals. It is no accident that three of the newest families in Point Lay are in such housing. The households function as independent units, although the heads of two of the three are brothers and have other relatives in the village. These two frequently go out hunting and cooperate with other hunters as well. Combined with temporary work, such activity affords these families a chance to grow in Point Lay. The other two families have older male heads of household. One is a fairly active subsistence hunter, and this household has only sporadic wage income. However, this man is also a representative on various boards and councils and so receives some minimal honorariums for attending meetings, as well as having expenses and per diem paid. His wife also on occasion has tried to work, but her young children make this difficult. They live in a new NSB house that they moved into when he was the NSB village coordinator for Point Lay. It is not clear that payments are being met on the house since the loss of that position but, in any event, an accommodation has been made that allows this family to stay in the house. The remaining household lives in an old-style NSB house. The male head of household is also active in subsistence hunting, but less so than the man just discussed. Balancing this less frequent subsistence activity, however, the wage **activities** of

both husband and wife are somewhat more regular. Their expenses are fairly low, as they eat a good amount of "Eskimo food." They buy bread, rice, soda, and sundries, but overall do rather well. This household is the one which cooperates with and helps the elderly man living with his granddaughter. It is likely that these two residential households are functional parts of one household. Unfortunately, the physical distance between them and the lack of a phone in the old-style NSB house makes the cooperation more difficult than would otherwise be the case.

Two residential households of two people each are supported by part-time/full-time employment. Both are composed of two people -- a mother and one of her children. Neither was observed to be active in subsistence activities, although each was on occasion given subsistence food. Each of the women had a full-time job but took enough days off so that it was in actuality a part-time position. This did not drastically effect the functioning of the entity they worked for, although it did reduce their earnings. One of these households left the village before Christmas 1987 and did not return, so it may have been a component of a household existing in some other location. The other household still continues to exist in Point Lay, and has, in fact, increased in size with the addition of older children who usually live in Point Hope.

The last of the "temporary employment" households is also a single-parent, female head of household unit. The other members are all sons, two of them young adults. There is sporadic wage labor, but most of the household's time and energy is put into subsistence resource harvesting. This household probably has, in the aggregate, the most valuable inventory of motorized transportation (excluding cars and trucks) of any household. The two young men spend considerable time learning to hunt. The money to fund this is said to come from an out-of-court settlement of a lawsuit.

It is difficult to draw generalizations about the economic organization of Point Lay households, and the role of jobs and reciprocal behaviors in that organization. Point Lay is a very small community of related people who truly do like each other for the most part, but who are also very protective of what is theirs and quick to take exception to any slight (real or imagined). Sharing is quite common, but it is not counted upon. Virtually everything and every behavior is context-dependent. To make generalizations about sharing in Point Lay, for example, is extremely problematic, as each case has some aspect about it which makes it different from all others. The community is perhaps too small to allow for the successful formulation of generalizations, due to the fact that it is difficult to differentiate the trivial differences from those that are significant because of the low number of cases. It is also very important to note the dangers of generalizing from one year in the life of the community. The year that this study has spanned, for example, has been a truly miserable year for subsistence and it has simultaneously been a year of abundance of opportunities for wage labor. It is difficult to speculate about social change when this information is taken into account, as the present circumstances may be an aberration when examined from a longer-term perspective.

CONTEMPORARY SUBSISTENCE IN POINT LAY

Balancing Subsistence and Wage Employment Schedules

Subsistence activities in Point Lay have become capital-intensive and dependent upon cash obtained through employment, much as they have elsewhere in the NSB. Most of these are CIP or similar **NSB-generated** jobs. Employment also affects the range of subsistence activity. Alaska Consultants et al. (1984), for instance, note that ~~the~~ proximity to the village of good fishing locations allows Point Lay residents who are employed to check their nets after work, minimizing any conflicts between subsistence activities and employment. However, few Point Lay residents avail themselves of opportunities to fish. In Point Lay, hunters often hunt before or after work, especially in the summer. Even in the winter when trips on the land are restricted to two or three hours duration, there are individuals in both villages who will go out hunting every day. Some are employed full-time. Even among full-time wage earners, as might be expected, employment status appears to have little influence on weekend hunting activities.

It would appear that the most popular employment among people who are active subsistence hunters are project-specific construction jobs. This employment is of limited duration, lasting **only** so long as a particular project does. Once the projects are completed, however, individuals are often left with a great deal of free time and too little income to make the most efficient use of this time in subsistence harvesting activities. To a large extent, this is handled through a very widespread (although often relatively inactive) sharing network in Point Lay. For the most part, almost anyone can obtain what he needs to be productive, provided he is willing to share the proceeds of what he produces in turn. In other communities, such a sharing network has been one way to deal with the reduction in wage positions which occurs every winter when summer construction jobs are over, and is somewhat of a model for the not-too-distant future, when in general there will be fewer jobs on the North **Slope** (for **Nuiqsut** see **Galginaitis et al.** 1985:187-216, for Barrow and Wainwright ongoing subsistence studies funded by MMS by Braund and Associates may provide pertinent information). Although at this time the unique full-employment situation in Point Lay obviates the need for such a sharing network, we can only expect that as universal employment becomes increasingly unlikely, a similar system will develop in Point Lay.

The difficulties in combining wage-earning and subsistence pursuits extends to **group-**based activities as well as to individuals' activities. Whaling crew leaders, now at least partially dependent upon individuals whom they have employed as crew members, find it difficult to have the necessary preparations done for whaling in a timely manner. As one Point Hope captain phrased it, "[You] can't depend on guys who work [for wages]." Paraphrasing his **complaint**: when they get home from work they do not want to work on the whaling preparations as they are tired or have family responsibilities, or it is not that long until dark anyway. Weekends are often devoted to things other than preparation for future subsistence pursuits -- often, immediate subsistence pursuits. Perhaps one of the most important traits of a whaling captain is his ability to defer the rewards of an immediately available activity so that he can prepare for a future activity that is potentially much more rewarding. Of course, the captain has more at stake in whaling than does the average crew member.

Although Point Lay is not currently a whaling site, of course, the pattern of behavior that characterizes whaling remains in other activities that require a large

number of people to organize and execute. All the community feasts observed were rather low-key and informal, except for the ones held at the school. (In these instances the school staff had a strong hand in planning.) Eskimo games in Point Lay were, in fact, canceled on one evening due to lack of participants. On the first day that **belugas** were spotted and men wanted to go out, only two boats could be mustered. The fact remains that mobilizing task groups has become, if not more complicated **thān** before, certainly no easier and it certainly involves factors that it did not before entail.

Whaling is one of the two times of institutionalized subsistence activity when a wage earner can readily take subsistence leave, especially if he works for the NSB, which the great majority of wage earners do. Those individuals who do not work for the NSB can generally work something out with their employers. Despite this, it is difficult to get whaling crew members who are employed from other villages. Fishcamp is the other major subsistence activity that people appear able to take time off for as well. School teachers comprise an exception, for although they work for the NSB, they are required to be present for all school days (barring illness). This is one reason given for the slowness with which **Inupiat** teachers have been trained and hired, since many **Inupiat** do not want to take a job that potentially does not allow them to participate fully in subsistence activities. Few **Inupiat** men have shown much interest in becoming teachers in any event, but in Point Lay one woman who was a teacher's aide reported that she had refused to be hired as a teacher precisely because she would then not be able to take time off to go out on the land to fishcamp, moose hunting, or caribou hunting with her husband.

There is also a more general problem with subsistence leave. As flexible as the policy is, it is restricted to two weeks. If an individual were to combine it with annual leave, he would have from four to six weeks. This is certainly adequate for the current whaling season, especially since the imposition of the quota and the increase in the number of active crews. Once the crews go out on the ice and whales start to run, it is a rare season (or one with very bad conditions) that lasts beyond two weeks. Barrow in 1988 had four whales within the first two days. Point Hope filled their quota within a week. Thus, crew members from other villages can wait until they know the crew is ready to go out onto the ice to join them.

The school district has attempted to deal with the problem of leaving school during whaling by instituting a series of different "subsistence leave" policies similar to the NSB work leave policy. These have not been very successful (being in most cases too complicated for students and parents to fully comprehend). The latest and simplest policy is that a student is allowed so many "absent" days if he wishes to graduate. The reason for the absence is in most cases irrelevant. This is a change from a previous policy, when subsistence leave was recognized as a special need, but had to be taken as a continuous block of time. For whaling, if a student took his leave and then the lead closed, he essentially "wasted" his leave. Now leave can be taken a day at a time, with a written excuse, but there is no separate leave defined as "subsistence" leave. There are a certain number of days a student must attend school to pass, or to put it another way, only a certain number of excused absences that a student can afford. If a student takes them for subsistence activities, he cannot use them for other purposes. Adults see this as an advance on one hand (freedom to split the days up) and a reversion on the other (the school no longer seems to recognize subsistence activities as especially important endeavors). There is also now potential conflict among the participants in the system in regard to the intended purpose of this policy and the actual behavior that it fosters. Students often wish to take these days one at a time for "goof-off" days or to avoid certain tasks at school. Teachers see intermittent absences as disruptive to the continued

progress of their students; parents want their children to learn how to harvest subsistence resources.

Subsistence activities are also shaped by geography. The shallow lagoon restricts the size of boats and outboard motors available for harvesting seals and **beluga** whales, while the physical location also eliminates the possibility of a bowhead whale hunt close to the community. The community's small size also precludes the conducting of a bowhead whale hunt at present. Residents are therefore forced to travel to other communities if they wish to engage in such activity. If the need for wage employment requires temporary work outside Point Lay, however, the range of subsistence activity and involvement of Point Lay residents in bowhead **whale** hunting may change. Finally, patterns of subsistence activity are affected by weather conditions and the availability of resources. However, this is not currently **well-**documented. The recent subsistence harvest in Point Lay is discussed in a later section, based **on Sverre Pedersen's** work (1988) in the village.

The capital intensive nature of subsistence harvest activities also creates some problems. There seems to be a chronic problem with being able to afford gas in both Point Hope and Point Lay. In addition, the gasoline supply is very irregular in Point Lay. The most active hunters in Point Lay stockpile drums of gas when they have available cash, and so are usually those to whom those in need first go. Machine expenses in the two villages are rather high. In Point Lay there is enough cash flow that there are enough new machines -- freeing up used ones for sale -- that nearly anyone who has a real use for one can get one. This is not so true about three-wheelers, as they are not nearly so useful out on the tundra. This does not seem to be as true in Point Hope, where there are more people for each available wage position. Point Hope also has a higher **three-wheeler/snowmachine** ratio than does Point Lay, as three-wheelers are more useful in Point Hope than in Point Lay. Gas is not so much an expense problem in Point Lay as it is one of availability. There is no bulk storage other than a dangerous (and, in theory, temporary) rubber bladder near the airstrip. In addition, Point Lay has a history of receiving gas which burns hot and otherwise harms motors. When gas is available, there is always a way for a person who needs it to buy it or borrow it. Machines are harder to borrow for **long-**distance use -- usually those willingly lent are exactly the ones a person would prefer not to take.

In both Point Lay and Point Hope women are more involved with the processing (and the parceling out) of subsistence resources than with the procurement of them. In Point Lay women were sometimes observed to go for short walks in the immediate vicinity of the village with a rifle or shotgun, on the off-chance that they would see some small game while also getting some exercise. This was, however, always a social occasion as well. Women were not seen to go out further to hunt. Some women did go upriver to **fishcamp** in the fall, but this activity was still predominantly male.

It would appear that Point Hope women are much more involved with processing subsistence products than procuring them. This does correspond to the ethnographic record, however, with males as providers and women comprising a support system -- both necessary for the functioning of a household.

Finally, even though whaling at Point Lay and Icy Cape apparently no longer takes place, it is reported that a few Point Lay men go elsewhere to whale (Alaska Consultants et al. **1984:289**). A large percentage of households report sharing whale meat with Point Lay households (**Wainwright** 52%, Barrow 26%, Point Hope 24% -- Alaska Consultants and S. **Braund** and Associates **1983:298**) and this was observed to indeed be the case. In most cases the amount shared is relatively small. However, a large

amount of whale (probably two sled loads, but it was sent by air so it was difficult to judge) was sent from Barrow during the Search and Rescue operation in Point Lay of October and November (discussed below). The Wainwright SAR also brought some whale along with them, but for the most part subsisted on what was provided from Barrow. Whale from both Wainwright and Point Hope was shared after the 1988 (as well as earlier) whaling season as Point Lay men were on crews in both villages. These men brought back full crew shares so that there was a significant amount of whale available in the village. Because of the small size of Point Lay, two or three crew shares is sufficient to provide everyone with several meals of whale. Usually this is saved for community feasts, but some is also shared out to individual households for private consumption. The 1989 whaling season was much less successful and little **muktuk** or meat arrived in Point Lay, but the other villages experienced similar lacks. At the very least this reveals significant sharing links with those three villages, and this seems to follow kinship connections. Wainwright seems to be most important as a source of whale, followed by Point Hope and then Barrow. However, Barrow as a larger village with more resources may be in a better position to share in situations of need such as the SAR.

Technological Dimensions of Subsistence Resource Access

Alaska Consultants et al. (1984:260-63) indicate that it is the use of machines which facilitate rapid transportation that make a reasonable accommodation of wage employment with the harvest of subsistence resources possible. Access to such machines, thus, is vital. Differential access implies differential resource use and potential social differentiation. In Point Lay, as was discussed above, kinship networks are most commonly used as a means of obtaining access to modern technology for subsistence pursuits. However, friendship and hunting partner relationships also sometimes come into play. It is observed that hunting partners most often are similarly skilled individuals with similar resources.

For the most part, those items individuals need for subsistence harvest activities are privately (individually) owned. In Point Lay it is difficult to think of an exception to this generality. Most hunters, and all of the few who are very active, are employed and own all the equipment which they need to use on a regular basis. Only medium and low activity hunters ever need to borrow equipment so that they can go out. What varies from one item of equipment to another, however, is the extent of distribution of ownership, and the ease with which the object in question can be borrowed should it be necessary to do so. One aspect of the "ease of borrowing" question is who the potential lenders are.

Expensive items such as **snowmachines** and ATVS are perhaps the most difficult items to borrow. There is almost a directly inverse relationship between the frequency with which an individual goes out to harvest subsistence resources and his willingness to lend out his **snowmachine** or ATV. Good subsistence hunters tend to maintain their machines regularly and **well**, to have newer machines in general, and do not lend them out. This is not considered to be a sign of stinginess or an unwillingness to share. Rather, it is the realization that when one's life depends upon the reliability of one's equipment you do not lend it out. The same is true of firearms, where it is rare for a hunter to loan out a rifle.

The most serious and most respected subsistence hunters in Point Lay do not use their subsistence activity machines for any other purpose. Because ATVS are rarely used from Point Lay for extensive subsistence harvest trips an ATV may double as a subsistence and local-use vehicle. Snow machines are taken on some very long trips,

however, and it is recognized that it is best not to subject such machines to the wear-and-tear of local gravel roads, stop and go travel, and other less-than-optimal conditions. Boats are never taken out unless there is some possibility of subsistence harvest activity occurring.

Because the best hunters in Point Lay tend to buy new machines every two years or so, they sometimes have more than one operable machine. If this is the case, they will on occasion lend the older machine out. The more common event is for them to simply sell the **old** machine to a hunter without a machine -- often at a price well below its real value. The best hunters thus have the best and most reliable equipment, and also in a real sense help those less able to afford the capital costs of new equipment to still be able to own a vehicle. This gives the best hunters an advantage in maintaining their reputation as the best **hunters**, and also contributes to their reputations for generosity and socially approved behavior. The used machines of these hunters are recognized to be unusually good buys, because of the care that such men are known to take of them.

There is one other pattern for the sale of used machines (operable and not). If an individual or household really needs a machine they will usually be able to buy a "junker" -- a machine that is running or sort of running that can be fixed up so that it can be used on at least short subsistence hunting trips. It is recognized that using such a machine to go out entails a much higher risk of breakdown than does a trip with a newer machine, and few men will go out alone on such a machine. It is nonetheless done sometimes. These machines also tend to be sold repeatedly. Their buyers (and subsequent sellers) tend to be more marginal subsistence resource harvesters, in the sense that they go out less frequently than owners of newer machines. If such individuals begin to go out more frequently, they will buy a better machine (to reduce breakdowns, among other things). As a marginal subsistence producer, however, an owner of such a used machine will **use** it for **local** transportation as **well** as subsistence use. He will also use it as a resource to be sold when he needs ready cash. Some machines have been bought and sold among the same circle of buyers and sellers several times -- often for exactly the same cash amount,

The ultimate fate of a true junker is for local in-village transportation. When a machine can no longer be trusted to not break down it is not taken out of the village. Given the disinclination to walk when one can ride, however, these junkers still have a useful purpose. When even this is beyond a vehicle, it is pieced out to repair other vehicles, with the immobile hulk being kept as a store of spare parts.

Other subsistence equipment is easier to borrow. Some is never borrowed, however, because its ownership is so widespread. Things such as fishing gear, clothing, and other items would fall in this category. Other items, which one perhaps would expect to be commonly owned, are borrowed **fairly often**. The biggest such **item** is a **sled**. Smaller items are tarps, axes, cook stoves, **toques** (used to chop **fishing** holes through ice), rope, backpacks, flashlights, and so on. These smaller items seem to be lent on the basis that their absence is not likely to be life-threatening to the lender -- or at any rate, he will be able to obtain a replacement before he goes out if need be. Durable items like axes, stoves, and **toques** are almost always returned. Ropes and tarps are perceived as items whose useful life is limited -- they wear out (especially under the conditions they are used in the Arctic). This being the case, they are not always returned.

Analysis of Subsistence Resource Harvest Levels: Research Methods

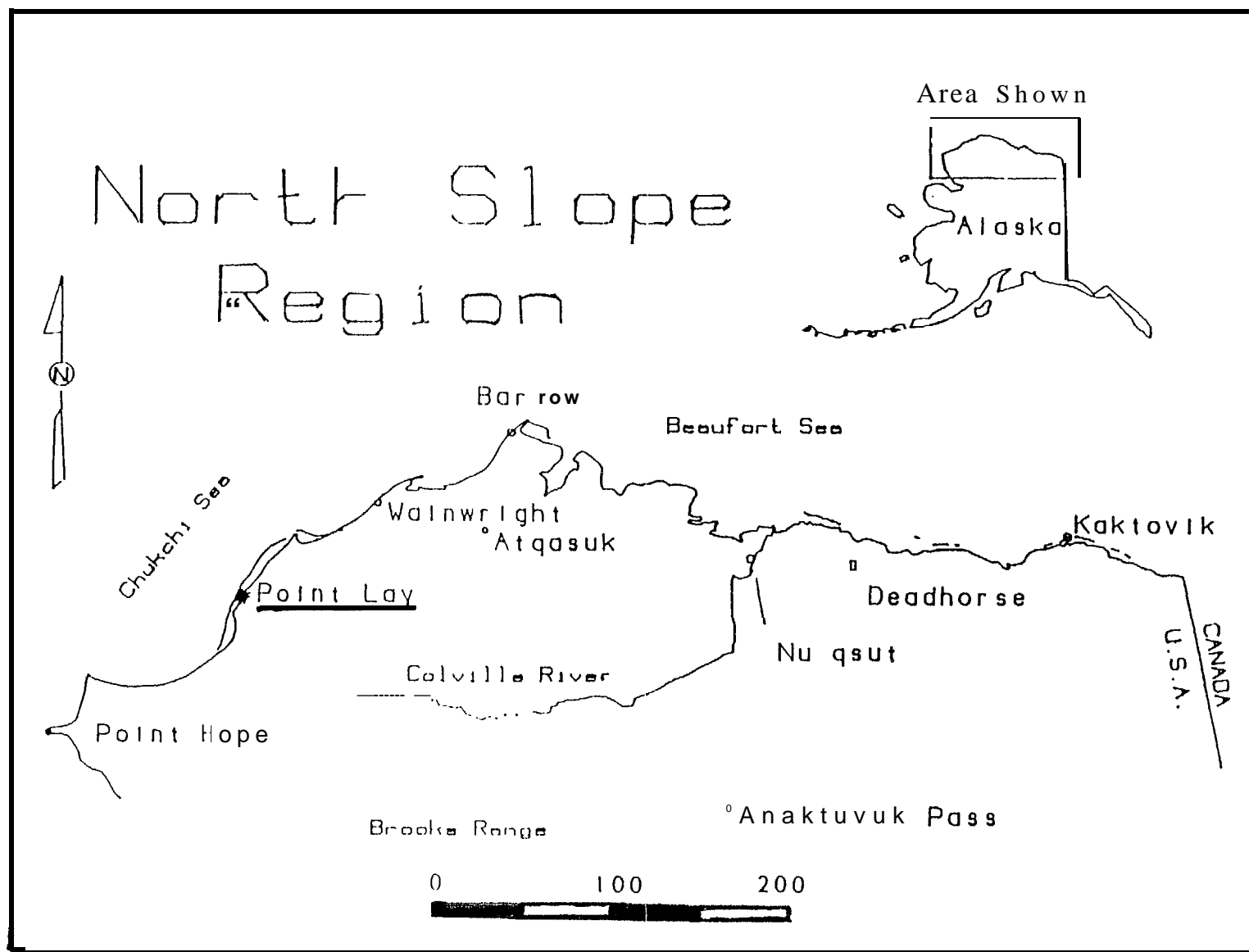
Much of the research on the current harvest levels of subsistence resources was conducted by **Sverre Pedersen** of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Subsistence Division in December 1987 and February 1988. He also constructed the area use maps, with the help of local informants. Figures 50 and 51 are maps of the study area. Figures 52-54 show seasonal cycles for some of the resources harvested by Point Lay residents. These figures provide a general spatial and seasonal context for the following discussion. However, Dr. **Pedersen's** information has been supplemented with observational and key informant interview information conducted over the term of the project.

Information on subsistence activities was obtained from a stratified random sampling of the estimated fifty households comprising the village. Three household strata were **pre-defined**: high, medium, and low harvesters over time. High harvesters were defined as those who could be relied upon to consistently harvest enough resources each year to provide for a large number of households in the community (three households, all interviewed). Medium harvesters were defined as those who regularly harvested enough for their own household and often had enough to share with others in the community (twenty households, fifteen interviewed). Low harvesters were defined as those who harvested irregularly or not at **all** and who relied largely on medium and high harvesters for **local** resources (eleven households, seven interviewed). Households were first classified within this system by the primary **fieldworker** for Point Lay. Dr. **Pedersen** then conducted key respondent interviews with community elders and council members to verify this categorization. There was a very high level of agreement, which suggests that the fieldworker had a reasonable degree of familiarity with the community and used categories that made sense to community informants. The result was the construction of a three-tiered stratification of community households corresponding to the loosely defined groups.

Considerable reliance was placed on this intra-community assessment as these sources were assumed to be the best possible evaluators since they had lived in the community for some time and were able to evaluate levels of household participation in resource harvesting. The provisional list then was reviewed by a few particularly knowledgeable community members (as determined by council members) prior to its use for simple random sampling in each stratum. A **pre-defined** sampling level of 50% from each stratum was established as the minimum goal. Participation in the survey was dependent upon having resided in the community for the entire calendar year 1987. Households that were away for more than a few months were not included.

Members of eight households reviewed in detail the existing community information on the subsistence resources available and the areas that were used to harvest them. Any additional or supplemental information gathered for a household was added directly to the relevant community map. Map revisions were formalized on the original Point Lay Subsistence Land Use acetate overlay for each resource category, and appropriate notations made on each to explain the update. The updated acetates and the Point Lay base map were then submitted to the NSB **GIS** office in Anchorage to be digitized and entered into the NSB'S Subsistence Data Base. Maps used in this report are computer plots from this file, courtesy of the NSB Planning Department (Appendix C, Maps 1 through 15).

Figure 50
422



The North Slope Region.

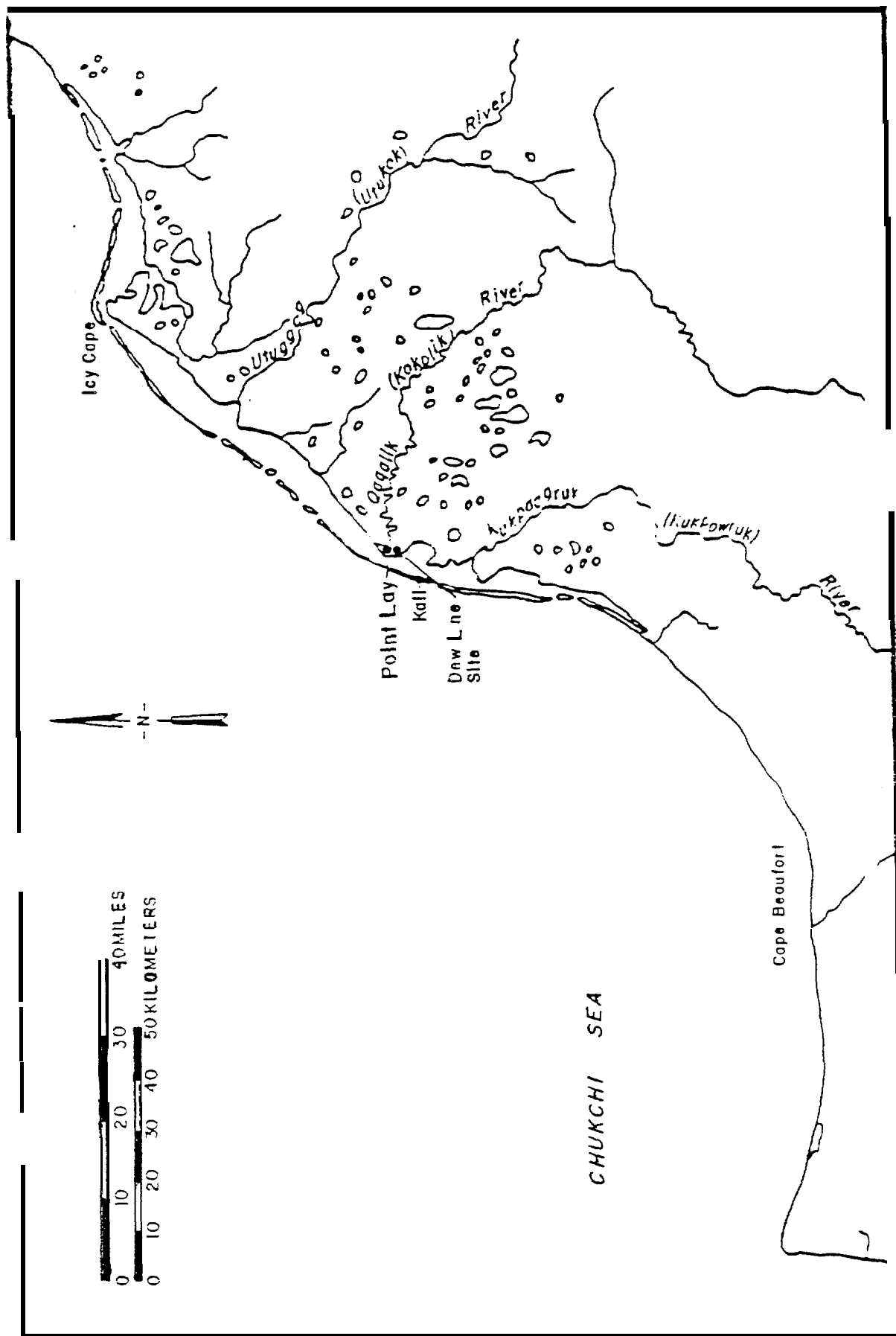
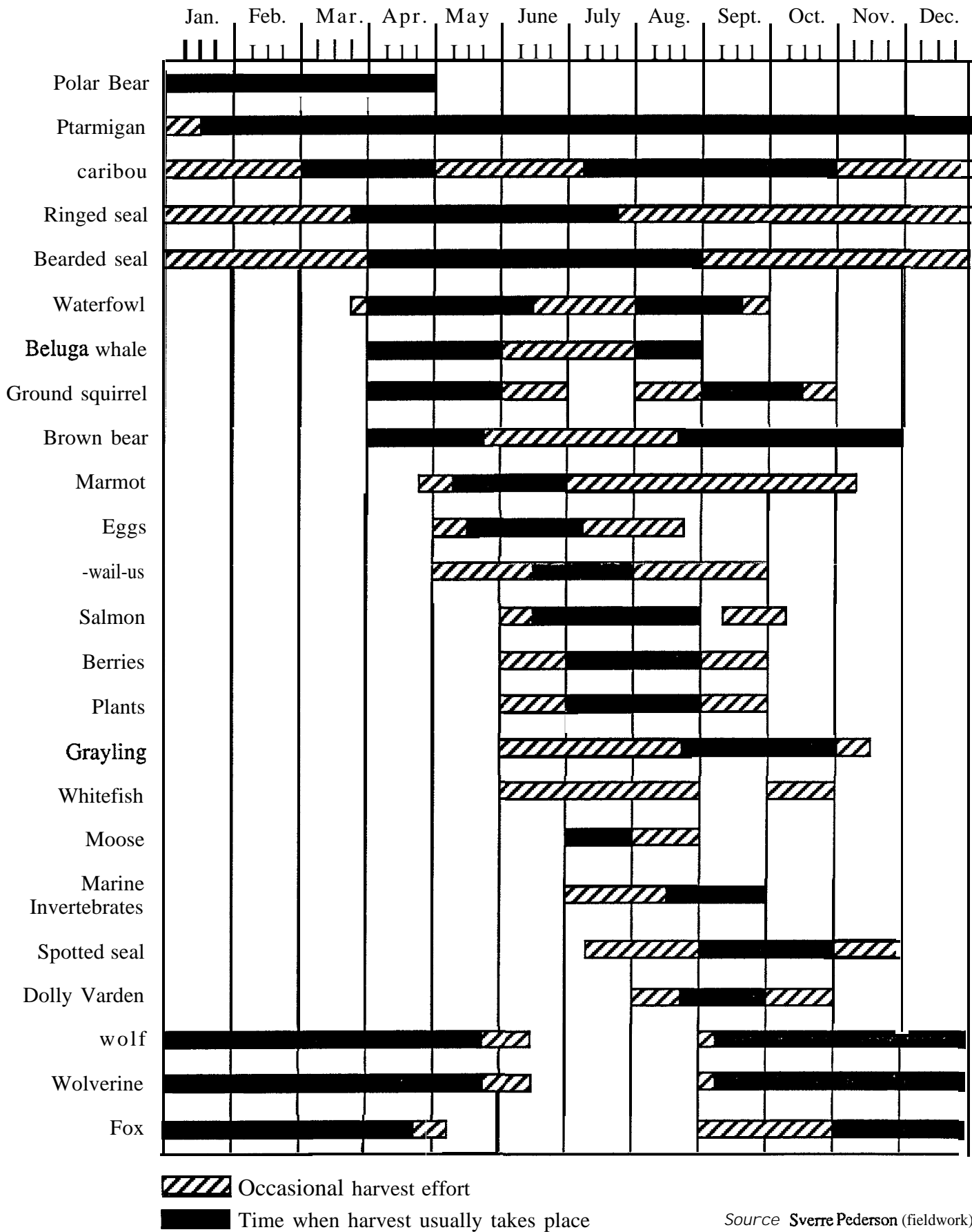


Figure 51

Figure 52

POINT LAY SEASONAL ROUND



SEASONAL ROUND: CARIBOU

POINT LAY, 1987

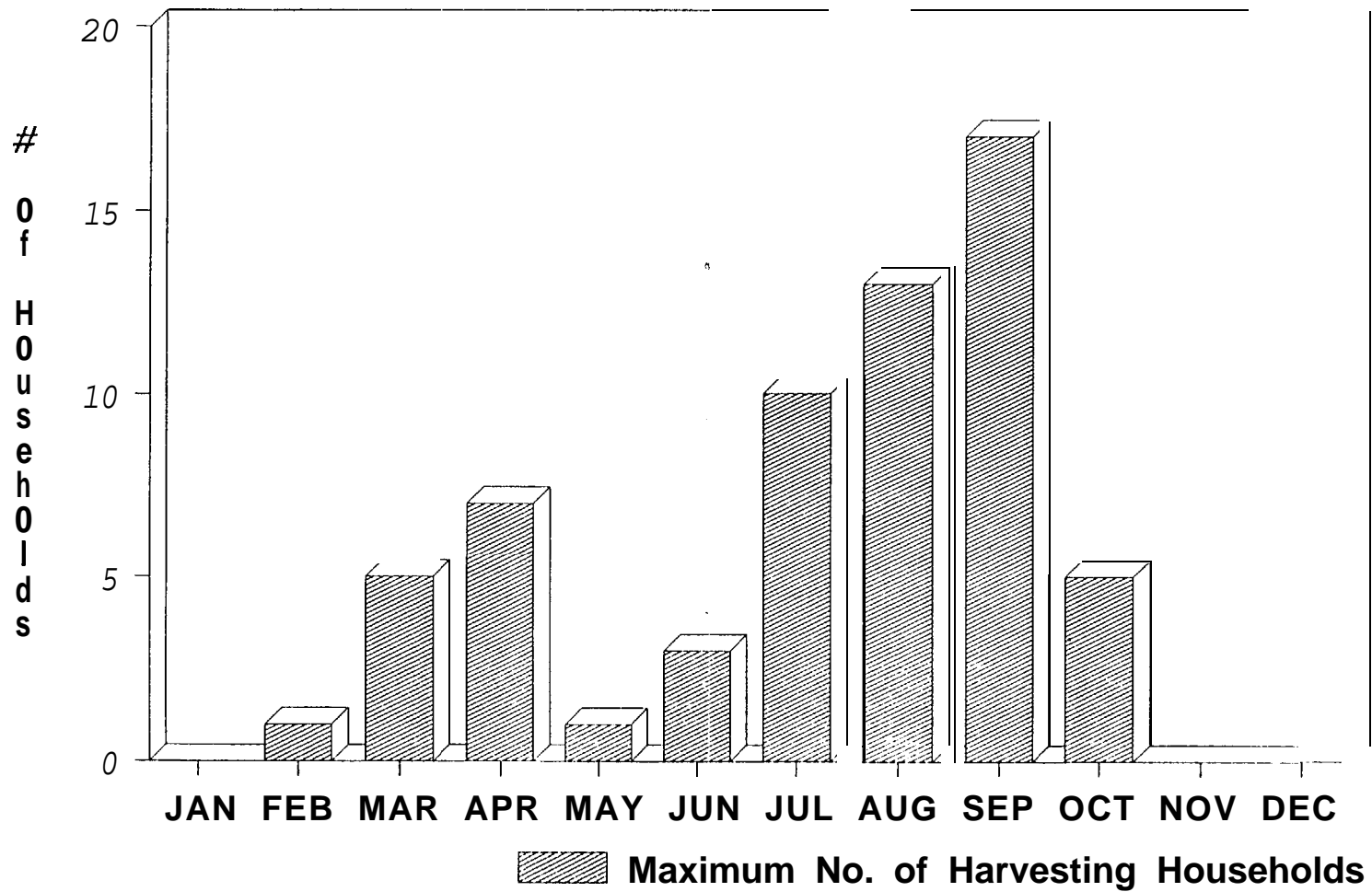


Figure 53
425

SEASONAL ROUND: WATERFOW

PONT LAY, 1987

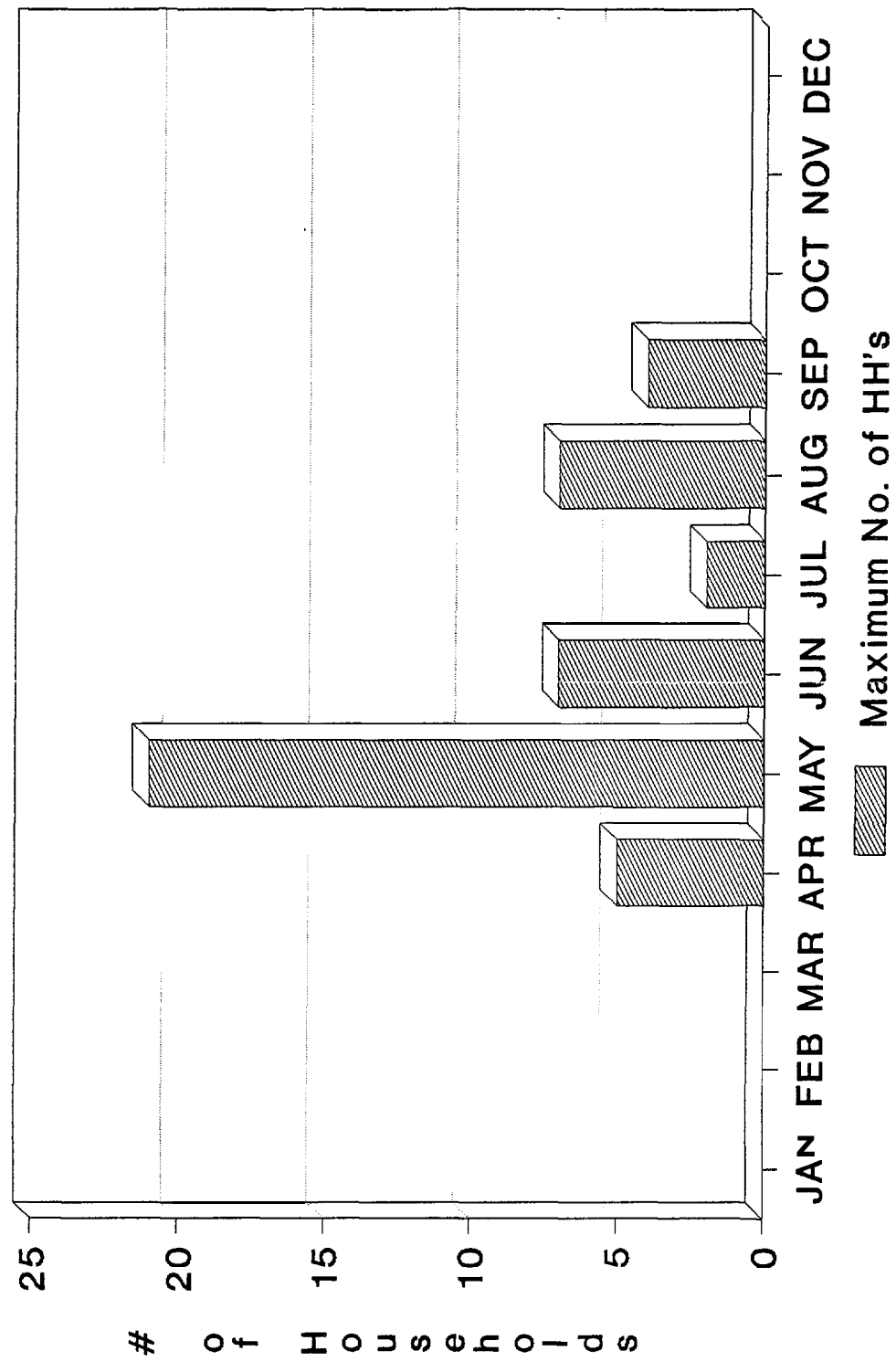


Figure 54

Not all households contacted in previous mapping efforts were available during this study. Table 39 summarizes household participation in the development of Point Lay subsistence land use maps to date. Given time constraints, problems of confidentiality, and the lack of household survey participation continuity, no household land use maps were constructed. Therefore, individual or household use areas are not discussed.

Each household interviewed for the map-update effort was asked to comment on the species listed in each resource category and to study the outer boundary for each of the fourteen community maps, commencing with the community caribou hunting biography (PL#1001) and ending with fish (**PL#1014**). Revised species information was noted directly on the field maps and later compiled. In cases where an informant stated that he/she had hunted/trapped/fished/gathered outside the existing boundary, a new outer boundary was created to reflect the new information. Notes on the addition were carefully recorded. All household interviews for the purposes of reviewing the species list and maps involved as a minimum the household hunter(s) /**trapper(s)**/**fisher(s)**. Often many other household members were present as well.

Quantitative information on harvesting and associated socioeconomic information was collected by Alaska Department of Fish and Game, subsistence division personnel utilizing a survey instrument similar to that previously used by the Division of Subsistence in both Kaktovik and **Nuiqsut**. Slight differences in the survey instrument from community to community are primarily related to the differing set of resources available to Point Lay residents. Compatibility of the resulting survey data with the Division of Subsistence Community Data Base files was considered and appropriate revisions were made on the questionnaire. **ADF&G** analyzed the collected data, and the results of that analysis were made available for the purposes of this study.

Data Analysis

A new listing of species within each resource category was compiled from information collected during the map review process. Conversion factors used in estimating the pounds harvested by species are found in Appendix C. Common to all these conversions is the lack of local live-weight or utilized-weight data for any species harvested. The conversion from numbers harvested to amount harvested in pounds is therefore subject to an unknown source of error.

Some field observations of “usable take” are appropriate here, although time did not allow for a systematic collection of information, not did it allow for observations to be made on all species. Harvested caribou were totally used, except for certain internal organs and viscera which are usually left on the tundra as caribou are usually field dressed. Caribou were never observed to be stored in ice cellars, as demand always exceeded supply. It is assumed that some caribou may have been frozen in electric freezers and caribou was also stored in arctic **entranceways** and on outside racks.

Harvested fowl and fish were also for the most part used with minimal waste. Since a good portion of the total harvest of these resources is harvested in a short period of time, they are sometimes stored in ice cellars as well as in freezers. This leads to some wastage because they will pick up odors from other stored items with age and occasionally a fox or other animal will get into an ice cellar. The total harvest of

these resources is never so much larger than demand that a significant amount is not consumed.

Beluga is the most problematic resource, since it is harvested in a short period of **time**, is by weight easily the most dominant subsistence resource, and is harvested during a time of the year when there was no field research presence. Much of the harvest must be stored in the ice cellars since there is not room elsewhere. However, freezers have increasingly come into use and for the 1988 harvest informants say that enough was put into home freezers that none was taken out of the ice cellars until well into 1989. It is also apparent that not all **beluga** that is put into the ice cellars is consumed. A good portion of it acquires a strong taste that especially younger people find unpleasant. It is also not clear what portion of a **beluga** is actually recovered and placed in the ice cellars or freezers. The estimate used by **ADF&G** for this report is 70%, high in comparison to Fay 1971 and Klinkhart 1978, and is based on work done by the NSB Department of Wildlife Management. The confidence level of “usable take” for **beluga** is thus wider than for other resources in Point Lay.

Furthermore, a significant amount of **beluga** is sent to other villages, especially Wainwright. Since men regularly travel by snowmachine between the two villages, heavy loads of **beluga** and whale can be sent from one location to another. Thus, not all **beluga** harvested in Point Lay are consumed there. In addition to land transport to Wainwright, **beluga** is also sent by mail to most of the other NSB villages, Anchorage, Fairbanks, **Kotzebue**, Noatak, and several other villages. Usually no more than twenty pounds will be sent at a time, due to expense, but when a free flight is available (as they periodically are, at least for relatively small packages) a gift of **beluga** is often sent to relatives where that flight is headed. The **flow** of bowhead and **fish** into **Point Lay** **partially** offsets this **outflow** of **beluga**, but probably not entirely in the typical year. This must also be considered when examining the harvest figures below.

Results

All eight households which participated in the 1987 reevaluation process were categorized as either very active or active in terms of subsistence activities. Therefore, the map information compiled is unlikely to contain any significant errors in terms of non-coverage of subsistence use areas. In fact, it can be assumed that this depiction of the minimum use area is current and representative of all Point Lay hunters, trappers, fishers, and gatherers (including households which were not **full-time** residents in 1987).

New information was added to each of the 14 overlays. The most significant additions were made to **PL# 1006** (Wildfowl), **PL#1010** (Walrus), and **PL#1012** (Seal) where the use areas nearly doubled. Changes to **PL#1001** (Caribou), **PL#1003** and **PL#1011** (Furbearer Hunting and Trapping), and **PL#1004 (Beluga)** were also noticeable.

The list of species harvested by the community was initially reviewed by the same eight households that participated in mapping sessions. Additional refinements were made during the household survey, including documentation of species on the list utilized by surveyed residents during 1987 (Table 40). Refinements in this list were made with respect to fish resources, wildfowl, invertebrates, and plants harvested.

The systematic survey was undertaken in February 1988. This time was deliberately selected due to predictably adverse weather conditions on the North Slope, maximizing

the probability of residents being present in the community. During February there were forty-three occupied households in the community. Of these, nine were eliminated from the systematic survey universe as they had not been in Point Lay for most of the preceding year. Most of these nine were non-Native, but three were households with histories of residence in Point Lay who had been absent in the last year for various reasons. As these three households had been active harvesters in the past and were expected to be again, they were included in the map biography sample population. Thus, thirty-seven households (all long-term community households) represent the map biography population and thirty-four households (**full-time** residents in 1987) constituted the population for the systematic survey in this study (Table 41). In addition, a correction was made in the community harvest figures to reflect the subsistence activities of the nine households which failed to meet the sampling procedure residency criteria. This correction factor is discussed in the next section.

Selected survey results on community subsistence land use and harvesting are shown in Tables 42-46. In each table the community estimate is based on an n=34 households, expanded from data on twenty-five surveyed households, which is the maximum number of households from the community present during **all** of 1987. Thus, the estimates presented here, though properly weighted for the three differing groups involved, presents a minimum harvest estimate. This is discussed further in the next section.

Survey results indicate that all thirty-four community households had used locally harvested resources in 1987, and that thirty-two households had harvested some **local** resources in the same time-frame. Resources were harvested by households in all twelve months, with the majority of households active from April through October (Table 42).

Numerically, **grayling** had the greatest harvest in 1987, followed by birds eggs and eider ducks, respectively (Table 43). Note that the harvest of thirty-five **beluga** was derived directly from community hunters and not from the survey questionnaire because the hunt is communal and no individual household keeps track of its take. Harvest estimates for **beluga** ranged from twenty-eight to thirty-five depending on the source of information. The figure used in this report was most commonly referred to by hunters who participated in all **beluga** drives in 1987.

In terms of pounds harvested **beluga** outweighs the closest species, caribou, by nearly four times. Walrus and bearded seal rank as number three and four, respectively (Table 44).

Only three species were not used by any household in 1987 and these were furbearers (red fox, arctic fox, and wolf). All households used **beluga** and most used caribou that year. Caribou, eider ducks, and **beluga** were the species with the highest percentage of households attempting to harvest, and also the species harvested by most households. These three species were also the resources given to others most often. Bowhead whale, polar bear, and **grayling** constituted the main species received through sharing between households (Table 45).

This dynamic is explainable by the reciprocal sharing of commonly harvested resources combined with the desire to share less commonly acquired resources as evenly in the village as possible. Almost all households harvest caribou, but not at the same time. If a household **needs** caribou it is likely that another household has some to share. The first household will then “repay” this when the situation is reversed. Because everyone in Point Lay receives part of the **beluga** harvest, a great **deal** of

Table 39

HOUSEHOLD PARTICIPATION IN 1987
SUBSISTENCE LAND USE MAPPING, POINT LAY

Household # (coded)	1977	Year of participation 1983	1987
1.	x		
2.	x		
3.	x	x	
4.	x	x	x
5.	x	x	x
6.	x		
7.	x	x	
8.		x	x
9.		x	x
10.			x
11.			x
12.			x
13.			x
TOTAL # OF HOUSEHOLDS	7		8

Table 40

SPECIES HARVESTED, BY RESOURCE CATEGORY
POINT LAY

Resource Category	Species
Caribou	Caribou
Vegetation	Blueberry Cloudberry (grass roots) (sourdock) wild Celery wild Potato Willow leaves Hudson's Bay Tea
Furbearers	Arctic Fox Red Fox wolf Wolverine
Whale	Beluga (Bowhead)
Invertebrates	Clams (unidentified) Tanner Crab Shrimp (unidentified)
Wildfowl	Pacific Black Brant Canada Goose White-fronted Goose Snow Goose Common Eider King Eider Spectacle Eider Steller's Eider Oldsquaw Pintail Snowy Owl Willow Ptarmigan Bird's eggs
Brown bear	Brown bear
Fuel and Structural Material	Coal Driftwood Willows
Small Mammals	Arctic Ground Squirrel Arctic Marmot
Walrus	Walrus
Seals	Bearded Seal Ringed Seal Spotted/Harbor Seal
Polar Bear	Polar Bear

Table 40 (continued)

Fish	Arctic Char
	Arctic Cisco
	Arctic Flounder
	Arctic Grayling
	Bering Cisco ?
	Chum Salmon
	Capelin/Smelt ?
	Pacific Herring
	Pink Salmon

Table 41

POINT LAY HOUSEHOLD RESIDENCY 1987

Year	Full-time Resident	Part-time Resident
1987	34	9*

* six households were recent arrivals in the community; land-use dimensions of this group encompassed by that of the long term residents according to informants; any household which had moved into the community during the 1987 calendar year was eliminated from the systematic survey; these households were non-Native and had been in the community for less than six months.

* three permanent long-term resident households had been absent from Point Lay for most of the calendar year 1987; these households were included in the mapping population but were excluded in the systematic survey for the same reasons as stated above.

the harvest is sent out to households in other villages. Bowhead, polar bear, and **grayling** are all species that not many households in Point Lay try to harvest (20, 7, and 40% respectively from Table 45). They are all highly desired, however, at least for an occasional change of pace. In some years a large part of the bowhead consumed in Point Lay comes from households in other villages where it is harvested. In other years people from Point Lay receive crew shares for participating as members of successful crews in whaling villages. In either case, secondary sharing of bowhead between households within Point Lay is very widespread as bowhead is the prime resource for sharing. Polar bear is not commonly taken in Point Lay. When it is, as many people are given a taste as possible. **Grayling** are taken at **fishcamp** and participation at **fishcamp** seems to have been declining. People enjoy eating fish a great deal, and Elders especially enjoy the large frozen fish from **fishcamp**. Some fish is also received from households in other villages.

Based on thirty-four households the 1987 estimated per capita harvest of **local** resources was 819 pounds per person, or about 3.7 times higher than the average per capita purchase of meat, fish, and poultry in the Western U.S. as a whole (U.S. Department of Agriculture 1983). Marine mammals contributed 74% (607 pounds as currently computed), land mammals 18%, and other resources made up the remaining 8% (Figure 40 and Table 56). Some households do eat a diet of **mostly** subsistence items, supplemented by store items (bread, crackers, rice, and so on). The typical Point Lay resident does not, however, consume 819 pounds of native food in a year. The disposal of the **beluga** harvest is clearly the largest part of this question and will be discussed in a later section on consumption and sharing.

The self-reported composition of household diet is detailed in Table 47. It clearly illustrates the local perception that locally harvested resources are extremely important to the Point Lay economy. This underscores the importance of maintaining healthy resource stocks in support of this reliance. At the same time, while not minimizing this reliance it seems fairly clear that dependence on store-bought food is clearly understated in Table 47, especially when the diets of young adults and children are factored in.

Resource harvesting activities reportedly decreased for 56% of households in the community over the last five years, whereas it increased for 15% (Table 48). One common reason for this reduction in level of effort (as measured in time) in the recent past is the fact that most able hunters in the community spent up to one month in 1987 involved in an intensive Search and Rescue effort for a villager who vanished in early October. During the search no participant was allowed to harvest any game and, as a result, far fewer households than normal pursued resources during the month. A more general dynamic that has been at work is that the infrastructure of Point Lay developed to the point where there are now a substantial number of **full**-time year-round jobs, whereas before many positions were seasonal. This has reduced the time available for many people to go out and hunt, but not necessarily the level of their take. Thus, harvest level trends cannot be projected from the available data.

Point Lay trappers reported a somewhat less than successful year in 1987, and this is reflected in the survey results (Tables 43-45). Only one household reported selling any furs, and the income amounted to \$250.00. Informants generally agreed that few people trapped out of Point Lay anymore. This seems to be due to a perception that white fox are not particularly useful and cannot be sold for very much, and that trapping other furbearers is not an efficient use of time. Rather, Point Lay hunters hunt (with rifles) of furbearers on an opportunistic basis during their trips seeking other game.

Table 42

POINT LAY SEASONAL ROUND OF HARVESTING
IN TERMS OF NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING SUCCESSFUL HARVEST,
BY RESOURCE CATEGORY, SPECIES AND MONTH, 1987

Species Code	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Ott	Nov	Dec
WATERFOWL												
Canada Geese	0	0	0	3	14	6	2	4	4	0	0	0
Black Brant	0	0	0	3	17	5	2	7	4	0	0	0
Eider Ducks	0	0	0	5	21	7	1	0	1	0	0	0
Pintail	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oldsquaw	0	0	0	1	4	3	0	0	1	0	0	0
Murre	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eggs	0	0	0	0	0	16	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ptarmigan	1	1	1	6	7	1	0	1	4	3	0	0
GAME												
Caribou	0	1	5	7	1	3	10	13	17	5	0	0
Moose	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0
Grizzly Bear	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
Ground Squirrel	0	0	0	1	4	1	3	1	3	0	0	0
Red Fox	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arctic Fox	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wolverine	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
wolf	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marmot	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MARINE MAMMALS												
Spotted Seal	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	4	4	0	0	0
Ringed Seal	0	1	0	4	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0
Bearded Seal	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	4	3	0	0	0
Walrus	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	1	0	0	0
Bowhead	0	0	2	2	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Polar Bear	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Beluga	0	0	2	2	2	2	26	0	0	0	0	0

Table 42 (continued)

Species Code	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Ott	Nov	Dec
FISH												
Arctic Char	o	o	o	o	o	4	6	5	5	1	0	o
Arctic Cisco	O	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grayling	o	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	10	1	0
Ling Cod	o	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arctic Cod	o	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Broad Whitefish	O	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Smelt	o	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0
Pacific Herring	O	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Chum Salmon	O	0	0	0	0	4	4	1	1	1	0	0
Pink Salmon	O	0	0	0	0	2	4	3	4	0	0	0
Flounder	o	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	1	0	0	0
Sheefish	o	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
FLORA												
Berries	o	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	7	0	0	0
Plants	o	0	0	0	1	1	4	5	2	0	0	0

Table 43

POINT LAY COMMUNITY HARVEST ESTIMATE 1987.
IN NUMBERS HARVESTED BY SPECIES

Species	Maximum	Mean Number	Standard Deviation	Total Number	# of Cases
Canada Geese	72	11.06	16.04	376.1	34
Black Brant	150	13.10	29.48	445.5	34
Eider Ducks	132	18.22	30.135	619.5	34
Pintail	4	.18	.85	6.3	34
Oldsquaw	60	4.77	13.48	162.3	34
Murre	3	.12	.59	4.0	34
Eggs	300	30.03	59.69	1021.1	34
Ptarmigan	55	11.26	17.03	383.0	34
Caribou	20	3.97	4.47	135.0	34
Moose	1	.11	.27	3.7	34
Grizzly Bear	1	.11	.31	3.7	34
Ground Squirrel	65	6.87	15.88	233.5	34
Red Fox	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	34
Arctic Fox	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	34
Wolverine	4	.16	.71	5.3	34
wolf	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	34
Marmot	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	34
Spotted Seal	14	1.32	2.88	44.9	34
Ringed Seal	11	1.30	2.56	44.3	34
Bearded Seal	2	.34	.62	11.7	34
Walrus	1	.13	.30	4.6	34
Bowhead	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	34
Polar Bear	1	.03	.17	1.0	34
Beluga	0	0.0	0.0	35.0	34
Arctic Char	60	4.09	11.34	139.2	34
Arctic Cisco	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	34
Grayling	270	51.02	83.72	1734.7	34
Ling Cod	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	34
Arctic Cod	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	34
Broad Whitefish	10	.46	2.13	15.7	34

Table 43 (continued)

Species	Maximum	Mean Number	Standard Deviation	Total Number	# of Cases
Smelt	175	7.10	34.45	241.3	34
Pacific Herring	20	.59	3.43	20.0	34
Chum Salmon	10	.93	2.48	31.7	34
Pink Salmon	20	2.75	6.30	93.3	34
Flounder	100	4.92	19.93	167.3	34
Sheefish	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	34
Berries*	5	1.13	1.32	38.5	34
Plants *	2	.27	.53	9.2	34

NOTE: **Beluga** and Bowhead data are not given on a household level.

* Gallons

Table 44

POINT LAY COMMUNITY HARVEST ESTIMATE 1987,
IN POUNDS HARVESTED BY SPECIES

Species	Maximum	Mean <u>Number</u>	Standard <u>Dev</u>	Total <u>Number</u>	# of <u>Cases</u>
Canada Geese	302	46.46	67.35	1579.6	34
Black Brant	630	55.04	123.80	1871.2	34
Eider Ducks	198	27.33	45.53	929.3	34
Pintail	6	.28	1.28	9.4	34
Oldsquaw	90	7.16	20.22	243.4	34
Murre	5	.18	.89	6.0	34
Eggs	45	4.51	8.95	153.2	34
Ptarmigan	39	7.88	11.92	268.1	34
Caribou	2340	464.72	523.42	15800.6	34
Moose	500	54.97	137.45	1869.0	34
Grizzly Bear	100	10.78	31.48	366.7	34
Ground Squirrel	27	2.82	6.51	95.7	34
Red Fox					0
Arctic Fox					0
Wolverine					0
wolf					0
Marmot					0
Spotted Seal	588	55.47	121.08	1886.0	34
Ringed Seal	462	54.76	107.58	1862.0	34
Bearded Seal	352	60.39	109.38	2053.3	34
Walrus	772	103.80	231.08	3529.1	34
Bowhead					0
Polar Bear	496	14.59	85.06	496.0	34
Beluga				64925.00	0
Arctic Char	198	13.51	37.41	459.2	34
Arctic Cisco					0
Grayling	243	45.92	75.35	1561.2	34
Ling Cod					0
Arctic Cod					0
Broad Whitefish	34	1.57	7.25	53.4	34

Table 44 (continued)

Species	Maximum	Mean <u>Number</u>	Standard <u>Deviation</u>	Total <u>N be</u>	<u># of</u> <u>cases</u>
Smelt	25	.99	4.82	33.8	34
Pacific Herring	4	.11	.62	3.6	34
Chum Salmon	61	5.68	15.15	193.2	34
Pink Salmon	34	4.67	10.71	158.7	34
Flounder	50	2.46	9.96	83.7	34
Sheefish					0
Berries	20	4.53	5.26	153.9	34
Plants	8	1.09	2.13	37.0	34

TOTAL POUNDS

NOTE: **Beluga** and Bowhead data are not given on a household level. Total pounds does not reflect harvest of bowhead. Other missing pounds data indicates either a.) that the species was harvested but not eaten or b.) that the species was not harvested.

Table 45

HOUSEHOLDS REPORTED USING, TRYING TO HARVEST, HARVESTING,
GIVING AND RECIEVING (SHARING) SUBSISTENCE RESOURCES, BY SPECIES
POINT LAY 1987.

Species	<u>Using</u>	<u>Trying</u>	<u>% Households Harvesting</u>	<u>Giving</u>	<u>Receiving</u>
Canada Geese	66.31	57.56	57.56	46.78	35.71
Black Brant	69.75	60.50	60.50	34.31	32.49
Eider Ducks	79.27	72.97	70.03	50.70	24.56
Pintail	8.54	4.62	4.62	0.00	3.92
Oldsquaw	20.31	20.31	20.31	8.54	4.62
Murre	3.92	3.92	3.92	0.00	0.00
Eggs	68.49	56.02	56.02	44.26	24.23
Ptarmigan	54.34	54.34	54.34	41.88	15.41
Caribou	95.38	76.39	76.39	68.35	75.35
Moose	42.86	19.33	15.41	15.41	27.45
Grizzly Bear	39.64	13.73	10.78	7.34	32.77
Ground Squirrel	24.23	28.15	24.23	19.61	8.54
Red Fox	0.00	15.69	0.00	0.00	0.00
Arctic Fox	0.00	18.63	0.00	0.00	0.00
Wolverine	10.78	28.43	6.86	2.94	6.86
wolf	0.00	21.57	0.00	0.00	0.00
Marmot	4.62	6.86	0.00	0.00	4.62
Spotted Seal	38.94	37.96	31.09	31.09	15.69
Ringed Seal	50.70	41.18	30.39	26.47	32.07
Bearded Seal	73.67	52.66	29.41	37.96	56.02
Walrus	49.72	38.66	19.33	15.41	35.01
Bowhead	87.54	20.03	20.03	20.03	84.59
Polar Bear	66.53	6.86	2.94	2.94	63.59
Beluga	100.00	77.59	77.59	82.21	45.94
Arctic Char	62.89	29.41	25.49	17.65	41.32
Arctic Cisco	3.92	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.92
Grayling	82.21	40.20	40.20	40.20	60.64
Ling Cod	3.92	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.92
Arctic Cod	3.92	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.92

Table 45 (continued)

Species	<u>Using</u>	<u>Trying</u>	% Households <u>Harvesting</u>	<u>Giving</u>	<u>Receiving</u>
Broad Whitefish	36.41	4.62	4.62	0.00	36.41
Smelt	15.69	7.84	7.84	3.92	11.76
Pacific Herring	6.86	2.94	2.94	2.94	3.92
Chum Salmon	40.90	24.51	20.59	13.73	27.17
Pink Salmon	36.27	24.51	17.65	17.65	26.47
Flounder	9.80	9.80	9.80	9.80	2.94
Sheefish	32.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	32.07
Berries	70.73	57.56	57.56	30.39	40.34
Plants	27.17	23.25	23.25	0.00	3.92

Table 46

POINT LAY SUBSISTENCE HARVESTS, IN POUNDS
PER CAPITA 1987 (n=34)

Resource	Total Number	Total Pounds	Pounds Per Capita
Canadian Geese	376	1580	13
Black Brant	446	1871	15
Eider Ducks	620	929	8
Pintail	6	9	1
Oldsquaw	162	243	2
Murre	4	6	1
Eggs	1021	153	1
Ptarmigan	383	268	2
Caribou	135	15801	129
Moose	4	1869	15
Grizzly Bear	4	367	3
Ground Squirrel	234	96	1
Spotted Seal	45	1886	15
Ringed Seal	44	1862	15
Bearded Seal	12	2053	17
Walrus	5	3529	29
Polar Bear	1	496	4
Beluga	35	64925	528
Arctic Char	139	459	4
Grayling	1735	1561	13
Broad Whitefish	16	53	1
Smelt	241	34	1
Pacific Herring	20	4	0
Chum Salmon	32	193	1
Pink Salmon	93	159	1
Flounder	167	84	1
Berries		154	1
Plants		37	1
TOTAL		100681	819

Table 47

SUMMARY OF HOUSEHOLDS' AMOUNT OF GAME, FISH, BIRDS, AND
PLANT RESOURCES EATEN WHICH WERE LOCALLY HARVESTED VERSUS STORE-BOUGHT

<u>Amount</u>	<u>Harvested</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>Purchased</u>	<u>(%)</u>
Very Little	4	(12)	20	(59)
Less Than Half	1	(3)	5	(15)
Half	4	(12)	4	(12)
More Than Half	5	(15)	1	(3)
Nearly All	<u>20</u>	<u>(59)</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>(12)</u>
	34 (100)		34 (100)	

Number of households = 34.

Table 48

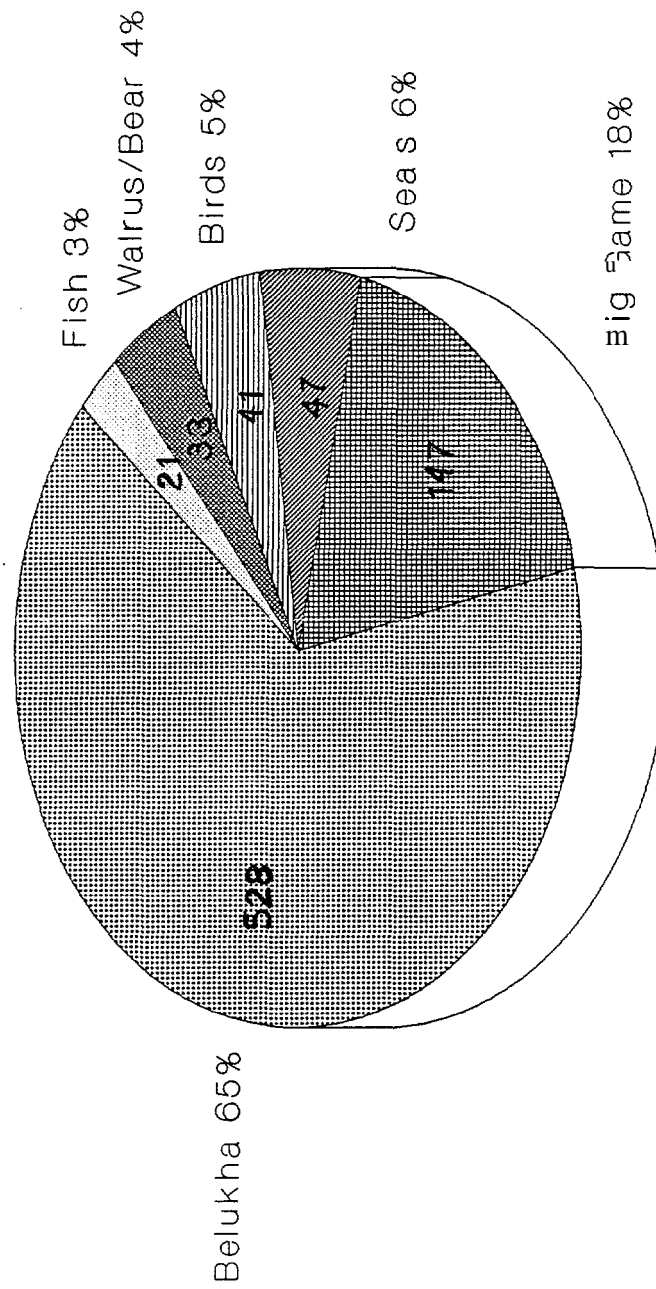
SUMMARY OF HOUSEHOLDS' CHANGE IN HUNTING/TRAPPING/FISHING
IN LAST 5 YEARS

Amount of Change	# H H	% HH
Increased	5	(15)
Stayed the Same	8	(24)
Decreased	13	(38)
Decreased A Lot	6	(18)
Missing	<u>2</u>	<u>(6)</u>
	34	<u>(100)</u>

Question #16 in Survey.

PER CAPITA HARVEST COMPOSITION

POINT LAY, 1987



Relative Contribution of Belukha
to the Pt. Lay Resource Harvest

Figure 55

The overall community subsistence land use area (Appendix C, Map 05) changed in significant ways from previously documented areas. In preparation for the community map review, data on marine use areas collected by Alaska Consultants was added to review maps. Additional community-based revisions superseded this added information in every instance. Furthermore, "intensive use areas" as delineated in a summary MMS document (**Braund and Burnham 1984**) were actually the areas that six households had utilized between 1979 and 1983 and were not necessarily areas of intensive community harvesting for that particular resource category (**Burnham 1987**).

Based on compilation of the updated individual community resource category maps the minimum community use area now covers about 11,000 square miles (Table 49 and Appendix C, Maps 1-15). Approximately 7,700 square miles is terrestrial and about 3,300 square miles are nearshore and marine environment. This is an increase of about 1,500 square miles over the 1978 minimum subsistence land use estimate for the community (about 9,500.0 square miles). This increase was largely in the caribou, **furbearer** trapping and hunting, wildfowl, and **beluga** hunting areas. In the overall ranking of community use areas for the North Slope, Point Lay falls somewhere in the lower middle with about 11,000 square miles. Minimum community subsistence use area estimates for other villages range from about 3,500 square miles for Point Hope to about 29,000 square miles for Barrow, with a mean estimate of about 14,500 square miles per community (**Pedersen 1979a, 1988; Pedersen et al. 1985**).

The minimum land use estimate per household for **all** resource categories in 1978 was 629 square miles (**n=15** households) as compared to somewhere between 250 to 316 square miles per household (**n=34** and 43 households respectively) in 1987. The reduction in the per household use area by 50% or more, and the concomitant increase of about 15% in overall community subsistence land use may be an indication that the community is leveling off in the expansion of its territory. Such a leveling off in the face of continued population growth would be expected if the community is able to adequately provide for itself within the exploited area. However, further investigation is required before any firm conclusions are reached.

The reduction of the minimum household land use estimate has several explanations. As noted earlier, more people work full-time and have less time, both overall and in any one block of time, to engage in subsistence pursuits. According to informants, changes from seasonal to full-time employment have led them to specialize in the use of a certain area of land, and perhaps even in the hunting of certain species. Thus, they learn a restricted area in a detailed way, enabling them to harvest resources in an time-efficient manner. They may travel as far out as they used to in 1978 but not within as wide an area. The ownership of subsistence equipment, and especially the "large ticket" items like **snowmachines**, Hondas, and boats, is **more** widespread now than in 1978. Thus, there is less need now for people to go hunting together in order to pool their equipment than in 1978. This may well also be evidence for a change in the composition and nature of subsistence hunting task groups. In 1978 the evidence seems to suggest larger task groups (three or more rather than the one or two of today) pooling equipment on trips lasting several days (compared to the more common day trips of today) to harvest a multiple number of animals (compared to the harvesting of one or two animals at a time currently).

Recent comparable estimates on the per household minimum subsistence land use area are available for only two other North Slope communities. These estimates are about 248.0 square miles per household for Kaktovik (**Pedersen et al. 1985**) and 236.0 square miles per household for **Nuiqsut** (**Pedersen n.d.**). They are in the same general range as the estimates for Point Lay (250 -316.0 square miles per household). Compared to

Point Lay, both Kaktovik and **Nuiqsut** are relatively stable communities in terms of recent population growth, are focused on similar resources, and are in similar environmental settings.

It **seems** likely that the mean per household community land use figure may in fact be relevant in looking at where a particular community stands in terms of subsistence use area/territory development. A smaller figure would indicate a relatively well known and productive area, possible time constraints, and/or imply that use pressure was not extremely high. A high figure would imply some or all of the opposite characteristics. An expanding village subsistence use area would be associated with large household subsistence use areas, because individuals would have to “pioneer” new and unknown areas. A stable or constricting village use area would be associated with lower household use areas, although it is possible to conceive of a case where this would not be so. Some households may still use extensive use areas within a stable village use area, given limited subsistence pressure and few time constraints,

The estimated minimum area of Point Lay community land use, by resource category, varies from about 8,200 square miles for the largest use area (caribou and **furbearer** hunting) to about 130 square miles for the smallest area (invertebrate collection) as indicated in Table 49. These figures and their ranking compare relatively closely to similar community estimates, by resource category, from Kaktovik (**Pedersen et al. 1985**) and **Nuiqsut (Pedersen n.d.)**. Caribou are clearly the major criteria for the definition of terrestrial range. Most other terrestrial species are harvested opportunistically while on caribou hunts, and this is especially true of furbearers. The similarity in use area estimates bears this out. Nearshore and marine use areas for different species are more idiosyncratic and depend on species characteristics.

The list of resources presented here (Table 40) resembles the lists reported in earlier studies. **While** more complete than previous lists, the inventory of subsistence resources harvested by Point Lay residents does require additional research. For example, wildfowl and fish species need close scrutiny as residents were not always certain of the identity of the harvested species. One wildfowl species in particular, snow goose, may not be harvested at all and could have been misidentified as White-fronted geese. Further evidence of this mistake is the fact that no snow geese were reported harvested in 1987, whereas several residents did speak of gray/brown geese (probably white-fronted geese) they see and harvest periodically.

Some confusion was evident among the fish species as well. Craig 1987 lists king salmon as having been caught by Point Lay fishermen in 1983 and states in the same paper that coho and king salmon caught in Wainwright (a community just 60 miles N of Point Lay) could very well have been sea-run chum salmon, Schneider and Bennett 1979 state that dog, humpback, and king salmon are caught by Point Lay fishermen during the summer. Thus, it is uncertain what salmon were caught in Point Lay during 1987 and it is possible that additional salmon species were caught.

The occurrence of broad whitefish in the 1987 harvest is a result of two households fishing while visiting **Nuiqsut** and Barrow and bringing what they felt were notable quantities back to Point Lay. The species is included in the community harvest estimate but is not harvested in the current area exploited by Point Lay residents. Arctic **cisco** (and/or Bering **cisco**) are regularly harvested by Point Lay residents according to informants, and verified in Craig 1987, although none were reported taken in 1987.

Table 49

MINIMUM ESTIMATED AREA OF COMMUNITY SUBSISTENCE
LAND/MARINE USE, BY RESOURCE CATEGORY
POINT LAY 1971-1987

Resource	Area, sq. miles
Wildfowl	4,898.0
Furbearer Hunting	8,184.0
Furbearer Trapping	8,137.0
Caribou	8,190.0
Walrus	1,763.0
Beluga	545.0
Seals	2,582.0
Invertebrates	129.0
Fish	572.0
Polar Bear	903.0
Grizzly Bear	538.0
Small Mammals	369.0
Fuel and Structural	276.0
Vegetation	255.0
SUM TOTAL (corrected for overlap)	10,741.0 sq. miles

Seasonal round information for Point **Lay collected** by Schneider in 1978 (Figure 52) was based on informants reports of when each resource was usually or occasionally harvested, and the seasonal harvest intensity over time by community residents. The seasonal round data from the 1987 survey include the number of households actually harvesting a particular species by month (Table 42). The 1987 data are for one year only and indicate when a species was successfully harvested rather than when harvest was attempted and should, therefore, be treated carefully in any comparison to the 1978 information.

However, our findings generally support the Point Lay seasonal round established by Schneider. To use waterfowl as an example (Figure 54), harvesting began in April, culminated in May, declined in June, was low in July, picked up again in August, and ended in mid-October so that Point Lay households could participate in **extra-**community harvesting activities that bring in additional resources to the village each year. However, bowhead whaling is the only activity which recurs with any predictability and which brings in a substantial amount of food resources (unquantified in this study) each year. Those Point Lay individuals who go to other villages to participate in whaling in essence forego much of the spring waterfowl season in Point Lay. Other resources such as **beluga**, waterfowl, and seals occasionally are harvested during whaling, but only when whales are scarce or after the quota has been filled. Men from Point Lay belong to a crew in Wainwright which has harvested a whale nearly every year. Thus, certain Point Lay households will receive a whaling crew-share of these resources. In 1987 several Point Lay households returned to the community after spring whaling (March to June) with both bowhead and **beluga** harvest shares, as noted in Table 42 and shown on Figure 56. The amount of these resources brought back is usually small on a community level but still significant to the receiving **household**, especially as **bowhead muktuk** is the prime material representation of the ideology of sharing. Resources harvested outside of the Point Lay land use area in this fashion were noted, but only the non-local broad whitefish harvest was quantified in this study.

The current Point Lay harvesting pattern reflects the seasonal distribution and abundance of resources in the area. For many species the window of harvest opportunity is quite seasonal and can fluctuate within those seasonal parameters from year to year. Point Lay subsistence resource harvesters (hunters, trappers, fishers, and gatherers) continue to follow a seasonal rhythm in pursuing resources much the same as that of their predecessors (**Neakok** et al. 1985), and a strong pride in this continuity is clearly evident among community residents.

Harvesting methods used in Point Lay are, with the notable exception of **beluga** hunting, practically identical to those used by **Inupiat** hunters elsewhere on the North Slope. These have been generally described by Schneider and Bennett 1979 and Alaska Consultants 1984. Additional information on harvesting methods used by hunters **in this region is** available **in Luton** 1985, Nelson 1982, Burch 1981, **Lowenstein** 1981, and Nelson 1969.

The survey explored household ownership of equipment used in harvesting local resources and provided some interesting results (Table 50). There are no dog teams in Point Lay. **Snowmachines** are the most important and versatile winter (snow season) transportation mode, yet only 53% of the community households owned one or more. 60% of community households owned one or more **snowmachine** sleds, an expected result since a **snowmachine** without a sled **is** not especially useful for subsistence **activities**. Three- and four-wheelers can be employed for transportation **in** the community nearly year-round, and on the barrier islands and along riverbanks during the summer months.

As a result, they are a popular multi-purpose tool, and 88% of the households owned one or more. During summer (when the ocean and rivers are ice-free) small sixteen to eighteen-foot metal boats are used extensively in harvesting activities. 49% of the households owned one or more boats, and 52% owned one or more outboard motors.

Ownership of supporting harvesting equipment maintains the community perceptions as to what the most commonly harvested resources are. One or more rifles are owned by 81.5% of Point Lay households, and the same percent own one or more shotguns. Seal/walrus harpoons are owned by 66% of Point Lay households, while only 26% own one or more traps and 23% own one or more nets for fishing. Nearly all game is harvested with a rifle or shotgun, with caribou and waterfowl the most commonly hunted species. **Beluga** are also taken with a rifle. While seals are also taken with a rifle, far fewer households report trying to harvest seals than other resources. Clearly not all households that own seal/walrus harpoons actually harvest seal/walrus, at least not in this study year. Informants support this conclusion, saying that Point Lay is a poor locale for sealing and that to find a better area requires some travel. When Point Lay hunters are in good sealing grounds they do pursue them. This is also somewhat age-dependent, however, as younger people in Point Lay have not eaten a great deal of seal meat and apparently have other preferences among Native food. This question of dietary preference was not a central research concern and so is merely suggestive at **this point**. Seal was consumed **in Point** Lay mostly **in** the form of seal oil, used as a condiment.

Harvest equipment ownership is fairly widespread in the community with the highest concentration among the active harvesters. While this equipment is also used for transportation in and around the village, it is not essential for this purpose while it is an absolute necessity for present-day subsistence harvesting activities. Thus, nearly all households at all active in subsistence harvesting own at least one snow machine or Honda. However, lack of equipment ownership is not necessarily an indicator of low or non-existent harvesting activity, nor does owning a full complement of hunting equipment mean that a household is particularly active in subsistence resource harvesting. There is some sharing of these tools among Point Lay households. For example, a steady wage earner who at the time of the study had little time to hunt possessed all the necessary equipment and gear to fully participate in all resource harvesting activities. Because of his time constraints he harvested very little. The equipment from this household was utilized by several successful hunters from other households that either had no equipment or needed some **complementation** to become fully equipped.

This pattern of sharing of equipment is another indicator of the degree of collaboration which can exist among households in the community. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that active harvesters almost universally reported that under no circumstances would they lend the machines that they depended upon to other people. The important factor in the case mentioned where the individual did lend his gear was the wage earner's current non-use of his equipment. This will be developed further **in** a general discussion of sharing and reciprocity. The sharing of locally harvested resources (Table 45) **is** a further example of the extent of cooperation and interdependence among households **in** the community.

A high percentage (82%) of Point Lay households report owning or sharing an underground ice cellar (Table 50). This **actually** reflects actual or potential use of one of the three ice cellars currently in usable condition. These cellars are still located at the original barrier island village site. There are many more than three ice cellars there, but through the years they have fallen into disrepair and are either filled in or closed off as dangerous. Even the ice cellars currently in use

are considered potentially dangerous. People are discouraged from making trips to them to retrieve stored food alone. Sometimes gases are produced and trapped in an ice cellar and people pass out before they can climb out.

In any event, the three ice cellars currently in use each have a single owner or family group owner. However, any resident of the village can have access to a cellar simply by asking permission. Practically, where a person puts his/her **beluga** share determines the ice cellar he/she uses most. **Beluga** is the resource that really necessitates the use of ice cellars. Many large animals are harvested and processed at the same time and need to be stored. Since nearly all village residents participate in the harvest, almost all of them get shares. These are put into the ice cellars that are still usable. This can vary from year to year, but it is the **beluga** harvest and storage which is the demarcation event of the year as the ice cellars are cleaned before this harvest (at least in principle). Residents are now making **plans** to build new ice cellars closer to their new homes as access to the old site can be difficult, particularly in late spring (during break-up) and late fall (during freeze-up).

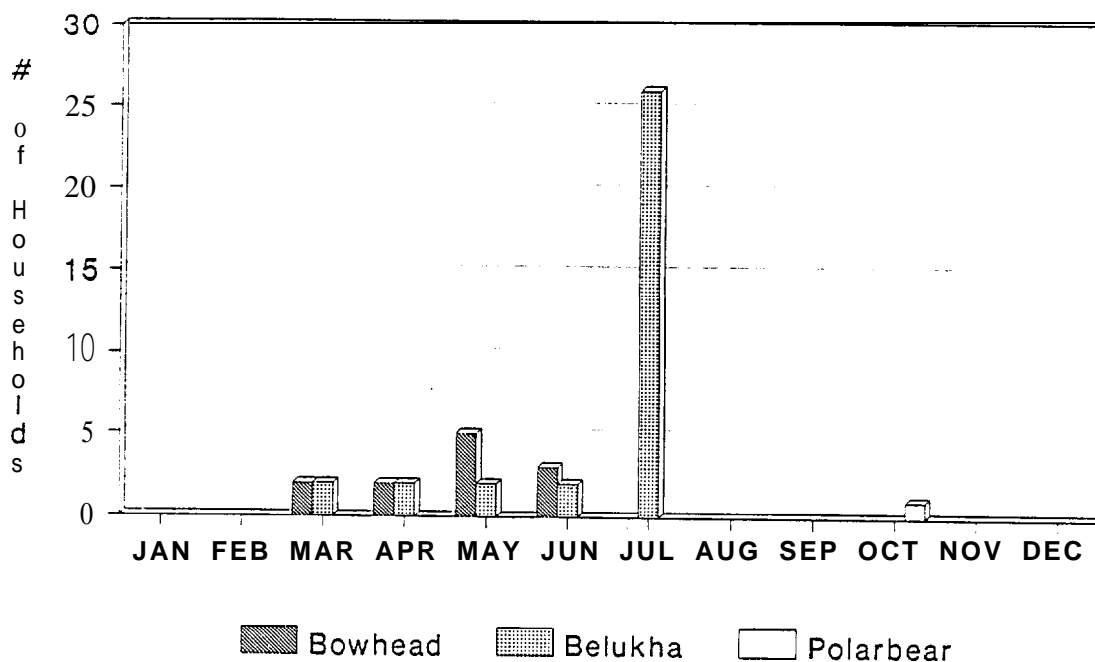
Table 51 expands the community harvest estimates to include the nine households (stratified by community officials and analyzed accordingly) initially not considered. The resulting estimates are probably high for all resources except **beluga** (which were harvested by the community as a group so the total number harvested is a known quantity), as some of the households in this group probably harvested nothing because they were not yet Alaska residents and could not harvest most resources without an expensive non-resident license or being assisted by a guide (and no one mentioned this as having taken place). The net result of including the additional nine households in the community harvest estimate is that the mean number of species harvested per household decreases. Again, the community estimate lies somewhere in the range between the upper and lower estimate. The same qualifiers apply to the revised estimate of the number of pounds harvested by species in Point Lay during 1987, presented in Table 52.

While an estimate of the amount of one resource harvested away from the **village** has been included (broad whitefish), there **is** no equal estimate for the amount of bowhead and **beluga** muktuk brought back to the community. Point Lay people have whaled on successful crews **in** Barrow, **Wainwright**, and Point Hope. Generally only a small portion of a crew share would be sent from Barrow to Point Lay. Such shares are small to begin with due to the size of Barrow (Holmes 1989: personal communication) and air freight charges are quite high. Shares are brought back from **Wainwright** by **snowmachine** and sled and can be a full sled load. Observations of crew shares sent from Point Hope are lacking, but as Point Lay people who go to Point Hope to whale use air transportation, it is likely that the same constraints that operate in Barrow **are at work**. It was observed that some muktuk from **Point Hope** was flown to Point Lay, but this was a relatively small, ceremonial amount and was by no means a crew share. Similarly, there are no estimates on the amount of other resources Point Lay households received from outside the village, nor how much was sent out to relatives and friends in other communities.

The number harvested estimate is not as much affected by the above considerations as is the pounds harvested estimate and, ultimately, the pounds used estimate. In this report the estimates used are those developed from the questionnaire and conversion factors. Clear recognition exists that for Tables 43 and 44 the community harvest estimates, in numbers harvested, are more likely low rather than high (because nine

SEASONAL ROUND: MARINE MAMMALS

POINT LAY, 1987



SEASONAL ROUND: MARINE MAMMALS

POINT LAY, 1987

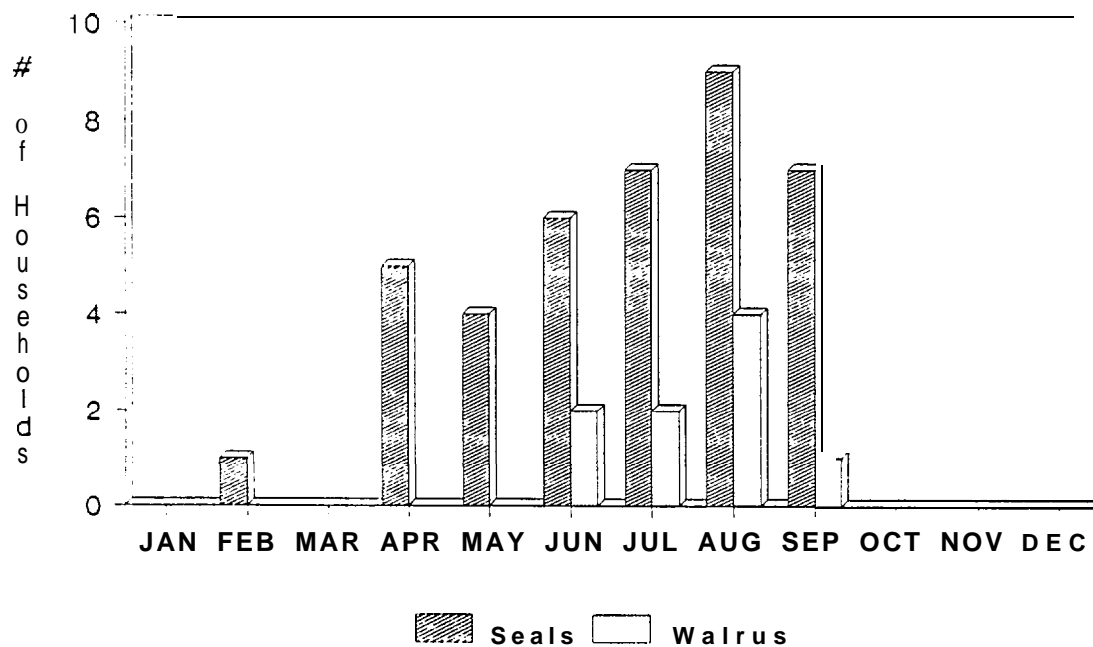


Figure 56

Table 50

HOUSEHOLD OWNERSHIP OF SELECTED SUBSISTENCE RELATED
EQUIPMENT, POINT LAY 1987

	Frequency	Percent
Number Owned by HH - Snowmachines		
0	16	47.3
1	13	38.9
2	4	10.8
3	1	2.9
Total	34	100.0
Number Owned by HH - sleds		
0	13	39.5
1	16	46.8
2	5	13.7
Total	34	100.0
Number Owned by HH - 3-Wheelers		
0	12	34.2
1	18	54.2
2	3	7.8
3	1	3.9
Total	34	100.0
Number Owned by HH - Boats		
0	17	51.3
1	15	44.8
2	1	3.9
Total	34	100.0
Number Owned by HH - Outboard Motors		
0	16	48.0
1	15	45.1
2	2	6.9
Total	34	100.0
Number Owned by HH - Shotguns		
0	6	18.5
1	18	54.3
2	8	23.2
4	1	3.9
Total	34	100.0

Table 50 (continued)

	Frequency	Percent
Number Owned by HH - Traps		
0	25	73.8
2	1	3.9
6	2	6.9
12	2	4.6
17	1	3.9
24	1	2.9
56	1	3.9
Total	34	100.0
Number Owned by HH - Rifles		
0	6	18.5
1	6	16.4
2	9	27.2
3	6	18.6
4	3	7.8
5	2	4.6
6	2	6.9
Total	34	100.0
Number Owned by HH - Seal-Walrus Harpoon		
0	15	44.1
1	18	52.0
2	1	3.9
Total	34	100.0
Number Owned by HH - Nets		
0	23	66.9
1	9	25.2
2	3	7.8
Total	34	100.0
Number Owned by HH - Cellars		
0	6	17.8
1	28	82.2
Total	34	100.0

households were not included in the computation) whereas the computed pounds estimates may **be** quite high for some resource categories (such as **beluga** where the total community harvest is known but attributed to this partial community population). **Burch** 1985 and Wolfe 1979 used much lower conversions from live weight to usable weights in **Kivalina** and Yukon Delta than what was used in this report. The figure used in this report, derived from Fay 1971 and **Klinkhart** 1978, was reviewed by researchers familiar with Point Lay **beluga**, Carroll 1988 and Lowry 1988, and found to be as accurate an estimate as could reasonably be generated without having far more information on age, sex, and length of residence as well as data on live and actually usable weights (conforming to Point Lay butchering and utilization practices) than currently available. Field documentation on live weights and utilized weights from Point Lay resources do not exist and introduce a further potential source of error in estimates given in this report. The magnitude of these errors is unknown. We believe that they are within reasonable limits, and thus the estimates produced in this report are considered as the most accurate that can currently be achieved. Further qualifications for the **beluga** utilization figures especially are included in the section discussing consumption and sharing.

Previous reports on resource harvesting in Point Lay (Woolf ord 1954, Schneider 1978, **AEIDC** 1978, NSB 1979) emphasized the importance of caribou to the local economy. This study found that although caribou played a significant part in the 1987 harvest, contributing 17% to the total pounds harvested, **beluga** far outweighed the combined resource harvest for **all** other species by contributing 60% (Figures 55 and 58). This is an indication that either circumstances have changed from the time of these studies to now, that previous studies underestimated the importance of **beluga** to Point Lay people, or that the current usage estimate for **beluga** in Point Lay is high. Caribou certainly have a much greater day-to-day salience in the public perception than do **beluga**. This could be expected since **beluga** are harvested once a year, whereas caribou are sought year-round. Caribou also seems to be eaten on more of a day-to-day basis than **beluga**. **Beluga** is much more of a feast food, however, as it is difficult for Point Lay hunters to accumulate enough caribou to serve as a main item at such a function. This will also be discussed in the later section on consumption and sharing.

It is interesting to note that the harvest of wildfowl, in terms of weight, exceeded fish by a factor of two. This is different from what has been found in quantitative studies in the two other North Slope communities for which information is available. In Kaktovik (**Pedersen** et al. 1985 and **Nuiqsut (Pedersen n.d.)** 1.14 to 2.68 as many fish are harvested as wildfowl (in terms of weight). The per capita amount of fish utilized in these two communities was 60.0 pounds and 177.0 pounds respectively, compared to only 22.3 pounds in Point Lay. Wildfowl contributed 21.0 and 20.0 pounds per capita **in Kaktovik** and **Nuiqsut**, whereas **in** Point Lay this resource category contributed 44.0 pounds per capita in 1987.

At first glance it appeared that the low fish harvest may have been related to a possible underestimation of the amount fish harvested in the community during 1987. There was also the possibility that it may be related to the lack of fishing effort in October, when Point Lay people commonly go to **fishcamp** upriver to jig for **grayling** through the ice, when so much community energy was directed at the Search and Rescue effort. However, even if the fish harvest was increased there would still be quite an inequity in the wildfowl harvest.

Table 51

POINT LAY COMMUNITY HARVEST ESTIMATE 1987,
IN NUMBERS HARVESTED BY SPECIES (n=43)

Species	Maximum	Mean Number	Standard Deviation	Total Number	# of Cases
Canada Geese	72	10.11	15.35	434.7	43
Black Brant	150	11.60	27.71	498.9	43
Eider Ducks	132	16.34	28.89	702.5	43
Pintail	4	.23	.93	9.7	43
Oldsquaw	60	5.13	14.51	220.5	43
Murre	3	.10	.55	4.4	43
Eggs	300	27.62	56.17	1187.7	43
Ptarmigan	55	11.00	17.00	473.0	43
Caribou	20	3.66	4.49	157.4	43
Moose	1	.11	.28	4.9	43
Grizzly Bear	1	.10	.30	4.3	43
Ground Squirrel	65	6.63	15.55	284.9	43
Red Fox	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	43
Arctic Fox	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	43
Wolverine	4	.16	.72	6.3	43
wolf	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	43
Marmot	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	43
Spotted Seal	14	1.24	2.87	53.4	43
Ringed Seal	11	1.15	2.42	49.5	43
Bearded Seal	2	.31	.59	13.3	43
Walrus	1	.14	.31	6.0	43
Bowhead	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	43
Polar Bear	1	.03	.18	1.3	43
Beluga	0	0.0	0.0	35.0	43
Arctic Char	60	3.89	11.42	167.2	43
Arctic Cisco	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	43
Grayling	270	46.16	80.74	1984.7	43
Ling Cod	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	43
Arctic Cod	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	43
Broad Whitefish	10	.56	2.34	24.3	43

Table 51 (continued)

Species	Maximum	Mean Number	Standard Deviation	Total Number	# of Cases
Smelt	175	6.17	32.12	265.5	43
Pacific Herring	20	.62	3.51	26.7	43
Chum Salmon	10	.92	2.52	39.7	43
Pink Salmon	20	2.50	5.98	10733	43
Flounder	100	4.47	18.65	192.0	43
Sheefish	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	43
Berries*	5	1.04	1.29	44.7	43
Plants*	2	.26	.52	11.1	43

NOTE: **Beluga** and Bowhead data are not given on a household level.

* Gallons

Table 52

POINT LAY COMMUNITY HARVEST ESTIMATE 1987,
IN POUNDS HARVESTED BY SPECIES (n=43)

Species	Maximum	Mean <u>Number</u>	Standard <u>Deviation</u>	Total <u>Number</u>	<u># of Cases</u>
Canada Geese	302	42.46	64.49	1825.8	43
Black Brant	630	48.73	116.38	2095.6	43
Eider Ducks	198	24.50	43.33	1053.7	43
Pintail	6	.34	1.40	1446	43
Oldsquaw	90	7.69	21.76	330.8	43
Murre	5	.15	.83	6.6	43
Eggs	45	4.14	8.43	178.1	43
Ptarmigan	39	7.70	11.90	331.1	43
Caribou	2340	428.33	525.60	18418.0	43
Moose	500	57.31	142.02	2464.3	43
Grizzly Bear	100	9.92	30.25	426.7	43
Ground Squirrel	27	2.72	6.38	116.8	43
Red Fox					0
Arctic Fox					0
Wolverine					0
wolf					0
Marmot					0
Spotted Seal	588	52.12	120.75	2241.2	43
Ringed Seal	462	48.32	101.84	2077.6	43
Bearded Seal	352	54.44	104.40	2340.8	43
Walrus	772	107.04	239.29	4602.6	43
Bowhead					0
Polar Bear	496	15.38	86.99	661.3	43
Beluga				64925.00	0
Arctic Char	198	12.83	37.70	551.8	43
Arctic Cisco					0
Grayling	243	41.54	72.67	1786.2	43
Ling Cod					0
Arctic Cod					0
Broad Whitefish	34	1.92	7.94	82.6	43

Table 52 (continued)

Species	Maximum	Mean <u>Number</u>	Standard <u>Deviation</u>	Total <u>Number</u>	# of <u>Cases</u>
Smelt	25	.86	4.50	37.2	43
Pacific Herring	4	.11	. 6 3	4.8	43
Chum Salmon	61	5.64	15.37	242.4	43
Pink Salmon	34	4.24	10.17	182.5	43
Flounder	50	2.23	9.32	96.0	43
Sheefish					0
Berries	20	4.15	5.14	178.6	43
Plants	8	1.03	2.06	44.4	43
TOTAL POUNDS				107417.1	43

NOTE: **Beluga** and Bowhead data are not given on a household level. Total pounds does not reflect harvest of **bowhead**. Other missing pounds data indicates either a.) that **the species** was harvested but not eaten or b.) that the species was not harvested.

The most likely explanation is that wildfowl are one of the preferred foods in nearly all Point Lay households. Informants almost universally extol the taste of duck and goose soup. Shotguns, which have limited use for game other than wildfowl, are one of the most commonly owned items of subsistence equipment. Fishnets, on the other hand, are owned only by about a third of **all** households and only a fourth of the households sampled reported any effort to net fish. This agrees with more general informant reports that few people fish in or near Point Lay with nets. Jigging for **grayling** at **fishcamp** is considered to be relatively inefficient. A person can indeed catch many of them in a relatively short period of time, but they are fairly small, ranging in size from two to sixteen inches or so. Those who go to fishcamp do so to get out of the village, participate in an activity they enjoy in the company of friends (and, to some extent, kinsmen), and to be out on the land. They expect to catch enough fish to take back to the village for anyone who wants a taste and for the relatively few people who enjoy fish quaq a great deal but the fish in and of themselves do not justify the trip. In fact, the most active net fisher in Point Lay no longer goes to **fishcamp** because it is not worth his time. He does not enjoy jigging and says if he wants fish he sets a net in one of the gaps in the spit. He does not necessarily fish every year.

Total per capita harvest in Point Lay in 1987 was approximately 819 pounds (**n=123** in 34 households, Figure 57). This figure is high in comparison to recent comparative information from two other North Slope communities, **Nuiqsut** 1985-86 (523 pounds per capita) and **Kaktovik** 1986 (389 pounds per capita) (**Pedersen n.d.**). Even using the expanded population figure of **n=155** in 44 households the per capita figure is 692 pounds and remains high compared to the other communities.

Alaska Consultants and Stephen **Braund** 1984 assessed the relative contribution **beluga** made to the marine mammal component of the **local** resource economy, and concluded that it was "the most important marine resource presently harvested by the residents of Point Lay." This study underscores the significance of the **beluga** harvest and concludes that during some harvest years **beluga** appear to contribute more than half of the needed local food resources (Figures 55 and 58). **Beluga** are therefore central to the local resource economy in at least some years.

It is well known that harvests for some species vary widely each year, and that in some cases species are cyclical (caribou for instance) so that even at the village level harvests may fluctuate substantially over time. Few quantitative sources exist on this aspect, but clear cases of this have been reported by Burch 1985, Pedersen and **Coffing** 1984, and **Coffing** and Pedersen 1986. Also, resources, cyclical or not, may not be available due to environmental variables which cause species distribution changes from year to year.

Based on informants statements, the harvest year 1987 seemed normal with respect to the presence and availability of most resources with the exception of caribou. Caribou were not as abundant near the community as they were in years past, particularly in the fall. No other seasonal or distributional peculiarities were noted in the Point Lay resource set. Two other conditions, however, may have affected community harvest levels in potentially significant ways.

First, employment opportunities in the community were excellent during the year, and most of those interviewed commented that they had taken advantage of this situation to earn money to pay for home improvements and update their subsistence equipment. Many households had, in fact, focused so much of their attention on work that some of

their equipment, such as **snowmachines**, had not yet been replaced. This may be one reason why so many households in the survey reported that they had no functional **snowmachines** and boats at the time of the survey.

Second, late September and most of October found Point Lay hunters and fishers actively participating in a massive and extensive ground and aerial Search and Rescue effort for a member of the community who did not return from a **snowmachine** outing. This participation was at the expense of subsistence activities such as caribou hunting or fishing. Village hunters participating in the search were not permitted to pursue and harvest any resources while assisting in the search, and since daylight was rapidly waning in October, very little time was left over or allocated to harvesting activities. The same factors that eventually led to a cancellation of the search (lack of success combined with cold weather, darkness, and wind) limited Point Lay residents in their harvesting activities once the search was over.

Participation in the Search and Rescue effort resulted in less time being available for fall/early winter caribou hunting and **grayling** fishing. Based on a cursory review of the seasonal round chart, the community at least during some years intensively harvests fish and caribou as well as initiates their harvest of polar bear and furbearers in October. What additional harvest could have taken place in 1987 is a matter of speculation, but suffice it to say that some unknown added quantity of caribou, fish, polar bear, and furbearers would have been taken.

Availability of numerous jobs associated with construction-related activities during the year also may have reduced the community resource harvest levels for 1987. However, according to residents, Point Lay always seems to have been able to offer plenty of jobs to its work force. In part, this is due to a community policy of only accepting enough capital improvement or other construction programs each year to keep its local **workforce** employed. Also, because the community has moved several times work is still ongoing on several community facilities which are not yet in place since the last move. Point Lay has thus avoided several problems now plaguing other NSB communities, including major labor force unemployment due to rapid local construction of a finite number of community facilities.

Based on **this** information and discussions with several community representatives, the present employment situation does not appear to have affected the community harvest of local resources in any substantially different way in 1987 than in recent years, though it appears that household activity levels are down a bit compared to five years ago (Table 48). It is important to note, however, that on several occasions community representatives emphasized that since Point Lay was really **still in** a re-settling phase, people were very busy rebuilding their community and not focusing as much time on subsistence activities as they planned to do. After all, they would say, most people who moved back to Point Lay came here to live more off the land and be closer to the land than they could elsewhere.

The main external influence on the 1987 community harvest, therefore, lies in the tremendous amount of community energy invested in the search and rescue effort. The increase in caribou, **grayling**, polar bear, and furbearers harvested would probably have been modest for weather conditions during this time were not the best, and community harvesting was severely curtailed from November on (Table 42). Therefore, the estimate of community harvests for 1987 appear sound, and the bracket of estimates between the thirty-four and the forty-three harvesters (Tables 43, 44, 51, and 52) provides a reasonable range for the quantitative data.

PER CAPITA HARVEST POINT LAY, 1987

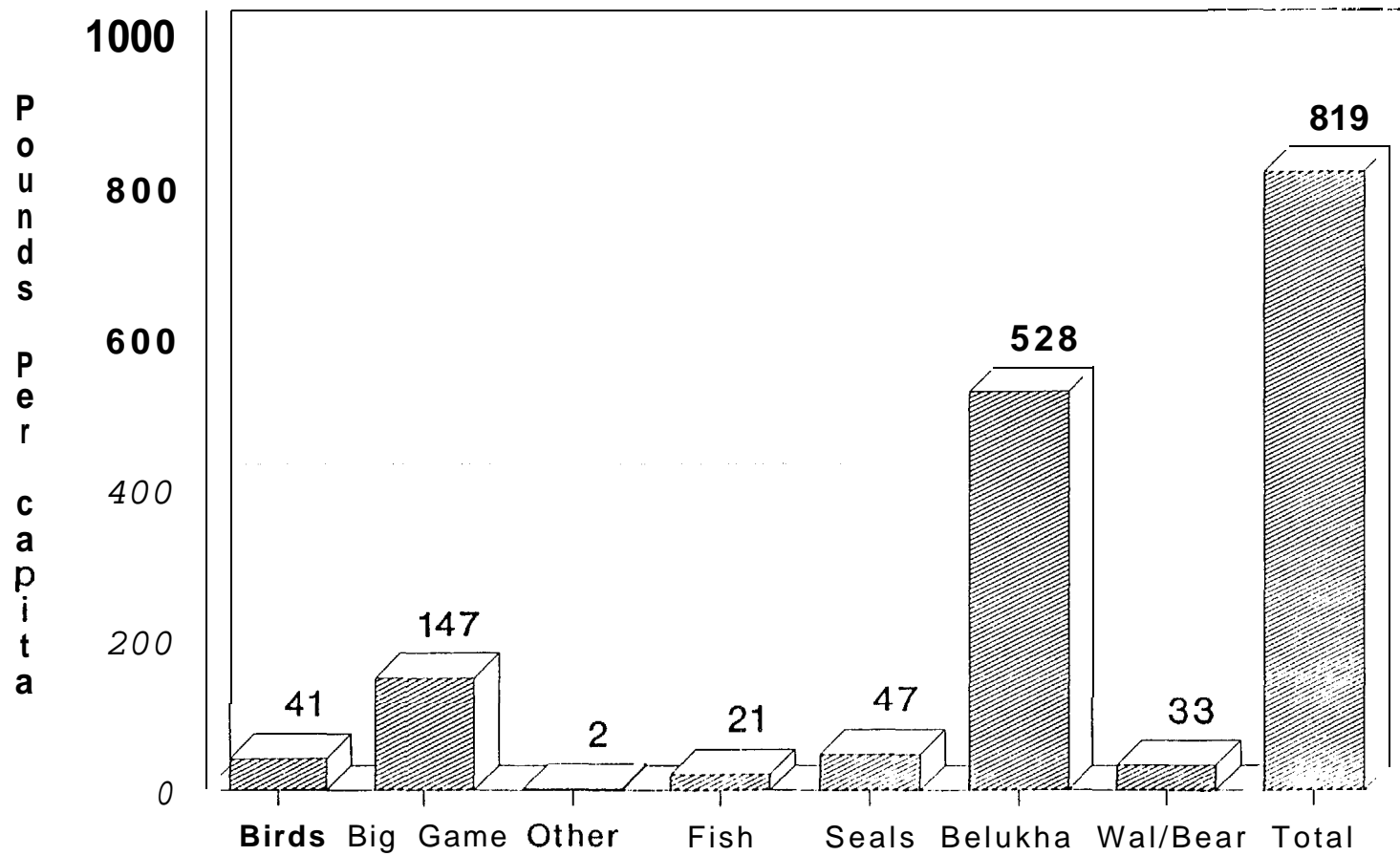
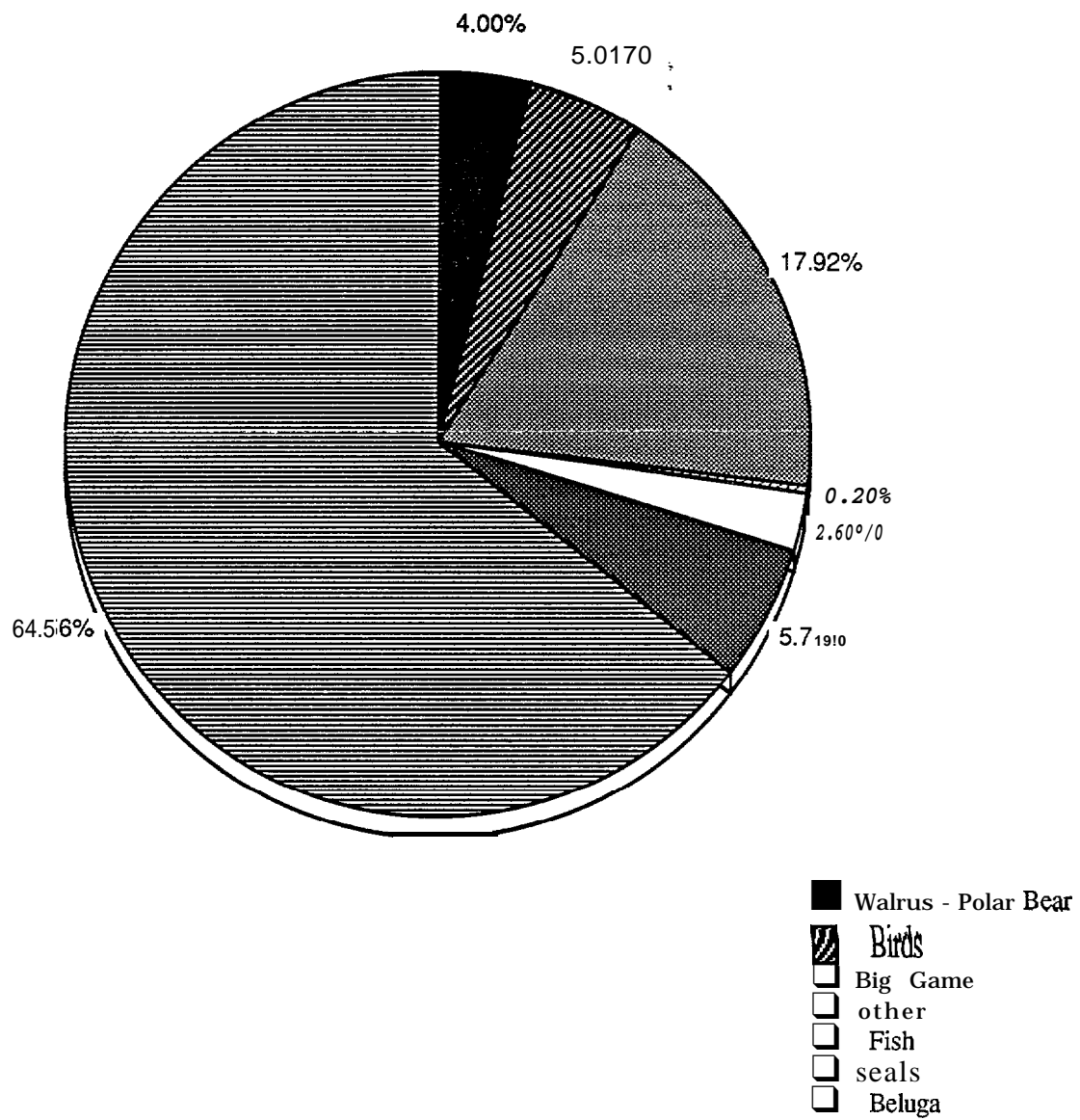


Figure 57

Figure 58

**RELATIVE CONTRIBUTION OF BELUGA TO THE
RESOURCE HARVEST IN POINT LAY, 1987
(Per *capita* Harvest Composition)**



Species receiving the highest percentage of use in community households (Table 45) during 1987 clearly fall in line with what was harvested, but there are also a couple of interesting exceptions. **Beluga** were used by **all** households and caribou by 95% of the households. These two species attracted harvest participation and harvest by seventy-eight and 77% of community households, respectively. In terms of amount harvested (in pounds), these were the two most significant contributors to the local resource based economy in 1987. In the case of bowhead whale, however, only 20% of community households harvested an unquantified amount of the resource away from the community (in Point Hope, Wainwright and Barrow). However, 88% of the Point Lay households used this resource during 1987. Some of this undoubtedly came from general inter-community sharing as 85% of households reported receiving bowhead meat and muktuk. Even though Point Lay is not a direct bowhead whaling community, this resource plays a significant part in the local economy anyway.

Sheefish from **Kotzebue** is another resource that received quite a bit of use in the community without having been **harvested** there. In fact, no Point Lay household tried to harvest this resource; yet 32% of the community households reported using **sheefish** during 1987, the same percentage which reported receiving it. Given the recent influx of "**Kotzebue** people" into Point Lay in the recent past and the degree to which others in Point Lay are related to people in the Kotzebue/Noatak/Kivalina area, these figures are not unexpected.

Many of the resources used in Point Lay are common in other communities, but harvest success for these vary across the North Slope both in time and location. To dampen the effect of a resource-scarcity or reduced harvest, an intricate but highly institutionalized harvest-sharing system operates both between households within a given village and between households in different villages (Alaska Consultants 1984:1-2). This system is thought to have a major role in "maintaining social ties and a sense of heritage during times of rapid social change" (Alaska Department of Fish and Game 1986). However, the subsistence resources shared between villages seem to be a quite restricted set of those shared within villages (at least in terms of amounts). Thus, resources shared between villages are primarily those items which are usually very abundant in one place but usually unavailable in another. For instance, **beluga** is "exported" from Point Lay while bowhead and whitefish from **Nuiqsut** and **Sheefish** from **Kotzebue** is imported. On occasion wildfowl will be sent out of Point Lay (although this is technically against the law). Items shared within a village tend to be those items taken which are not usually harvested locally (for instance, polar bear in Point Lay) and those resources which are taken quite often and are thus commonly consumed but which a household may be temporarily without (for instance, caribou in Point Lay).

Consider use of polar bear, for instance. Only 3% of the households harvested any bears in 1987, yet 64% of the households reported receiving and **67%** reported using **this** resource (Table 49). There are no notations on polar bear **being** received from any other community **in** the completed surveys.

Point Lay is the main provider of **Beluga muktuk** and oil among the North Slope communities. This is reflected in the high degree of giving (82% of households) and relatively low degree of receiving (46%) associated with this resource as compared to caribou, for instance (Table 45). In return, a variety of other resources flowed into the community during 1987. Several species of fish were reported received from communities as far away as **Nuiqsut** and **Kotzebue**; bowhead **muktuk** and meat came from

several surrounding villages; some waterfowl, seal and caribou were also reported as having come from other villages, but quantities were not mentioned and can be presumed to be small.

Local resources reportedly accounted for more than half of **the** game, fish, birds, and plant resources consumed by 85% of the community households (Table 47). This compares to 74% for both Kaktovik in 1986 (**Pedersen** 1988) and **Nuiqsut** in 1985 (**Pedersen n.d.**). Those households which reported less than fifty percent reliance (15%) were predominantly non-Native or mixed with fairly short-term histories in the community. Extremely high cost of living and general chronic lack of store-bought foods makes access to subsistence foods an economic necessity in Point Lay (Alaska Consultants **1984:1**). Considering the current employment condition in the community, it is not difficult to imagine that when the current community rebuilding phase is over and local employment falls, reliance on local resources and harvesting effort will likely increase. This theme was repeatedly raised by community residents in the course of this project. In part, because of this, the long-term occurrence and availability of healthy local resources within the community subsistence **use** area is of major concern to Point Lay residents.

Table 47 clearly emphasizes the importance of locally harvested resources to the Point Lay economy and argues strongly for the recognition of subsistence land/marine use as a major economic activity **in** this part of the Arctic. Any development activity permitted on state, federal, or private lands within **the** Point Lay area of concern (Appendix C, Map 15) which may weaken or threaten the local subsistence economy must be made to recognize that such harvesting **is** “a major sector of the state’s rural economy” necessitating that they find avenues of local as well as “regional development compatible with high, sustainable wild resource extraction” (**Wolfe** and Walker 1987).

SUMMARY COMPARISON OF POINT LAY AND POINT HOPE

General Comparisons of Point Lay and Point Hope

Throughout the body of this report we have compared Point Lay and Point Hope in specific data categories and with respect to specific trends. In this section we will discuss some of the general-level considerations of the comparison of the two communities and how these communities fit into the larger matrix of the North Slope as a region.

As noted earlier, depending upon the perspective one takes, Point Lay and Point Hope may be considered very similar or very different communities. The perspective that considers them to be very similar communities **is**, however, a rather distant one.

The village of Point Hope is located in an area that is arguably the site of the longest continuous inhabitation on the North Slope and perhaps North America. Point Lay, on the other hand, has had a history of episodic occupation and has become a “permanent” village only very recently. This fact alone accounts for many of the differences observed between the villages. The relative contiguity of population in Point Hope has, for example, fostered a different set of relations with the land, particularly as seen in kin-based land use patterns. It is readily apparent that the web of kin relations in Point Hope (in addition to simply being larger) is more complex, and there are more cross-cutting ties in the present population than exist in Point Lay.

We hasten to add that we are not claiming that there are not pervasive and dense kinship ties in Point Lay because indeed there are. In fact, with very few exceptions, all of the Native Americans now living in Point Lay can be placed on a single genealogical chart (although it is a rather large one). This is because people in Point Lay are usually only related to each other in one line, or at least only one is deemed important enough to mention in most cases. In Point Hope, on the other hand, multiple ways of being related are very common, and attempts at overarching genealogical diagrams soon extend into n-dimensional space.

That this is so is scarcely surprising. Point Hope has a long history of occupation of the same site and the nearby area, and marriage within the village. Marriage was regulated by extended family and **qalgi** membership in previous times. Now, for all intents and purposes, choices are left to the individuals involved. At least in some cases, Elders are consulted as to relationships between people who are potential marriage partners. One young man, for example, reported that he asked his grandmother about girls who he liked at school and was told by her that several were, unbeknownst to him, his cousins and too closely related to him to be potential partners. Still, it is reported that most Point Hope people marry other Point Hope people. Given the demographic disruptions of the contact and subsequent periods, and the fluidity of the **Inupiat** kinship system in general, the situation becomes even more complex. It is reported that some families have recently changed **qalgi** affiliation to balance membership between the two which still exist. Extended into the past, these processes create a confusing welter of kinship relations.

In addition to the character of kin-based social relations the long occupation of Point Hope has no doubt had an influence on other aspects of life within the community that differ from Point Lay, including subsistence pursuits and religious practices. For example, Point Hope has strong roots in the whaling tradition, and the complex of whaling statuses, roles, and behaviors continue to hold a central place in the life of the community, and influence a multiplicity of other relationships and interactions. As another example, the focal place of the Episcopal Church in the lives of the elders of Point Hope is undoubtedly due, in large part, to the fact that the elders grew up within the church in the village during a period when there was only one church in the village. In contrast, the individuals and families who moved to Point Lay do not have this base of shared experiences with the other members of the population of present-day Point Lay.

Point Hope presently has over four times the population of Point Lay, although the difference between the two communities has not always been this large. In the 1920-1930 period Point Hope appears to have had about twice the population of Point Lay. Since 1939, however, the population of Point Hope has grown by more than 120% (257 in 1939 to 572 in 1986) and has exhibited a fairly steady rate of gain. This is in marked contrast to a pattern of population loss and sudden gain in Point Lay. Point Lay's population in 1988 was approximately 20% higher than in 1939 (50 compared to 126), and dropped to only two individuals during one period in the intervening years. (In fact, it may be argued that the population effectively dropped to zero for approximately one year when the married couple resident in the village moved to **Wainwright** because the husband was transferred there, although another couple transferred to Point Lay to work there during that period). Thus, the gross population dynamics of the two communities are strikingly different and, as may be expected, aspects of their respective populations, such as age and sex distributions, also differ. These are discussed in some detail in the section on population dynamics.

Beyond population cohort percentage differences, there are differences in the life experiences of individuals in Point Hope and Point Lay that have their basis in the absolute size of population in and of itself. For example, elders are a small percentage of the population of both villages. In Point Lay, there are 6 individuals over the age of 60 in a population of 150, which amounts to 4% of the population; in Point Hope there are 36 individuals considered seniors in a population of 572, which amounts to approximately 6% of the population. While these percentages are similar, the fact that Point Hope has such a larger number of elders is significant. There is in Point Hope, effectively, a set of individuals who are consciously brought together and interact based upon their age through the mechanism of the seniors programs in the village. There are such things as a senior van that transports individuals on an on-call basis, a senior center, and a senior lunch program that continually call into consciousness the age status of these individuals. Additionally, in Point Hope elders are among the most active of age cohorts in other contexts, such as in the Episcopal Church, where they are regularly overrepresented in church attendance. Elders also have a prominent place in the public life of the community through such activities as participation in the dance groups and as a group are given a favored place in the community festivals.

The status of "elder" in the two villages is quite different. In Point Lay, there are only two individuals who are widely regarded in the village as elders. The others, who if they lived in Point Hope would be included in the seniors' group, are sometimes treated as Elders, but for the most part these people consider themselves young enough not to be in the same category as the two others. These two men can no longer move around very freely, speak predominantly **Inupiat**, and no longer participate in **childcare**. The other "**proto-Elders**" are all quite active, speak fairly good to excellent English as **well** as fluent **Inupiat**, and either are still raising their own children or helping to care for grandchildren. Additionally, this younger group does not want to appear to be trying to take over the role of the two older Elders, who are recognized to have had unique life experiences and are able to provide expertise no one else has. There also may well be a connotation of "old" attached to Elder in Point Lay that does not exist in Point Hope. This could again be a matter of scale, and the fact that seniors' programs exist in Point Hope (where there is a large enough demand for them) and not in Point Lay (with a demand group of at most six). These programs provide clear, tangible benefits to being an elder in addition to the less formal and clear-cut benefits that accrue from the label, and it implies membership in a group that interacts on a regular basis. Thus, "younger" elders would be encouraged to participate.

In Point Lay, having an elder in the household can require much more effort on the part of other household members than in Point Hope. Elders are treated with some ambivalence: on the one hand, elders are respected and admired; on the other they place demands on the time and efforts of others. Elders are seen as a resource for the village as a whole, but responsibility for their well-being is, in large part, left to their individual families in Point Lay; there are no seniors' programs through which the community contributes directly to their well-being. There are informal ways in which other community members look after them, such as helping manage finances in one case, and sharing of subsistence goods in several cases. In Point Hope, as described, there are a number of programs that serve to formally distribute effort for the care of elders among a number of people and institutions.

In addition to present-day population dynamics, there are also differences in the population of the two villages based upon origin of the kin groups that make up the villages. Traditionally, **Point Hope** and **Point Lay** were **in** different **Inupiat** territorial **units** (**Burch** and **Correll** 1972). Today, many people **in Wainwright** trace

their roots to the coastal area between Point Lay and Peard Bay (Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:319) while for Point Hope ties seem to be to the Lisburne Peninsula area or further south (Burch 1981).

There are distinct differences in interactions between Native and non-Native residents in the two communities of Point Lay and Point Hope. As a community, Point Lay has a much shorter history of interaction with non-Native residents, but paradoxically may at present be much more directly affected by their presence in the village. In Point Hope, non-Native influence has historically derived mainly from whalers, traders, missionaries, teachers, and more recently from construction workers, teachers, and hired experts. The present Native residents of Point Lay have, over the course of their lives, experienced the similar types of interactions, particularly before the community's resettlement in 1973 when the current residents resided in other villages where interactions with non-Natives were frequent. The significance of the experience is quite different in the two localities, however, and this seems to be related to the size and intrinsic nature of the two communities. Point Hope is one of the oldest continuously occupied sites in North America while Point Lay has rarely been the site of a stable village. Thus, non-Natives settled early in Point Hope for access to both the largest settled population, and more migratory **outliers** who periodically would come to trade and visit (the same reasons Barrow, and to a lesser extent Wainwright and even Icy Cape for a while, attracted trading posts). There were sometimes as many as 200 ships anchored off of Point Hope waiting for the ice to clear. In sheer numbers and frequency of contact with non-Natives, then, historically the community of Point Hope has quite a different experience than Point Lay.

From early contact it would also appear that non-Natives had a more defined and certainly more influential role in Point Hope than in Point Lay. Whaler, trader, teacher, missionary, or whatever -- all could provide some valuable resource and were in Point Hope for a reason. Those same reasons only on occasion took a non-Native to the Point Lay area. It was more likely, and most often a more efficient use of time from the non-Native's perspective, for the Natives of the Point Lay area to travel to Point Hope (or Barrow) to trade, go to school, or whatever. In this respect, little has changed except for local schooling.

At present, non-Natives in both villages are reputed by Native residents to be "clannish" and this is to some extent recognized by non-Native residents. This appears much more pronounced in Point Hope, however, especially among the school personnel who comprise the largest single "block" of non-Natives. Preferred social interaction with other teachers is, of course, not only a function of ethnicity, but is also explicable in the light of shared interests, experiences, and backgrounds. There are, as one would expect, subgroups of teachers who interact more frequently with each other than with the group as a whole. In Point Lay, the situation is quite different as there is simply not a large enough number of non-Natives with whom to interact to form such a clique.

To this can be added the influence of Native numbers. In Point Hope, the Native population is more than large enough to provide stimulating interaction for most **all** Native discourse. (Notwithstanding the attitude held by many teenage residents that there "is nothing to do.") More importantly, there are more than enough people to fill all the social and economic roles involved in running the community. (This is not to say that there are no problems in filling leadership roles, however, but that is a separate and rather complex issue and is discussed elsewhere.) In Point Lay, on the other hand, this is not the case. Although Point Lay's population is one-fourth that of Point Hope, certainly it has more than one-fourth as many social and economic

roles to fill. One of the consequences of this is that in Point Lay, non-Natives play important parts in the Utilities Department, Public Works, the Fire Department and Search and Rescue, the Advisory School Council, and of course, the school. It must be noted here that, as discussed above, this is not only due to the relatively small population of Point Lay but reflects a attitudinal difference between Native and non-Native adult Point Lay residents toward leadership roles in general. In Point Hope, clear non-Native political and social influence is confined mainly to the school, even with non-Native participation in formal village political processes.

The divergent patterns of **interethnic** marriages also demonstrate how profoundly different the two villages are in the degree to which important statuses are filled and roles are played by non-Natives. On a very fundamental level, that of behavior, the people of Point Lay demonstrate an acceptance of the fundamental equality and rights of all people (at least within certain spheres). There are four **interethnic** marriages in Point Lay -- two of **Inupiat** men to Caucasian women (both with young children) and two of **Inupiat** women to Caucasian men (one with young children, one with children from the woman's previous relationships). Three of the four non-Natives involved have full-time jobs, only one of which is at the school. The fourth non-Native works seasonally on construction. Three of the four **Inupiat** involved in these relationships also have full-time jobs. **All** four couples have made a long-term commitment to Point Lay although they may not spend the rest of their lives there.

In Point Hope, in comparison, there are relatively few **interethnic** marriages when examined as a proportion of the total population. Clearly, non-Natives do not fill the same pivotal roles that they do in Point Lay, with the exception of a couple of management positions at the Native Store. Non-Native workers in Point Hope seldom work full-time except as school teachers, Public Safety Officers, seasonal construction, or laborers. Non-Native workers outside of the school, seasonal construction, and the store do not typically have supervisory roles.

In Point Hope, the non-Native proportion of the population has historically fluctuated in terms of numbers and particular ethnic composition, particularly during the time of commercial whaling. Since that time, however, there has been a constant presence of at least some non-Native residents. This was no doubt due in part to the fact that Point Hope has been a relatively large and stable village, so was a good candidate for outside efforts directed at education and missionization. Given its favored location with respect to local and regional resources, it has also attracted a degree of commercial activity.

Native and non-Native residents in Point Hope vary markedly in their length of residence in the community. The vast majority of non-Native residents come here for relatively well-defined occupational reasons, the most common of which is employment at the school. When the term of employment is over, or they feel that they have achieved their financial goals (or will not do so), they move out of the community. Non-Natives leave at the age of retirement if not before; there are no non-Native seniors in Point Hope. There are no non-Native families who have made Point Hope their home outside of their occupational focus -- that is to say that residency of non-Native families appears to be entirely dependent upon continued employment in the present occupation of the person or persons who are employed. For example, one of the non-Native families in the community is the family of the principal of the school. Clearly, what brought the family to the community were the employment opportunities offered by the school, and if something were to happen to this employment, the family would undoubtedly leave. Like other non-Native families, decisions on residency and migration are based to a large degree on constancy or continuity in type of employment, not constancy of residence in the village. In

those cases where non-Natives marry into the village, the situation is a bit different. There are non-Native individuals who have married an **Inupiat** spouse and who have changed types of employment while living in the village, and who consider Point Hope their home. The empirical evidence remains, however, that non-Natives do not live out their later years in Point Hope. That this trend will continue and include the present non-Native residents seems likely.

The situation in Point Lay with regard to divergence in length of residency between Native and non-Native residents is similar to that of Point Hope. While there are marked differences in perception of competency of individual performance, the non-Natives in jobs such as teacher or Public Safety Officer are, over the long run in the life of the community, more or less interchangeable persons whose individuality is inextricably intertwined with, and subsumed by, their job status. In Point Lay, there are a total of four **interethnic** marriages where non-Natives have married into the community.

Differences between the two communities are also reflected in contemporary institutions. For example, Point Hope is incorporated as a second-class city and has a non-Native on the city council (as do at least two other North Slope communities -- Barrow and **Atkasuk** -- Alaska Consultants et al. 1984:328). Point Hope's incorporation in 1966 was a direct result of the political and economic climate of the times. On the other hand, Point Hope's IRA government was virtually inactive from the time of city incorporation until the reorganization and reactivation of the institution in 1987. The IRA became active once again because of the perception that there were advantages to be gained for the community by having an IRA form of government, particularly with respect to the relation of the IRA to village and outlying lands, control of natural resources, the direct relation of Point Hope to the Federal government via the local IRA rather than through the state or city government, sovereignty and Native rights issues, and degree of local control over locally important issues. The IRA also provides for retaining Native control over this government institution, regardless of population changes in the village, unlike the city government.

Point Lay is unincorporated, and as such **it** has no **city** council. Its governing body, an IRA council, **like** all **IRAs**, cannot have non-Native members nor can non-Natives vote **in** elections. **This** effectively shuts out non-Natives **in Point** Lay from the political arena, whereas **in Point** Hope non-Natives have voting power via the city government.

Part of the reason that Point Lay does not have a city government is a function of the era in which the village was reconstituted. In the early 1970s, it was the opinion of the founders of the village that there were more benefits to be gained locally from not incorporating. This would seem to imply that there is a distinctive difference in the relation of the two villages to the North Slope Borough government. When the NSB was formed, the city of Point Hope ceded some of its powers to the Borough government and retained some others. There was no such process in Point Lay. Functionally speaking, however, this has resulted in little difference between the relationship of the NSB to each community.

Point Hope and Point Lay also differ in their subsistence resource bases and, thus, in the timing and intensity of various harvesting activities. This has marked affects in the way that residents combine subsistence and commercial undertakings. This is most clearly seen in the whaling that takes place at Point Hope. As described in the discussion of whaling, for a captain it takes a great deal of effort and money to field a whaling crew for the season, and there is a good deal of effort

on the part of other crew members as well. Although some Point Lay residents do whale in other villages, including Point Hope, their whaling efforts are on the whole confined to a shorter period of time and tend to **be** focused on the whaling itself and not the preparations for whaling.

The difference of scale of the two communities is also associated with significant economic differences between them. These are primarily seen in two major areas: employment levels and retail outlets. Point Lay has, in effect, "overemployment" in the sense that there are typically more jobs available in the village than people interested in filling them. In Point Hope, on the other hand, there is a distinct impression that there is a problem with unemployment and underemployment in the village. This difference between the villages has obvious consequences for attitudes toward employment, and the desirability of creating additional employment opportunities in the village. In Point Hope, a job is a scarce resource, and there are frictions created between individuals who have jobs and those who do not, as **well** as between those who are perceived to have the power to create more jobs and do not do so and those who do not have jobs. In public forums the attitude toward development in the village is clearly expressed as linked to the employment opportunities that the particular development project would create. In Point Lay, where there is already full employment, development questions are weighed using different criteria. One of the reasons for the disparity in the levels of employment in the two villages is due to the fact that they share in many of the same programs through the North Slope Borough. Given that many of the same services are provided in both of the villages, and given the fact that provision of the same service, for example electrical power, to the larger village does not demand a workforce that is as proportionately larger as the general population of the larger village, each project in the smaller village (Point Lay) will employ a higher percentage of the population than in the larger village (Point Hope).

Point Lay has only a single retail outlet. Point Hope, in contrast, has in addition to the Native Store, an number of smaller stores that individuals and families run out of their homes. During 1988 there were three such private stores and, while varying in their blend of inventories, they generally catered to the **after-regular-store-hours** market for soda pop, candy, and miscellaneous convenience foodstuffs. One of the stores also had a specialty in sewing supplies; another maintains an inventory of toys and some specialty foods. In addition to the private stores in Point Hope, there is an arcade that caters to young people. Formerly a private enterprise, it has come to be run by the city. The **Tigara** Corporation runs a hotel and restaurant in Point Hope as well.

The effective subsistence base varies significantly between the two villages, due to geographical attributes differences in the articulation of the subsistence and commercial economies and differences in the resources utilized.

The general differences between Point Lay and Point Hope that we have discussed, in several different contexts, are as follows:

- (1) Point Hope has a much longer time-depth for permanent settlement;
- (2) Point Hope is much larger in size, and has been so historically;
- (3) Point Hope has a history of a more diverse ethnic mix, however, Point Lay presently allows non-Natives more prominent and complex roles than does Point Hope, producing a much more "traditional" atmosphere in Point Hope;

- (4) The lands around Point Lay and Point Hope were used prehistorically by different populations or “tribes” which at time were hostile toward each other;
- (5) The two communities have quite different resource “mixes.”

We will now discuss more specific areas of comparison between the two communities, and refer to these points as they are relevant.

Specific Areas of Comparison Between Point Lay and Point Hope

Population Characteristics

Point Lay and Point Hope have quite different histories since the time of contact, and this is reflected in the quality of population figures for the two communities. Little systematic information exists on population size and characteristics for Point Lay for the first third of this century. The settlement pattern in the Point Lay area was much more fluid before a village coalesced there in 1939 with numerous small villages and much seasonal movement. Point Hope has a much richer resource base which allowed year-round habitation, to the effect that Point Hope did not experience the same dramatic population dispersal episodes as **Point Lay**. **Prior** to the 1940s, however, many of the people **living in** or around **Point Hope** **lived** the same sort of **mobile** lifestyle as those **in** the **Point Lay** area. Functionally they were part of a large, although not completely overlapping, population **with** nodes at the two communities.

After 1940 the population of Point Hope began to increase significantly for the same reasons people concentrated in Point Lay. Point Hope featured the additional advantages of being a good whaling site, and having an established church and a larger initial population. Given these factors, Point Hope was able to retain a at least a minimally viable level of population under various conditions of stress in the intervening years. The Point Lay area, on the other hand, has not supported a stable village except under a very particular set of environmental, economic, or political circumstances.

During much of the first half of this century, the relationship between Point Lay and Point Hope approached that of a hinterland to a central place. Later this historical relationship became overshadowed by Point Lay’s emerging relationships with communities to the north. These relationships evolved in **large** part due to ANCSA and the formation of the North Slope Borough.

The dramatic decline in Point Hope’s population after 1850 is generally attributed to the consequences of contact with **non-Inupiat**, primarily through the introduction of disease. A non-Native shore-based whaling station was established in the village in 1887, a mission was founded there in 1890, and the village was used as a supply station for whaling in the Arctic. **All** these factors served to concentrate the area’s population in the late 1800s and early 1900s. The decline of whaling, the introduction of reindeer herding, and the increasing importance of the fur industry served to disperse the population once again on the land. When the fur market and reindeer herding declined the population in Point Hope again started to increase.

From this time on the population of Point Hope has steadily increased. Point Lay, on the other hand, was again abandoned as a permanent settlement and Wainwright, Barrow,

and Point Hope were the most common North Slope destinations of its former residents. With the passage of the ANCSA and the formation of the NSB, both Point Hope and Point Lay suddenly acquired a substantial wage economy base. This led to much more dramatic population effects in Point Lay than in Point Hope; indeed these circumstances enabled the resettlement of Point Lay as a permanent village.

Certain consistencies emerge in the recent data for Point Lay. The population is increasing with the largest relative increases occurring in the early 1970s when the village was refounded and in the early 1980s when the **CIP** funding was greatly increased. Growth since then has been steady but much more restrained. Over this time **Inupiat** comprised about 80% of the total population, the Caucasian somewhat over 15%, and the remainder is composed of children of interethnic marriages whose social ethnic identity is not yet solidified. The **Inupiat** population of Point Lay seems to be remarkably constant at about 60% male and 40% female. The sex ratio of the **non-Inupiat** population has ranged from 79% male - 21% female in 1980 to 50% male - 50% female in 1988. This change is directly attributable to the changing nature of **job** opportunities of **non-Inupiat** in Point Lay with the decline of construction.

Over the period 1980 to 1988, the **Inupiat** population of Point Lay is composed of about 40 to 43% dependent age individuals (0-19), 45 to 50% working age (20-54), and 5 to 10% elders or **proto-elders**. Dependents make up 11 to 25% of the **non-Inupiat** population and, working age between 75 to 89% of the **non-Inupiat** population. There were no elder **non-Inupiat** in 1980 or 1984, and the current figure is about 4%. **Non-Inupiat** come to Point Lay to work, and tend not to raise families there. Once past working age, most non-Inupiat leave the village.

Point Hope is a predominantly **Inupiat** village, with 93.5% of the population being **Inupiat**. The actual absolute number of **non-Inupiat** in Point Hope was 30 in 1980 and 39 in 1985. This is at most twice as many as in Point Lay, yet Point Hope's total population is four to five times the size of Point Lay and effects of **non-Inupiat** on Point Hope's aggregate population statistics are minimal. The larger size of Point Hope evens out the age and sex distributions of the general population, when compared to that of Point Lay. As in Point Lay, there are more **Inupiat** males than females, but the difference is not as great. **Also**, as in Point Lay, there were many more **non-Inupiat** males than females in 1980, but they are nearly even in the latest census information. The **Inupiat** population of Point Hope seems to be somewhat younger than that of Point Lay, and there is a larger cohort of elderly **Inupiat** in Point Hope than in Point Lay. The **non-Inupiat** population also mirrors these trends, with more children than in Point Lay, a somewhat smaller percentage of the population in the working age group, and somewhat more elderly people. For **non-Inupiat**, however, the age group 20-54 still contains 60 to 70% of the population. It appears that the same population dynamics are present in both villages, but are dampened by the larger size of the **Inupiat** population and the relatively weak effect of the small **non-Inupiat** population in Point Hope.

The most recent and best comparative population information is derived from the NSB census project of 1988, **which** canvassed all NSB villages. Population pyramids for the two villages are remarkably **similar** (Figures 59 and 60). There are, however, two major **significant** differences. **First**, Point Hope is much larger than Point Lay. Second, Point Lay has a relatively larger 41-50 age group than Point Hope and a relatively smaller 51-60 age group. Thus, Point Lay's population pyramid is more ragged and very much more concentrated at age 50 and below. This would seem to still reflect the effects of the relatively young ages of the "founding population" of Point Lay in the early 1970s. Few people over the age of 30 were part of that group. Moreover, the population of Point Hope is "becoming younger" at a faster rate than

the population of Point Lay, which suggests that young families are forming and having children faster in Point Hope than in Point Lay. The percentage of Elders in **Point Hope** is not **significantly** different than in **Point Lay**, but the **higher** base population results in a much larger group in terms of absolute **size**.

The role of emigration in the age pyramids for Point Lay and Point Hope is not clear, for a number of reasons. Point Lay is a relatively new community and so is composed almost entirely of immigrants. People are constantly going back and forth between Point Lay and other communities (Barrow, Anchorage, Wainwright, Point Hope, other villages), staying for varying periods of time in each one. It is seldom that their plans are very firm for any length of time into the future. Thus, the physically present population in Point Lay, while important, by no means represents the total group of people who consider Point Lay “home.” Similar considerations apply to Point Hope, but our information on the movement of people into and out of Point Hope is less complete than for Point Lay, so that we are unsure of the extent of the similarity. It is pretty certain that Point Lay’s population is among the most mobile on the North Slope, but people from other villages travel a great deal as well.

The age structure of the **non-Inupiat** populations in the two villages are very different, based on the census information (Figures 59 and 60). At the same time their relative sizes are very close to one another (Figure 61). In Point Lay there are few **non-Inupiat** children and no **Inupiat** over age 60. The **non-Inupiat** population is pretty much confined to working-age individuals and the population pyramid is essentially turned on its head. In Point Hope, while the **non-Inupiat** population is still concentrated in the working-age groups and the population pyramid still does not have the classic shape, at least it is broader on the bottom than the top, has only one age category with more cases than a category below it, and does include one individual over the age of 60. It would appear that more **non-Inupiat** couples with children are living in Point Hope than in the recent past or than in contemporary Point Lay. This appears to be consistent with data from previous years, but the numbers are too small to be certain. Because of our intimate knowledge of Point Lay it is also apparent that the NSB census definition of any household with at least one **Inupiat** parent as an **Inupiat** household affects these figures. There were four such households with children in Point Lay and while it would be inappropriate to classify these children as **non-Inupiat** as in fact most were culturally **Inupiat**, it would be incorrect to say that **non-Inupiat** are not becoming long-term residents. The nature of the residence is much different, however, as Point Lay has so far had few school teachers or Public Safety Officers who brought children with them and has attracted only one **non-Inupiat** family as long-term residents, and even they moved out of the village for good prior to the last period of fieldwork (April 1989). Point Hope has both **non-Inupiat** and “mixed” couples as relatively stable community members.

The ethnic composition of the **non-Inupiat** populations in the two villages is also quite different. Whereas Point Lay’s **non-Inupiat** population is almost exclusively Caucasian, just under half of Point Hope’s **non-Inupiat** population is Caucasian (Figures 62 and 63), although the composition of the other half is not totally clear. The **non-Inupiat** population of Point Lay is much more homogeneous than that of Point Hope.

In Point Lay, **Inupiat** and “mixed” households are significantly larger than Caucasian households as there are relatively few Caucasian children in Point Lay. “Mixed” households are the largest, on average, in Point Lay followed by **Inupiat** households and Caucasian households. As might be expected from NSB 1988 census data, where “mixed” households are counted as **Inupiat**, **Inupiat** household size is much larger than

non-Inupiat household size (Figure 64). The average household size in Point Hope is higher than in Point Lay and the range of household sizes is also much wider. Except for a single temporary case in Point Lay in 1984, no household over the size of six was documented for Point Lay.

The distribution and size of **non-Inupiat** households in Point Hope (Figure 65) closely resembles that of Point Lay. The most common size in both villages is two. Point Hope does have some **non-Inupiat** households as large as five members, reflecting the larger number of **non-Inupiat** children in Point Hope than in Point Lay. Point Hope **Inupiat** households exhibit a far wider range of size than exists in Point Lay, and are also far more complex in terms of the relationships of the people who comprise them. Very few three-generational or "complex" households exist in Point Lay. There are nodes of households which tend to cooperate more closely than do other households, but from observations made in Point Hope, it is clear that much more complex household types exist there than in Point Lay. In Point Hope interhousehold cooperation is often of such a nature that there are indeed **multistructure** households, where each structural unit is not really independent of the others. Many of these involve three or more generational relations, and the gradual growth and differentiation of new households out of existing ones, rather than the relatively abrupt formation of independent household relationships as seen in Point Lay.

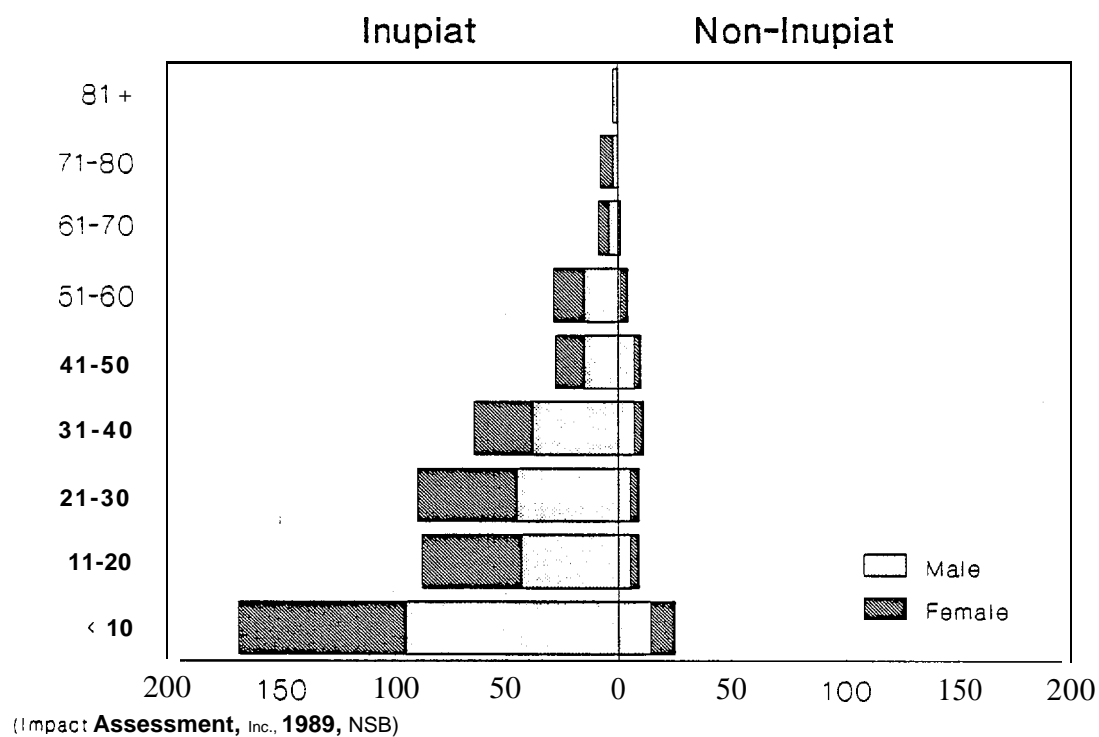
Kinship

Point Lay people are one of the "strands" of the Point Hope welter. This should not be surprising. Before and between the times Point Lay was a more-or-less permanently settled village (1880- 1900, 1930s-1950s, 1973 on), most of the people who used the Point Lay land use area **lived** somewhere else (Point Hope, **Wainwright**, Barrow, Anchorage, Fairbanks, and the lower-48 are most commonly mentioned) **while** a few lived "out on the **land**" in a seasonal pattern similar to that of their ancestors. These people would periodically spend time in one of the villages as well. Thus, the last time Point Lay was reconstituted as a year-round village, in 1973, there were several sources for its population. A recognizable and related collection of people came from the north (Wainwright and Barrow, mostly) while another came from the south (**Point** Hope, and now even **Kotzebue** and **Kivalina**). **Point** Lay was not, however, reconstituted **in** a vacuum. In **addition** to there **being** a DEW **Line** station near the village, one **Inupiat** couple had remained **during** the years when others had left. **This** couple who had remained **in Point** Lay, and are considered to have been continuously resident there, have **ties** to the **Noatak** region, where the woman was raised; to the **Point** Lay area **in** general because of the husband's reindeer herding days; and to **Wainwright**, where they **lived** for a year or so (and **it** appears that, at least officially, the **Point** Lay reindeer herd was a subunit of **Wainwright's** herd further strengthening that **tie**). Other people, **mainly** grownup children of **adults moving** back to **Point** Lay, returned from various locations **in** the lower-48. These people returned to **Point** Lay based on **family ties**, and generally as clusters of two or three (or more) related nuclear **families**. The **time** depth of **their coresidence** has been so short, relative to the more settled population of **Point** Hope, that the Point Lay population does not exhibit the same degree of multiple and complex relationships between individuals.

It must also be mentioned that young adults in Point Lay are counseled against marrying someone closely related to themselves. This seems to be an application of learning from the church and may be another reason Point Lay's population at present

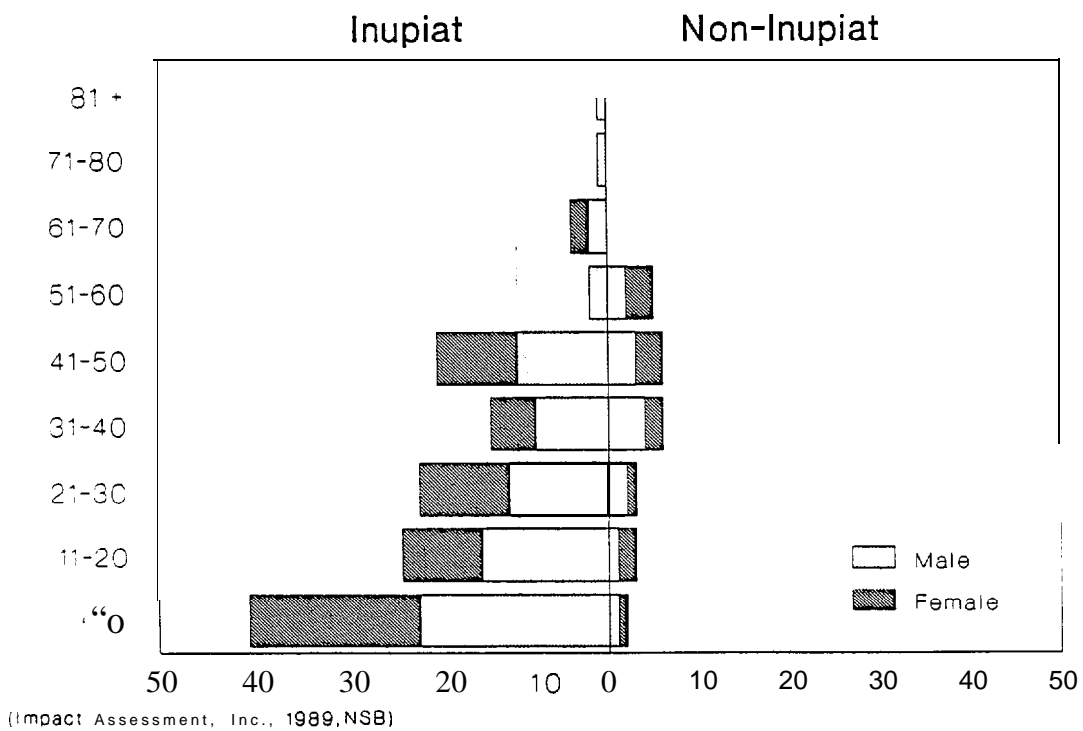
Pt. Hope Population Pyramid

1989



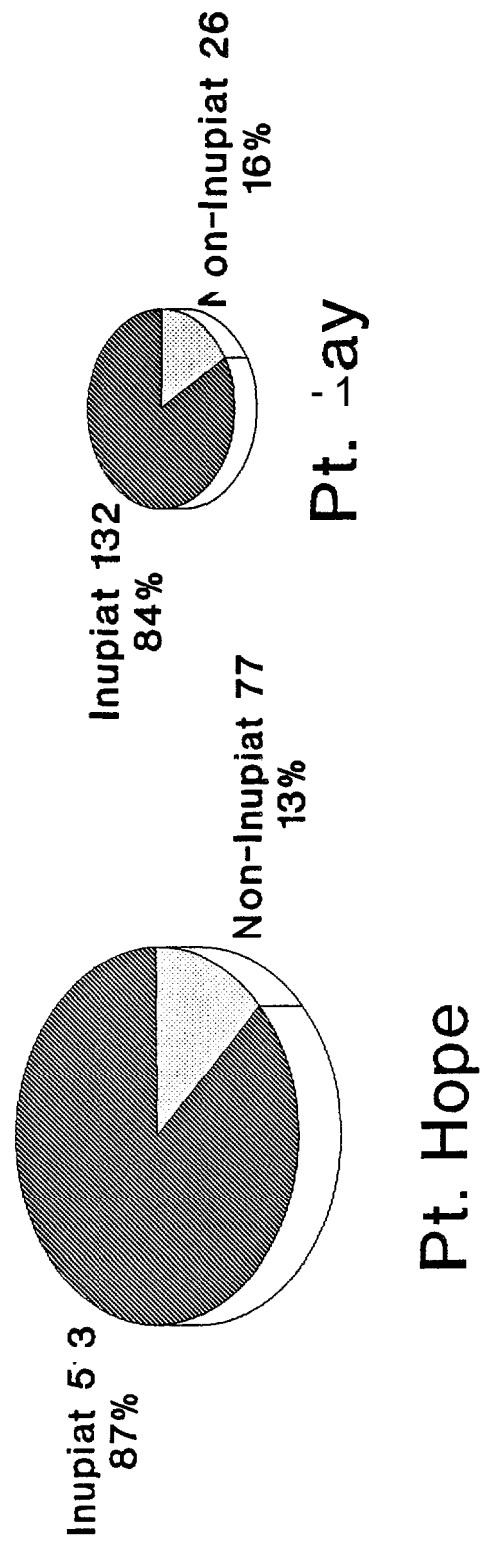
Pt. Lay Population Pyramid

1989



Figures 59 & 60

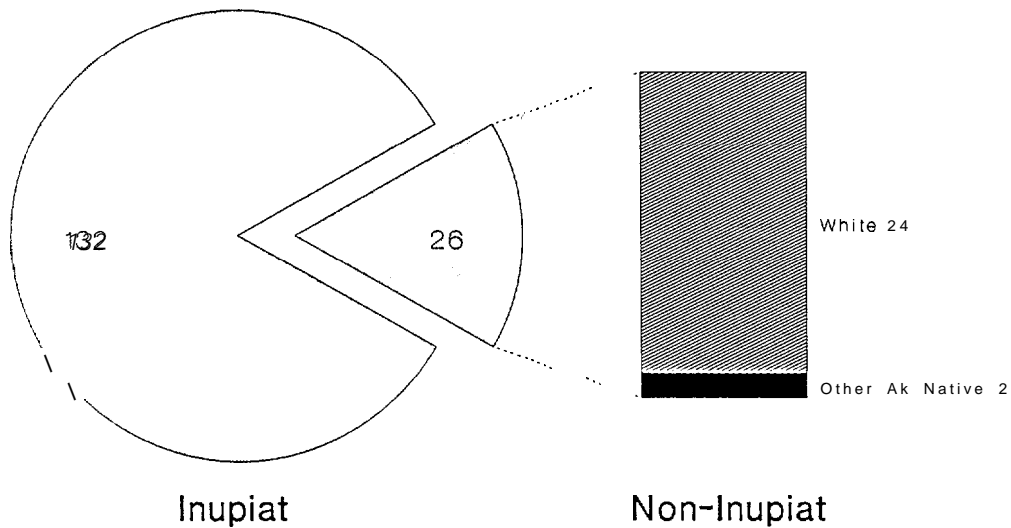
Ethnic Composition of Pt. Lay & Pt. Hope 1989



(Impact Assessment Loc N5B, 989)

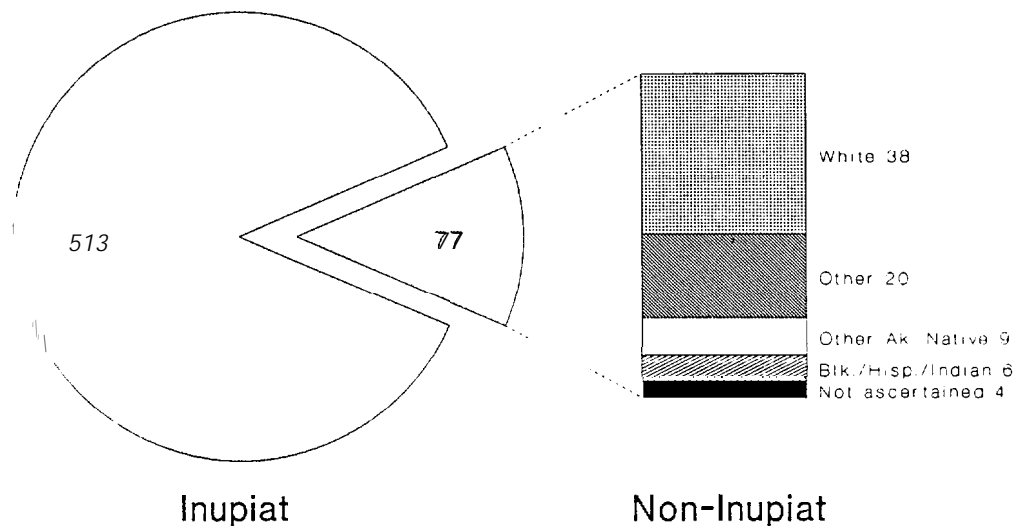
FIGURE 61

Point Lay Ethnic Composition 1989



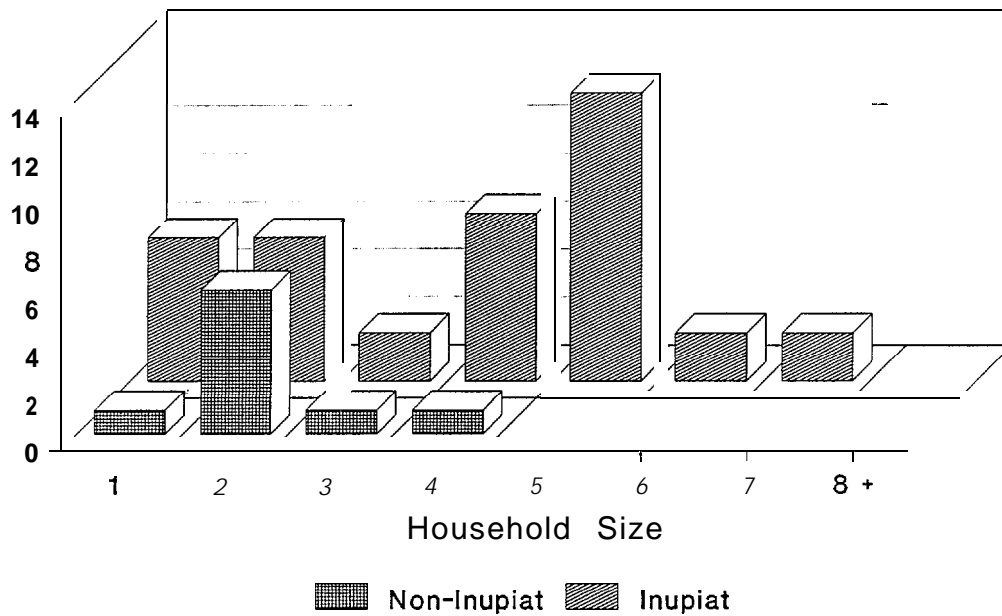
(Impact Assessment, Inc., NSB, 1989)

Point Hope Ethnic Composition 1989



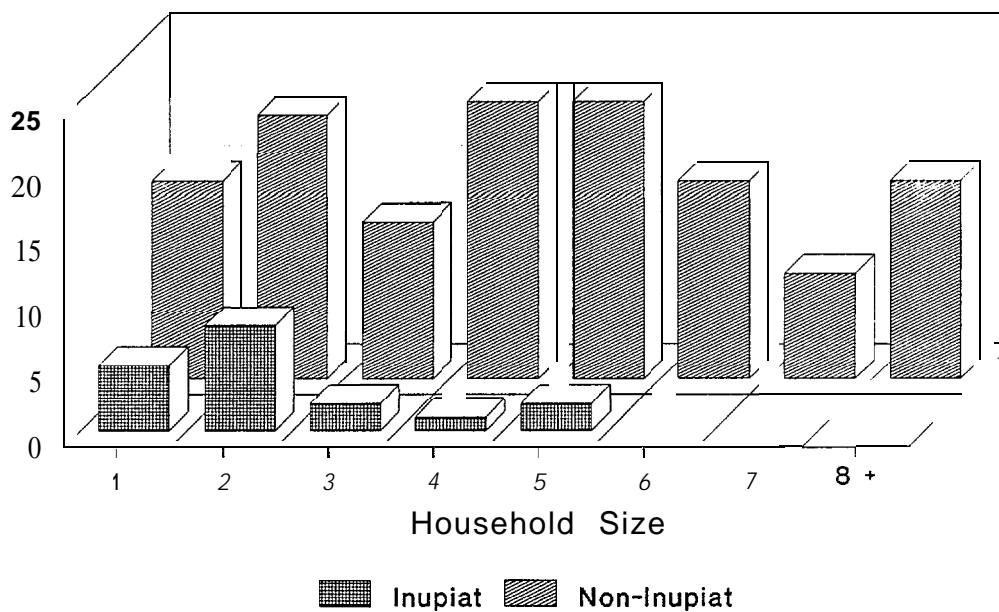
(Impact Assessment, Inc., NSB, 1989)

Household Size by Ethnicity Point Lay: 1989



(Impact Assessment, Inc., NSB, 1989)

Household Size by Ethnicity Point Hope: 1989



(Impact Assessment, Inc., NSB, 1989)

has relatively few genealogical "**braintwisters.**" There have been two or three such marriages **in** the recent past, however, that **will** disturb the **simplicity** of **Point Lay's** genealogical chart in the future.

The more complicating factor in Point Lay kinship at present is serial marriage. There is one central case where the principals are related to many people of the village. The progeny of these unions extends over a long enough time (due to age differences at marriage) to disturb any tidy way to think about generations. Male A married Female B, with at least three issue, one of whom's widower and children and grandchildren still live in Point Lay. Female B died and Male A married Female C with at least three issue, one of whom is married with children and lives in Point Lay. Male A died and Female C married Male D with six children, two living with families in Point Lay (a third just recently moved to Barrow). In addition, Male A's brother has descendants living in Point Lay, as do the three brothers of Male D. Little is known about Female B, and Female C has relations in Point Hope, **Wainwright**, and **Noatak**. It is essentially the expansion of this genealogy, through the addition of marriages at various levels, that connect nearly everyone in Point Lay together. . . . The most recent marriages have nearly completed the process and brought it to a state of elegance which future marriages will probably complicate tremendously.

There are, however, clear differences between **Point Lay** and **Point Hope**. There **is**, after all, more to relatedness than merely tracing **lines** between symbols on a chart. In both **Point Lay** and **Point Hope**, people will readily say that "everyone is related to everyone else" and literally in the next breath "I don't know much about him, he lives on the other side of town." The second statement is more likely to be true in Point Hope than in Point Lay, but must be taken with a grain of salt. What this really seems to indicate is that the strength of relationships that individuals are willing to recognize with each other varies from one context to another. People in Point Lay often appear to be more consistent in this than people in Point Hope. Most kin relationships are single line, and like any binary switch are either on or off. This would make context less important. The small size of Point Lay also makes it necessary to sometimes ignore kin relations altogether, or to fictionalize multiplicity of ties where they do not exist.

In Point Hope, on the other hand, a problem results from too many obligatory kinship ties at the same time. Which ones to activate or to respond to in any given situation will vary on the circumstances of that situation. It is context specific, and until one knows the system and the idiosyncrasies of the people in the system, it may well appear quite inconsistent. We think it is a more complex system where people have more multidimensional ties than is exhibited in Point Lay. Clearly, there are degrees of ties to the village as a whole in Point Hope, with some families being more "tightly bound" to the population of the village as a whole than others. In some situations these multiple and complex relations necessitate choices between behaviors which recognize certain connections at the expense of others.

One clear example of this was exhibited at the Point Hope 1988 **Nulukatuk**, in June. One **qalgi** had been very successful that year, harvesting four whales. The other **qalgi** had not been as lucky and had harvested only one. In addition, one of the first **qalgi's** whales was the first bowhead for the captain that took it. This heightened the significance, both emotionally and materially, of the ceremonies at the first **qalgi**. A captain's first whale is distributed even more generously than are later whales, and the captain is under an obligation to refuse no request. At the end of **Nulukatuk** his house is open to **all** and reportedly anyone can go and take whatever he wishes. In any event, it was anticipated in the community that **Nulukatuk**

ceremonies at one **qalgi** would be much more festive and materially rewarding than at the other. Consequently, the first **qalgi** attracted most of the community who attended **Nulukatuk** when both **qalgis** had activities that were going on at the same time. Only the close kinsman of the successful captain spent most of each day at the first **qalgi**. When necessary, people emphasized marriage relations to justify attendance at the first rather than the second **qalgi**. This was not a major problem, as aside from the first day (when the successful whaling boats were taken to the respective **qalgis** at the same time) all ritual distributions were first done at the first **qalgi** and then at the second **qalgi**. Most people attended both, but a core group from the second **qalgi** maintained a presence there throughout the three days of ceremony.

The distribution of muktuk also made choices of relational ties necessary. After the distribution by name, where captains could recognize whomever they chose, there was distribution by family or kin relationship, and then distribution by community, and finally a category of distribution for all guests. Again, some captains recognized a broader range of marriage relations than did others, who confined family distributions more to **consanguineal** relations. For the more general categories, people preferred to claim as close a relationship as they could since the pieces distributed tended to be larger and more preferred. Thus, an individual would try to fit within a named family group rather than a community grouping, and a specific community grouping rather than the "general guest" category, other things being equal.

Boat crews also require a careful balancing of different sorts of obligations. Most crews in Point Hope seem to be kin based. Ideally a man would like a crew formed primarily of siblings, children, and female in-laws. Some crews, because of circumstances, have to rely upon male in-laws to form an adequately-sized male working group. A few crews rely to a considerable extent on work **place** and/or friendship recruitment (it is often difficult to separate the two factors). Almost all crews have at least one crewman from outside of Point Hope. A few of these outsiders are from Point Lay or Barrow, but most are from communities to the south of Point Hope. Most are recruited on the basis of (sometimes rather distant) kinship, but some are recruited on the basis of their friendship with other crew members.

One captain (Captain X) wished to have a crew based upon his immediate family. However, in 1988, Captain X ended up making a number of rather unusual accommodations in order to prepare all of his equipment and recruit a crew. He was in Anchorage for much of the preparation period and his son (the harpooner for his crew) had difficulty mobilizing the two regular crew members from Point Hope. This son was essentially too young to direct these other individuals. When Captain X returned to Point Hope he had to finish preparations in a hurry. He asked a long-term friend to help with the preparation of the whaling bombs in return for an unspecified big favor at some time in the future. He hired another man (a brother or the father of one of his crewmen) to help put the skins on the boat, a skill no one else available possessed. The frame of the boat had already been repaired for this whaling season by one of Captain X's sons with the help of a non-Native. Efforts to obtain one or more crewmen from out of town were intensive, as most Point Hope men were already committed to one crew or another. Finally, at least one individual was recruited from the south, from **Noatak**. There is now reportedly much more difficulty in assembling a whaling crew because of the increased numbers of crews going out. Another son, who worked full-time, helped with preparations but could only be out on the ice after work and tended to return to the village to sleep so that he could get up to go to work. A third son claimed to be on Captain Y's crew and thus was unavailable to help with his father's crew. The crew then consisted of a man of

about 50 from down south, two sons of the captain in their 20s and 30s, a Point Hope man of similar age, and a Point Hope man of perhaps 50. The last was the only long term crew member.

In 1989, three of Captain X's sons were on his crew. One son was the harpooner. Another of this man's sons claimed to be on Captain Y's crew and used this as a way to avoid doing any of the preparation work for Captain X's crew. It is unknown if he actually did work with Captain Y's crew. When the time came for boats to go out to the lead this son did go out with Captain X's crew. Because of the ambivalence of his membership, however, he was free to go back to the village to run errands during the day. If a whale had been spotted while he was on the ice **he** would not have been **denied** permission to go as a paddler. However, **his** membership **in** the crew was less than total. **This** son **did** not go out **with** Captain X's crew last year (1988). If he did whale with Captain Y last year he would have been entitled to a share of muktuk which would have been welcome in the house, as Captain X has not taken a whale recently. This is considered one legitimate reason to choose to serve on a **non-**kinsman's crew. It potentially increases the chances of the household obtaining at least a minimal share of muktuk. The third son helped a good deal with the preparation in a support capacity. Both the first and third son had full-time jobs and were not usually out on the ice during the day. They would go out after work. The first would stay out at night, but the third felt it necessary to return to his wife and young child every night. Thus, he spent very little time out on the ice.

Other crew members were the man of about fifty from Point Hope, the same man of about fifty from Noatak as from 1988, and a friend he had brought along for the experience. This friend had never whaled before. The Point Hope man worked full-time and so was on the ice mainly in the evenings and at night. The other regular Point Hope crew member had passed away. He was replaced by his younger brother who served as a **boyer**. Another boyer was the son of the other Point Hope crew member. Two of this boy's friends also served as boyers, apparently choosing this crew because of their relationship to him.

Because the captain no longer goes out in the boat, and was usually only out on the ice in the morning, there was a need for an acting captain. This last whaling season (1989) this was handled in a consensus way, with the older crew members perhaps having more influence than the others. Thus, the man from Noatak and the older Point Hope crew member were listened to carefully, and the man from Noatak was probably out on the ice the most. The two years that we were in Point Hope this crew always had to make calls attempting to fill out their crew. From talking with other captains, this is not at all unusual. Indeed, many men in Point Lay receive such calls every year. Because Point Lay is not a whaling community, most men have no regular crew membership. Many do have full-time jobs, however, which prevents their going out. No whales were taken in Point Hope this year due to the very poor conditions. Leads never opened up in appropriate places and the weather was poor.

Interethnic Marriages

Although marriage to a Native village resident, and particularly raising a family in the village, would seem to imply a long-term commitment to the community, it would appear that the pattern seen in Point Hope of even long term-resident non-Natives leaving the village in later years of life will quite possibly be seen in future years in Point Lay. There are five cases to be concerned with in Point Lay -- the four interethnic marriages previously discussed, and a divorced Caucasian woman. Of the four couples, two will probably leave the village upon retirement. Of the other

two, one could very possibly stay in Point Lay after retirement. The other could be a candidate for splitting time between another location and Point Lay, especially as they have begun to talk about the educational needs of their child in the near future, given her age and the very small **number** of high school students in Point Lay. Thus, the notable exception to the general residence patterns of non-Natives found in both communities is the divorced woman in Point Lay. She was married to a Point Lay **Inupiat**, who also still lives in the community. She works periodically, but has a history of not working steadily. Her relations at times have been strained with a large number of the **Inupiat** residents of Point Lay. She has a son married to a non-Native, a daughter married to an **Inupiat**, and an unmarried son living in Point Lay, all in separate households. All came to Point Lay after she did. All contribute to her staying there (as she helps them with **childcare** and so on). Interestingly enough, her former husband and his relations also make sure that her needs are met. In fact, this help has been extended to her other kin as well. Her former husband selected and trained her son (his former stepson, who is married to a non-Native) for an important job with the Utilities Department, a department which is now being run by the brother of the former husband.

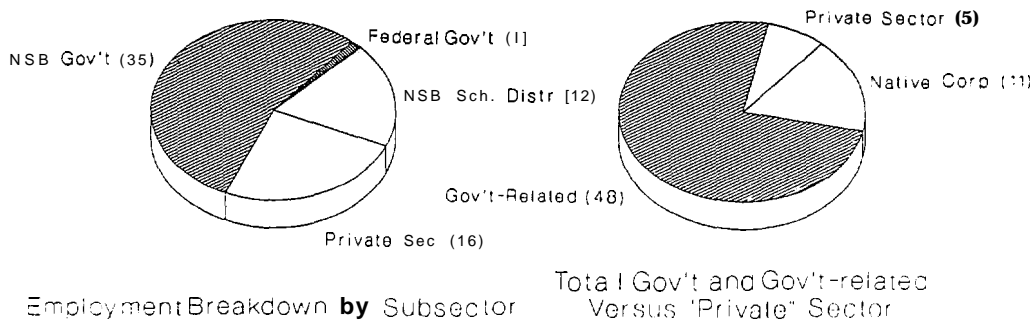
This woman's primary reason for coming to Point Lay was her marriage. After the divorce she gives as a reason for staying here the explanation that residency in Point Lay is as close to being free as a person can get on this Earth. She is the one individual who still lives a substantial part of her time out on the spit (others will camp there in summer or go there on picnics). She is thus temperamentally suited to living in Point Lay and has a temporary kinship support network in the village. What perhaps differentiates her most from many other non-Natives in Point Lay is the fact that she does not exhibit the "gold bug" (behavior motivated to an unusually high degree by economic incentives) that so many of the other non-Native "residents" do. It is **important** to underline the fact that this woman **represents** the only non-Native adult in either Point Hope or Point Lay who remains a village resident in the absence of marriage to a Native or a compelling occupational reason for continuing residency.

Sectors of the Economy

Figures 66 and 67 show this breakdown of the economy by sector for Point Lay and Point Hope. The first pie chart for each figure shows the breakdown as classified by the **NSB** 1988 census. The second combines all those employers and jobs whose funding is ultimately derived from government sources to display a more realistic assessment of the size of the "public" sector in NSB villages. The government-related employment and jobs includes the NSB (including the school district), the state and federal government, local (village) government, health and social services, and most construction jobs (funded directly through the **NSB**). A great deal of the remaining public sector jobs are actually accounted for by the local village corporation which receives a good portion of its working funds from the NSB or NSB subsidies. Thus, to all intents and purposes NSB village economies are economies without private sectors. This has been described in somewhat greater detail in the text.

One aspect of these tables that is not immediately obvious is the implications they have for the future. Point Lay now has essentially full-employment, in the sense that most people have as much work as they wish. In Point Hope there is already substantial unemployment. However, because of the age structure of these villages (and the NSB as a whole) this situation is likely to become much more bleak. Relatively few people are in the upper age cohorts, so few people will be leaving the

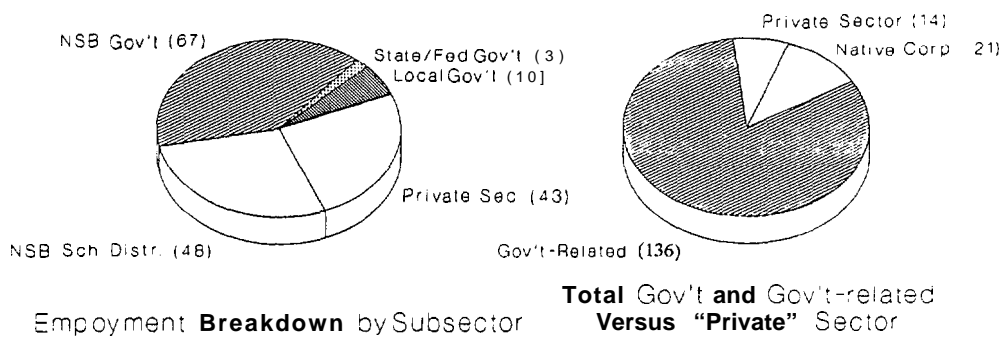
Employment by Sector Point Lay: 1988



(Impact Assessment, Inc., NSB, 1989)

N = 64

Employment by Sector Point Hope: 1988



(Impact Assessment, Inc., NSB, 1989)

N = 171

labor force through the process of aging. On the other hand, many people will be maturing into the labor force. If a substantial portion of these individuals stay in the villages the unemployment/underemployment merit issue will be much more severe. There is little hope for demographic relief on this score, as the younger the cohort the larger it is. The NSB is currently investigating the most efficient use of its resources for the creation of jobs and the provision of services in the villages.

Household Economic Flow Characteristics

As discussed earlier, the role of Point Hope as a regional center has declined to the point where it no longer functions as **one in** any significant way. Ironically, perhaps, much smaller Point Lay acts as a center for employment opportunities for residents of Point Hope. The overriding economic distinction between the two communities is that Point Lay features “overemployment” (there are more jobs available than residents are willing to fill) while unemployment is seen locally as perhaps the major problem facing Point Hope today. Both Point Lay and Point Hope may be characterized as “overcapitalized,” as may any of the North Slope communities when compared to similar-sized communities in the lower-48, but given the different scales of the two communities this has had very different results in each community. Similar programs under the North Slope Borough have had much greater per capita impact in Point Lay than in Point Hope.

Population, Households, Employment, and Income

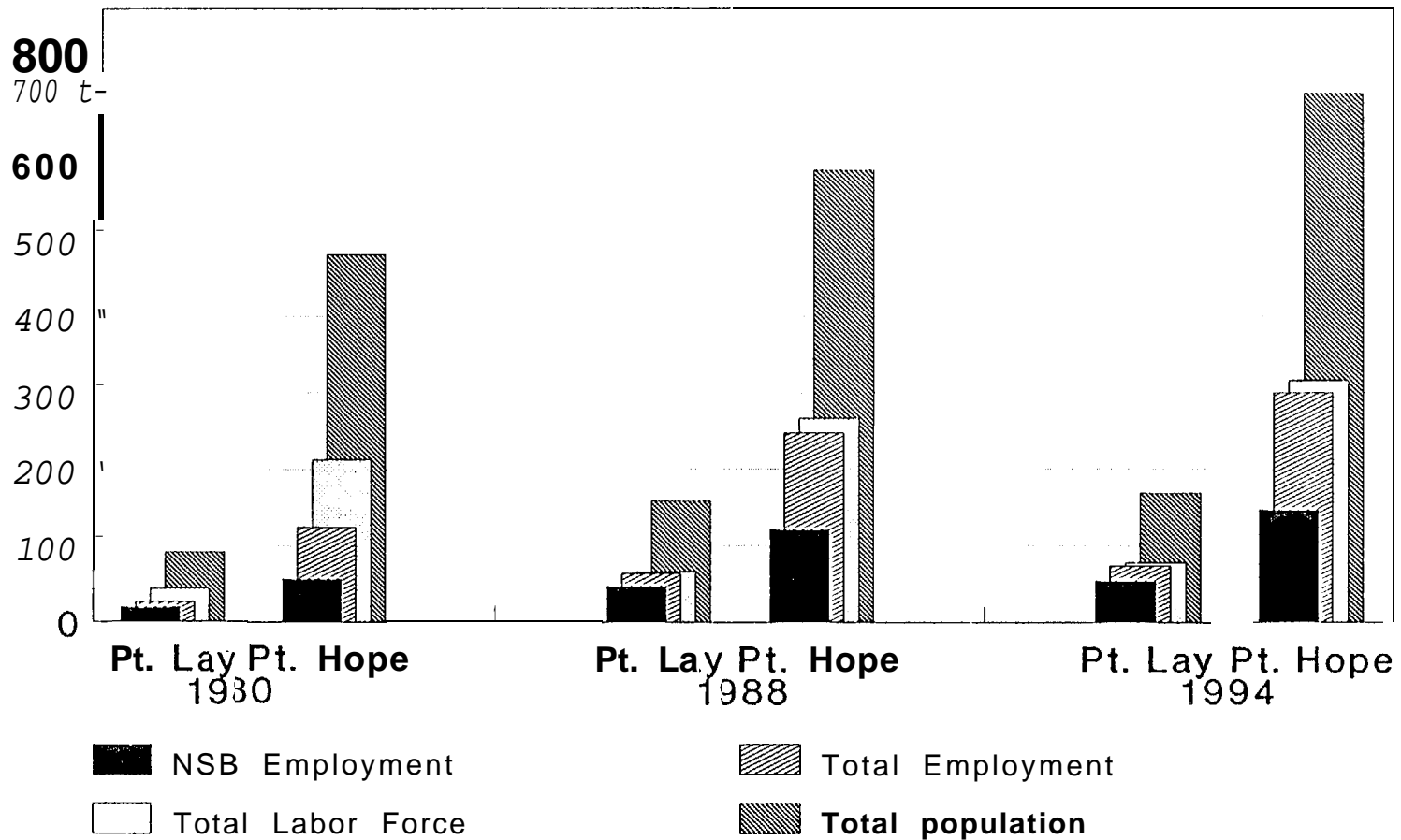
Comparative labor force employment for Point Hope and Point Lay are displayed in Figures 68, 69, and 70. Figure 68 reports these figures for 1980, 1988, and a projected 1994 (NSB projection). All three years are very similar, Figure 69, which includes estimates of underemployment, shows that for both Point Lay and Point Hope there is a very low rate of unemployment or rather there are very few individuals of working age unemployed for the entire twelve months of the year who are actively looking for work. What is only evident on the graphic by the underemployment note, however, is that there is a significant portion of the labor force in each of the villages which is employed for only part of the year.

Figure 70 displays the combination of underemployment and unemployment as “effective unemployment” (“effective unemployment” = “unemployment” + “underemployment”) for the two villages. (That is, “effective unemployment” = persons in the labor force who are not working.) The two villages display a clear difference in this respect.

Point Lay has an effective **unemployment** rate of about 20%. The effective unemployment rate in Point Hope is between 30 and 40%. However, the larger size of Point Hope makes it clear that percentages do not tell the entire story. While there are over three times as many people working in Point Hope, the real difference is that there are many more effectively unemployed people in Point Hope than in Point Lay. Point Lay has a labor force that actually has little slack. Point Hope has a labor force that has a great deal of unused reserves.

Population, Labor Force, and Employment Point Lay and Point Hope

FIGURE 6
487



(IAI, from NSB Planning Department)

Population, Labor Force, and Employment

1988: Pt. Lay & Pt. Hope

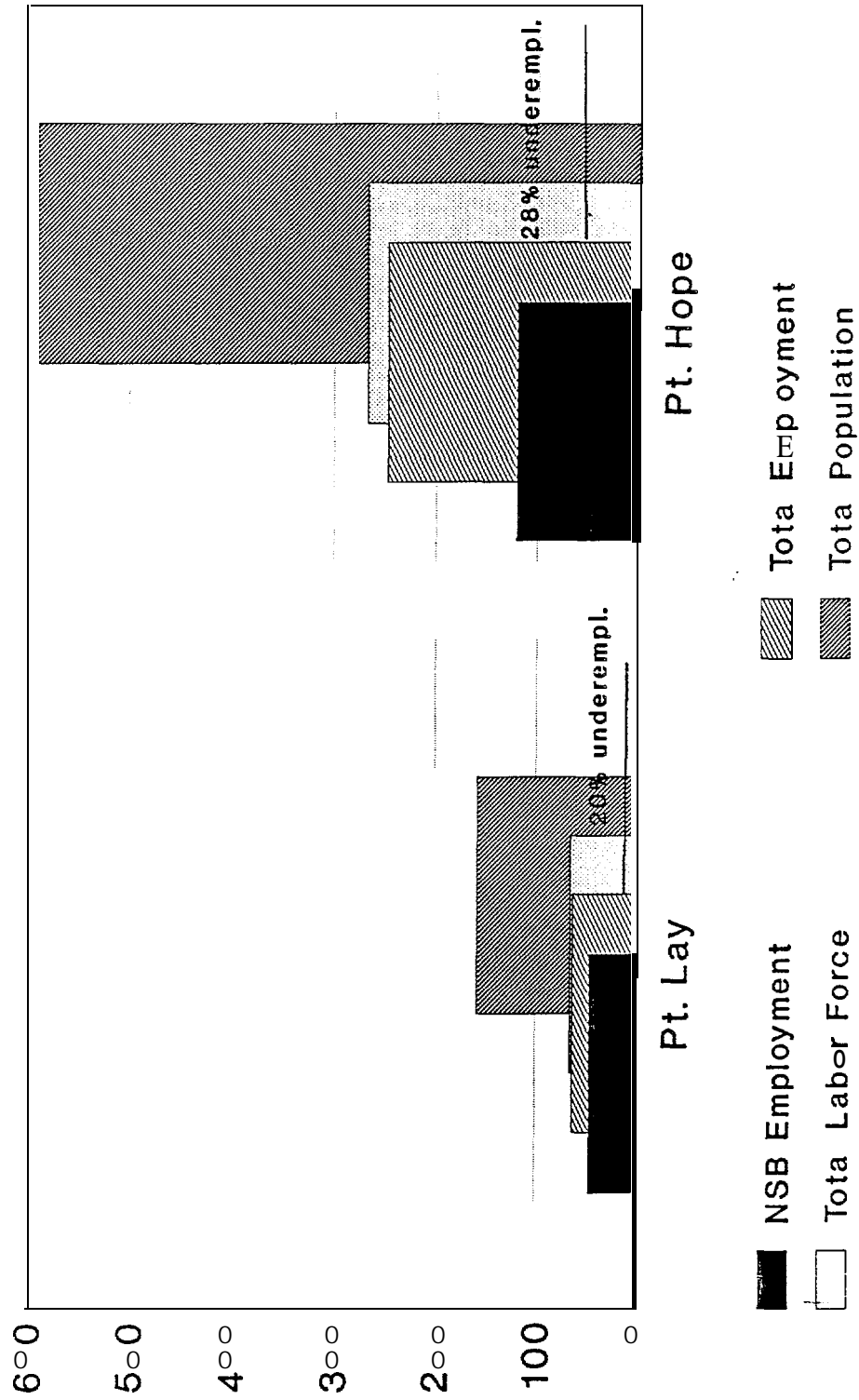
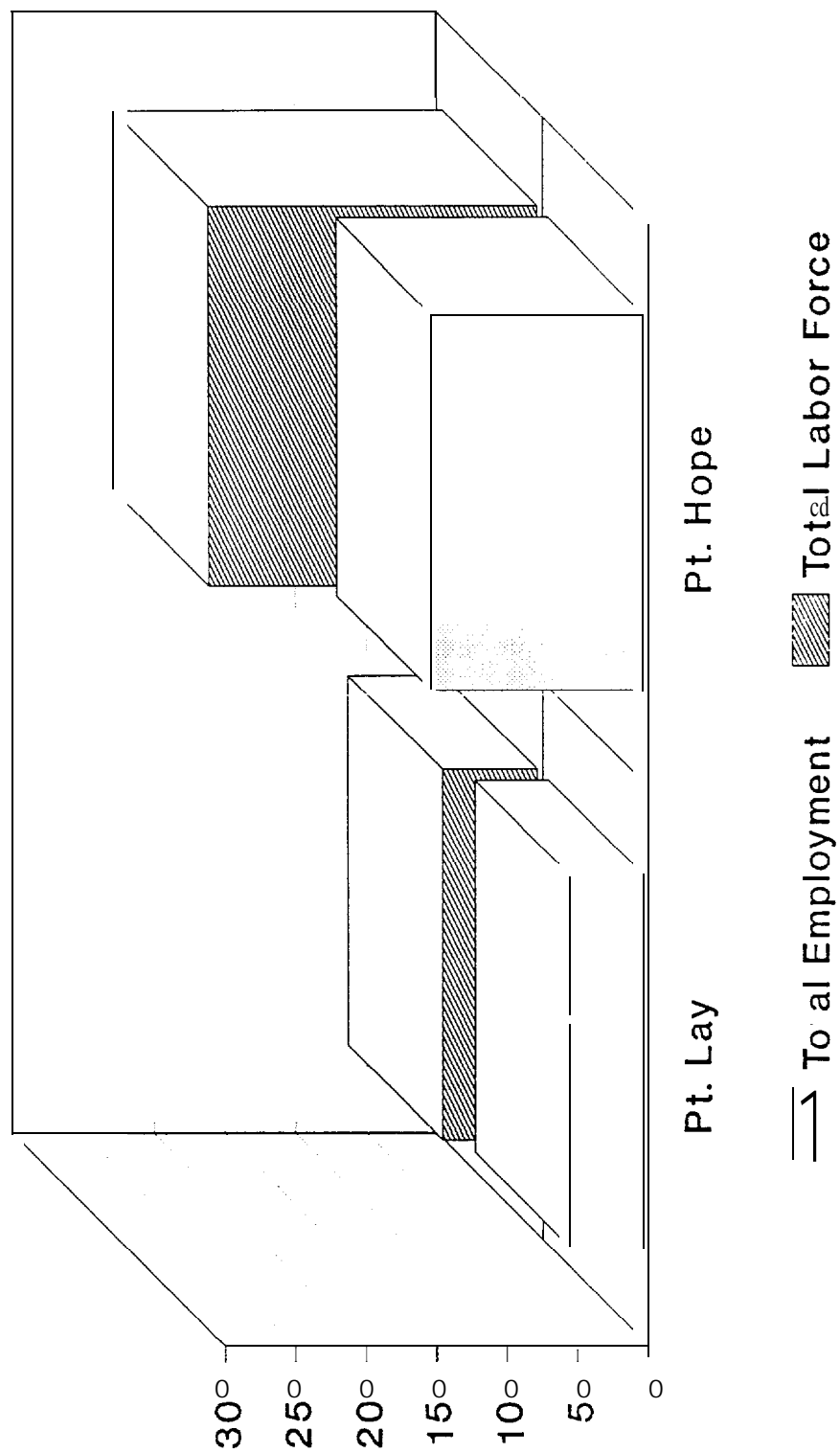


FIGURE 69

(IAI, from NSB Planning Department)

Effective Unemployment(*) 1988: Pt. Lay & Pt. Hope



(* Effective unemployment = "underemployment" + "unemployment")

FIGURE 70

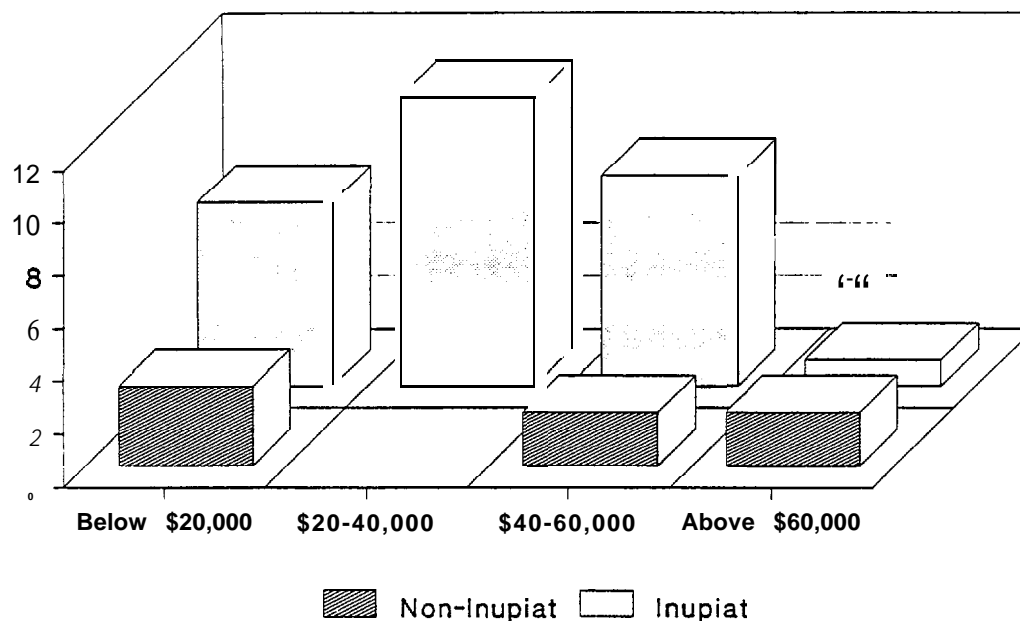
Figures 71 and 72 graphically show the relationship between **ethnicity** and household income in Point Hope and Point Lay. The Inupiat pattern is similar in both villages, with the most common level of household income as \$20,000 to \$40,000. However, the Point Hope distribution is skewed towards the lower income end of this range, whereas the Point Lay distribution is skewed to the upper end. Incomes in Point Lay are also more evenly distributed. In both villages there is a small percentage of households with incomes over \$60,000. **Non-Inupiat** households contrast with this pattern. Even though there are many fewer non-Inupiat than **Inupiat** households, in both villages the number of **non-Inupiat** households with incomes greater than \$60,000 is more than, or equal to, the number of **Inupiat** households with similar income. In Point Hope it is clear that the average income for a non-Inupiat household is well above that of an **Inupiat** household. The distributions are nearly opposites of each other. The highest income level has the most number of **non-Inupiat** households, but the least number of **Inupiat** households. Lower income levels have fewer **non-Inupiat** households and more **Inupiat** households, until the less-than-\$20,000 household income level is reached. Here there are no **non-Inupiat** households in Point Hope, but a very significant number of **Inupiat** households.

Non-Inupiat household income levels in Point Lay are much more complex. Their distribution is **bimodal**. Incomes are either very high (following the Point Hope pattern) or lower than \$20,000. There are no non-Inupiat households in Point Lay with the most common **Inupiat** household income of \$20,000 to \$40,000. As the NSB census information is confidential, we have not been able to obtain details to explain this difference in distribution. However, based on our knowledge of Point Lay both before and after the NSB census was taken, we have a reasonable assurance that we know the circumstances of these non-Inupiat households with incomes below \$20,000.

There are several obvious implications for sharing from the relationships between **ethnicity** and income. **Non-Inupiat** households tend to have very high incomes and smaller household sizes than **non-Inupiat** households. They also do not participate in the village sharing networks to any great degree. Those which do are the few **low-income non-Inupiat** households in Point Lay. Thus, a disproportionate amount of income earned in the villages is essentially “locked away” from the village economic system. **Non-Inupiat** spend very little in the village so there is absolutely no contribution, let alone an economic multiplier, to the economic system from these jobs. The **Inupiat** perception that **non-Inupiat** are only temporary transients interested in the money they can earn is supported by these figures. In Point Lay the situation may be even more extreme because of the five “mixed” marriage cases which the NSB census classifies as **Inupiat** households. Of these five, at least one (and possibly three) earn over \$60,000 because both spouses work. The couple would not be in Point Lay, however, if the **non-Inupiat** partner did not have a job in most cases.

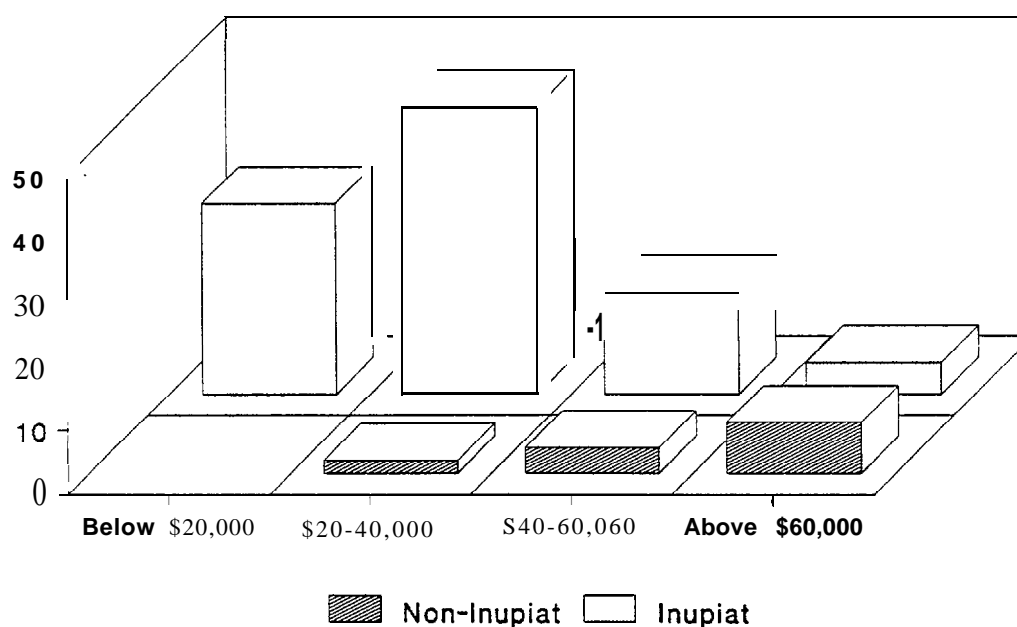
Point Hope does feature formal **redistributive** mechanisms that are not found in Point Lay, and this somewhat ameliorates the differences in income and resource flow between households in the communities than would otherwise be the case. For example, while **qalgi** groups in Point Hope today are symbolic and no longer function as a major **redistributive** structure, whaling itself in less formal ways serves to redistribute resources within the community. Subsistence is a specialty of some Point Hope residents and these goods move through networks in the community. There are no analogous subsistence specialists in Point Lay. As noted earlier, this absence is attributable to a number of different factors, including the greater availability of wage work in Point Lay, fewer residents and smaller households, lower overall subsistence harvest, and the history of the present settlement of Point Lay.

Inupiat & Non-Inupiat Household Income Point Lay: 1989



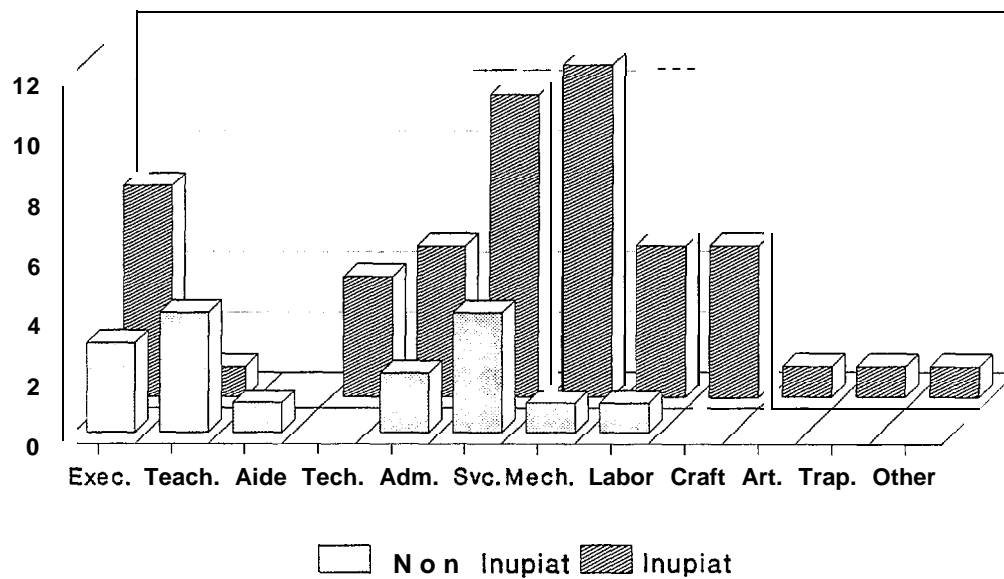
(Impact Assessment, inc., NSB, 1969)

Inupiat & Non-Inupiat Household Income Point Hope: 1989



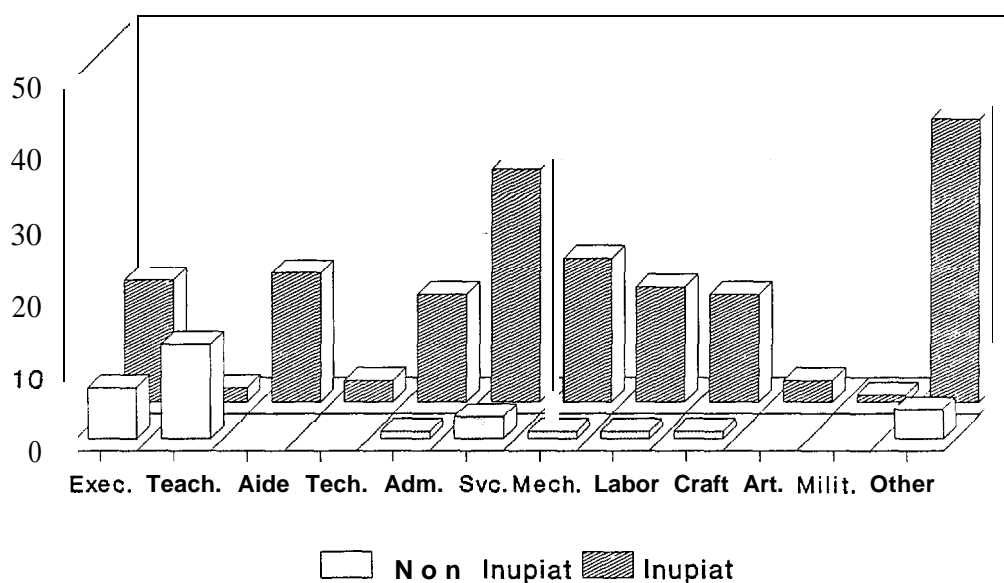
(Impact Assessment, Inc., NS8, 1989)

Occupation Composition of Employment Pt. Lay: 1988



(Impact Assessment, Inc., NSB, 1989)

Occupation Composition of Employment Pt. Hope: 1988



(Impact Assessment, Inc., NSB, 1989)

In Point Hope, there were cases observed where some **of** the most active subsistence harvesters were unemployed. Subsistence harvesting, in Point Hope at least, is seen as an activity that is useful and contributes to the well-being of a household. If an individual is unemployed, he can find useful subsistence pursuits to occupy his time. **In** one case, a particular individual was quite unhappy about being without a job, but he did receive substantial reinforcement for being a good hunter from the rest of his family. It was apparent that just sitting around the house was not an attractive option, and he used the time on his hands to intensify his subsistence efforts, going out almost every day. The following year, this same individual's efforts were far less intensive when he had a full-time job.

In Point Hope, a larger population and larger households seem also to contribute to the presence of subsistence specialists as well when compared to Point Lay. For example, based on observations in the community, Elders consume a good deal of subsistence resources even in households whose other members consume very little. As noted earlier, there are fewer Elders in Point Lay than in Point Hope; Elders constitute a "consumer population" for subsistence resources in Point Hope in a way that they do not in Point Lay. That is to say, they are people who desire the resources and social rewards -- in the form of various expressions of approval -- earned for giving Elders subsistence goods. Additionally, the larger household size in Point Hope, combined with lower per capita employment, increases the value of the provision of subsistence resources for immediate household consumption.

It is also important to note that the stability and abundance of resources in the Point Hope area favors subsistence harvesting as a steady activity over the Point Lay area. Point Hope is relatively rich in subsistence resources, and the topography, bathymetry, and ocean circulation patterns in the area combine to make them accessible throughout the year. This makes it possible for a person to pursue subsistence harvesting on a steady basis on a **level** in Point Hope that is not possible in Point Lay.

It is also the case that subsistence specialists have had greater opportunities to learn their skills in Point Hope, due to the different histories of the two communities. To be a successful subsistence specialist, one must know not only the habits and characteristics of the fish and game being sought, but one must know the local environment as well. In Point Hope, there is a large number of adults who have lived in the community and who have spent time pursuing subsistence resources on the land and sea and in the rivers near the community for the majority of both their formative and adult years. This means that there are substantial numbers of individuals who have grown up on the land themselves and are adept at finding subsistence resources for themselves. It also means that there is a pool of knowledgeable individuals from whom inexperienced younger people can learn, and, due to the multiplicity of ties in Point Hope, that there is likely to be an adult relative of a young person who is willing to take that young person along when going on subsistence forays. In Point Lay, there are no adults who are still very active subsistence harvesters who spent both their formative and adult years in the community. The one couple who have spent this much time in the Point Lay area recently reduced their subsistence harvesting activities markedly due to health reasons.

It is hard to overestimate the importance of a good working **knowledge** of the landscape around a village and **all** of its seasonal and multi-year variations, and **in** fact this knowledge is used, at least in part, as the basis for residency decisions. In one case known in Point Hope, a man's spouse was from another village on the North

Slope. At the time, the man was unemployed and there was work available in his spouse's village. His wife encouraged a move to that village in order for him to get work and, **while** there were perhaps several reasons why the man **did** not want to move, one of **his** primary reasons for not wanting to go was that he **did** not know anything about the land and sea around that **village**. It was clear that the man, who took **pride in his ability** as a hunter, **did not relish** the **idea** of **being** put **in** the **position** of a rank apprentice. **While he** clearly wanted **a** job, it was also important for **him** to be able to undertake subsistence as a competent **individual**. A related reason was also **his position in** an established whaling crew **in Point Hope**. Whaling was also a very **significant** yearly event for **this** man, and **joining** the crew of **affinal** relatives from another **village** as a paddler, or even **joining** the crew of **non-relative**, **did** not appeal to him either.

Household Membership and Sharing

Assignment of household membership in Point Lay and Point Hope varies in rigidity. There is a degree of fluidity of membership between and among **Inupiat** households in both villages, ranging from zero in certain cases to something close to shared membership at the other extreme. Houses in Point Lay are more independent than those in Point Hope, but some cooperation still takes place and is probably more frequent than occurs between proximate lower-48 households. In Point Hope there are at least a few examples of a single household encompassing more than one physical structure, and there are larger households in Point Hope than in Point Lay. Some habitation units in both communities are recognized to habitually share or cooperate more often than others. In most cases, but not all, this is based on kinship relations (whether "real" or "fictive").

In general terms, there is much less sharing between **non-Inupiat** than **Inupiat** households in both communities. This may be less significant than is apparent; however, due to the fact that **non-Inupiat** households are seldom related by kin ties, for that reason **alone** one would expect to find less sharing. Few **non-Inupiat** families in Point Lay have children and there are several single **non-Inupiat** who live alone. A further ethnic difference is that even single **Inupiat** tend to live together to share expenses and scarce housing resources. This is similar to what is seen in Point Hope, although **non-Inupiat** residents tend to share housing as well.

Inupiat households include **all** age groups and, thus, young couples with no children, old people with no live-in children, and solitaires, as well as fully-developed families. The sharing that does occur between **non-Inupiat** households appears to be of a different nature than that which occurs between **Inupiat** households. Based on observations in both communities, **non-Inupiat** individuals are likely to socialize and prepare meals for each other, but are much less likely than **Inupiat** individuals to simply drop off the "raw material" for meals, such as a caribou hindquarter or hamburger patties. **Non-Inupiat** in both communities see themselves and are often seen by other **non-Inupiat** as generous, but the sharing is of a different nature than that seen among **Inupiat**. In Point Hope, some **non-Inupiat** were known to borrow and lend **snowmachines** and other tools and equipment. **Non-Inupiat** commonly put up transient **non-Inupiat** in their homes and provide meals and loan clothing and equipment to visitors. This sharing tends to be more bounded and more specific than that seen among **Inupiat** individuals. Sharing of living quarters is more common in Point Hope than in Point Lay, which may be attributable to income and housing stock, but is probably a combination of per capita income, availability, and willingness (and ability) of older people to be child caretakers, and a general community ethos.

In Point Hope, young **Inupiat** families tend to share living quarters with members of older generations to a greater extent than similar families in Point Lay. In one network described, a **large** and not atypical household was in the process of the gradual growth and differentiation of new households (and nuclear families) out of an existing household (and more extended family) where expenses and chores were shared in a more direct way than is seen in Point Lay.

Division of Labor

The subject of **division** of labor is covered in several other sections of this document. Here we will briefly recap general differences in the division of labor in **Point Lay** and **Point Hope** in three categories age, sex, and ethnicity.

An overriding difference in the patterns of distribution of labor in Point Lay and Point Hope age, sex, and ethnicity is the difference in employment opportunities. In Point Lay, there are more jobs available in the community than there are people who are interested in filling them. In Point Hope, on the other hand, jobs are scarce and there are many unemployed people interested in wage labor jobs. In a survey conducted in Point Hope in 1986 by the North Slope Borough, 42% of the respondents replied that during the last year someone in their household wanted to work but could not find a **job**. This fundamental difference in the labor market influences the division of labor in the communities and, indeed, may be seen as the primary cause of most of the differences found.

Unemployment and underemployment in Point Hope is highly variable by household. Where some households have no steady wage earners, there is one household known that has two full-time and two part-time jobs divided between the two working age adults in the household. According to a recent survey conducted by the North Slope Borough, 43% of the respondents contacted in Point Hope feel the need to pursue more education in order to earn higher pay. Interestingly, more than half of the individuals contacted for this same survey indicated a willingness to travel outside of the village for employment. This response must be interpreted with caution, however, as these individuals had not moved out of the village for employment. Point Hope does remain a base even for many of those who do leave the village for employment. Every adult interviewed in Point Hope had spent some significant amount of time out of the village, typically for employment opportunities.

A major criteria for the distribution of jobs in both communities is one of assessed need. When individuals are hired locally there is an explicit recognition in both villages, although it may be stated in a variety of ways, that "people who need the jobs get them first." Several factors, including age, sex, and **ethnicity** determine who is seen to "need" a job.

In terms of age, in both villages the higher paying-higher status jobs tend to be occupied by middle-aged male **Inupiat** who are supporting a household. Young people tend to be excluded from the tight job market in Point Hope with the exception of some jobs that are more or less designated for the young, such as recreation aides at the school. In Point Lay, age is not a factor in access to jobs in general, but is certainly a limiting factor in access to the most desired jobs.

In general, Point Lay has a sexual division of labor similar to Point Hope. Men tend to hold either permanent or seasonal full-time, relatively high-paying jobs. Women, on the other hand, tend to hold either permanent full-time relatively less **well-**paying jobs that men do not compete for or permanent part-time jobs. As a

generality, women holding the less rewarding part-time positions do so because the job is compatible with **childcare** responsibilities and/or they have less economic incentive for working than men in **the** community, **given** local expectations for contributions to households. Differences are seen between the two communities due to the fact that the competition for jobs is much less in Point Lay than in Point Hope. In Point Lay, some jobs go unfilled or are filled by outsiders that would be filled by residents were they available in Point Hope. Additionally, in Point Hope, some men who are unemployed, underemployed, or seasonally employed are subsistence specialists. In **this** sense, the **division** of labor by sex **in Point** Hope runs along commercial and subsistence **lines in** a way that **it** does not **in Point** Lay. There are men who contribute markedly to **their** own and related households through the steady contribution of subsistence foods. Subsistence producers **also** tend to have the **fruits** of **their** labor **divided in** a way that **is** different than money obtained through employment -- **it** tends, **in** general, to enter **wider distribution** networks.

Not all subsistence products are distributed in the same manner, however, and the particular manner of distribution in any one case is primarily a function of the particular animal species taken. In Point Hope, for example, when a bowhead whale is caught, there are very formal rules of distribution which are described in detail elsewhere (see VanStone 1962:48-53). Essentially, every part of the whale is designated to go to a particular group of people, and portions of the catch find their way throughout the entire village and beyond. For a caribou taken by a subsistence hunter, on the other hand, the distribution pattern is, of course, less extensive and formalized, but there are nonetheless expectations about what is appropriate. For example, when a man takes a caribou it is expected that he not only share it with his own household but that if they have enough food for their immediate needs that he share it with **non-coresident** older relatives as well, particularly if they do not have caribou in immediately accessible storage. Based on observations in Point Hope, the distribution of seals is more like caribou than like bowhead, but it would appear that there is even more of a preference for giving **Elders** seals than there is for caribou. (While this was not closely investigated, the value placed on giving **seals** to Elders may be due to taste preferences and the association of seals with the Point Hope of the Elders' youth. Seals were a central species to life in Point Hope in the not-too-distant past, providing not only food and oil for human consumption, but oil for light and heat, food for dog teams, material for storage containers and whaling floats, and so on.) Most Elders are recognized to strongly prefer subsistence food, and there is a high value placed on making sure Elders seldom run out of such food. In several known cases, Elders were given subsistence food by individuals who were not immediate kin. Often caught in large quantities, fish are distributed even less formally. Fish are frequently given to people who are otherwise not given subsistence goods on a regular basis, such as distant kin and even non-kin. In at least two cases observed in Point Hope, **non-Inupiat** individuals were given fish by **Inupiat** individuals, although whale and seal products would not have been given within the same reciprocity context. (Caribou is sometimes given to **non-Inupiat** friends by **Inupiat** individuals -- it is generally assumed by **Inupiat** that **non-Inupiat** do not like marine mammal foods, and it is generally commented upon when a **non-Inupiat** eats such food.)

In Point Hope, the distribution pattern of money, once earned, is quite different from the distribution of subsistence products. Money, in and of itself, tends not to be redistributed outside of the immediate household. When money does move outside of the immediate household, it tends to be in the form of a loan. In one observed exception, an employed man frequently gave his intermittently employed **non-coresident** father money at the father's request. This is, however, noted by the individuals involved to be a less than ideal situation. (In one extreme case known in Point Lay,

money **is** not redistributed even **within** a household. A husband and **wife individually** keep and spend the money they earn **with** no pooling of the resource.) **This is** not to say that **items** purchased by money do not move between households. Indeed objects, such as tools, are frequently borrowed by **individuals** who would not ask to borrow (nor would they be likely to be **given**) an amount of money equal to the purchase price of the tool. Even relatively high-priced **items**, such as **snowmachines**, are sometimes used by persons other than their owners' or household members, but there is some observed hesitancy to borrow (in some cases) and reluctance to lend (in other cases) high-dollar items. (A separate consideration is that if the **snowmachine** is damaged during its use, it apparently is up to the owner of the machine to repair it, not the person who was using it at the time, but we have too few cases of this type to make a generalization.) There have also been cases observed of store-purchased food moving between households, but these have been at the instigation of the recipient and the transfer request was phrased as wanting to borrow specific food with the clear implication of measured repayment. This is in contrast to the distribution of subsistence food, which in all observed cases was at the instigation of the giver, not the receiver, and there was no specific repayment obligation verbalized at the time of receipt. In fact, it would be considered very inappropriate to specifically repay a particular instance of subsistence giving. One would never say "here is a caribou leg in exchange for **the** one you gave me last week," but it is considered appropriate to replace canned goods that one has borrowed. In the case of subsistence goods, one would include the past givers in the distribution of subsequent catches as "repay merit." In other words, the exchange of subsistence goods is a **processual** part of a relationship; the lending and repayment of money is a bounded event.

Division of labor by **ethnicity** also varies between the villages. **Non-Inupiat** individuals in Point Lay and Point Hope are not randomly distributed in the job market of either village. The pattern of employment of **non-Inupiat** in both villages is discussed under the topics of ethnic relations in the villages and the role of non-Natives in the communities. Point Hope **non-Inupiat** are employed as teachers, corporation management, Public Safety Officers, missionaries, and construction workers. A group of **non-Inupiat** residents cannot be slotted into a **work-location/occupation** specific group -- they are the individuals who have married **into** the village. While these individuals are not an interactive occupational clique, they do tend to have general sort of laborer positions. With the exception of those who have married into the village, **non-Inupiat** come to and stay in Point Hope because of specific occupational opportunities. As discussed elsewhere, teachers, managers, Public Safety Officers, and missionaries are "directive" positions. That is to say, the individuals in these jobs direct other village residents' behavior as the primary function of their job. Teachers instill discipline in other people's children; corporation managers make business decisions that necessarily result in disappointment to some village residents; **Public Safety Officers** must be **confrontative with individuals exhibiting social** deviance; **missionaries** tell people how to **live their lives**. While "directive" and "non-directive" are not mutually exclusive in terms of function -- "non-directive" relations can and did accomplish the same ends in the past -- they are typically mutually exclusive in terms of **perception**. **Non-Inupiat** are seen to occupy positions of authority (educational, administrative, economic, legal, or spiritual) for the most part. Some **Inupiat** do as well, but for the most part do not. Given that **directiveness** runs counter to strongly-held **Inupiat** values, it is understandable that these particular types of jobs are held primarily by **non-Inupiat**. This also, no doubt, influences village perceptions of **non-Inupiat** as a group. Construction workers, unless they possess skills that are clearly recognized as not being held by any residents in the village, are seen somewhat differently and are viewed as competitors for valued jobs; for

North Slope Borough sponsored projects it is not unusual to have a crew foreman come from outside of the village even if nearly all of the other workers are local residents.

The division of labor by **ethnicity** in Point Lay is in some ways similar to Point Hope and in other ways dissimilar, Point Lay has a DEW Line station adjacent to the village staffed by **non-Inupiat** personnel. There is little interaction between these individuals and **Inupiat** villagers, however, and the jobs at the station are not locally perceived as jobs that **Inupiat** would fill if the **non-Inupiat** now filling them were to leave in any event.

One older **non-Inupiat** resident in Point Lay is employed sporadically at a variety of positions in the village. Two of her children live in the village and work at Utilities full-time and Public Works seasonally respectively. One of her other children in the past worked at seasonal jobs for Public **Works**. The employment of large numbers of **non-Inupiat** temporary construction workers in the last relocation of the village, and the juxtaposition of these workers with **Inupiat** temporary construction workers from Point Hope-created ethnic tensions in the village.

Point Lay **non-Inupiat**, in addition to having teaching, public safety, and missionary jobs as in Point Hope, also have important jobs in the Utilities and Public Works Departments. Most teachers, Public Safety Officers, and missionaries are in some senses marginal by definition in a North Slope village; employees with the type of status enjoyed by the workers at Utilities and Public Works in Point Lay are more central to the community. There are no such **non-Inupiat** people in Point Hope. Point Lay **non-Inupiat** also hold important volunteer leadership "jobs" with Search and Rescue and the Fire Department, unlike in Point Hope. Full-time, long-term **non-Inupiat** employees are well accepted in Point Lay, but **as in Point Hope there** is some tension between transient **non-Inupiat** residents and **Inupiat** residents. As in Point Hope, transient **non-Inupiat** are in direct competition with **Inupiat** residents for desired jobs. In Point Hope they are in competition for the relatively few jobs available at all in the village; in Point Lay they are competing for some of the most desirable positions in the village.

In both Point Lay and Point Hope **non-Inupiat** residents tend to base migration decisions on job availability. **Inupiat** residents in Point Lay tend to use this criteria much more than do their counterparts in Point Hope. This is, in part, attributable to a more rich subsistence environment in Point Hope. In Point Hope there are individuals who are more or less full-time subsistence specialists who contribute to their household in very concrete ways; there are no such individuals in Point Lay,

Political Institutions

The contrast between political institutions in Point Lay and Point Hope is a strong one, Point Lay is characterized by a single formal political institution; Point Hope, in contrast, has a full array of formal political, economic, and social organizations. In simple terms, Point Hope has more resources than Point Lay, but these resources -- including jobs -- must be divided among members of a larger population. As might be predicted, this has resulted in a relatively complex political context in Point Hope and a relatively simple one in Point Lay.

Point Lay is governed by a IRA council and is the only unincorporated village in the North Slope Borough, the result of conscious decision-making in the village to not

set up potentially redundant and competing institutions. Not only does Point Lay wish to avoid conflict between an IRA and a city council, but there is also conscious concern and planning to avoid conflict between the local village corporation, the **Cully** Corporation, and the IRA council. **Cully** will not accept title to land but, rather, refers **all** land transactions to the IRA. The composition of leadership of the two organizations is so similar that in almost every case combined meetings of the two bodies are held rather than scheduling separate meetings. The fact that Point Lay is not incorporated has the function of excluding non-Natives from the formal political process in the village.

Point Hope is a complex political environment compared to that of Point Lay. Point Hope has been incorporated as a city since 1966, and as such has city government elections open to all residents of the community, regardless of their **ethnicity**. Indeed, Point Hope has recently had a **non-Inupiat** individual on the city council. However, **non-Inupiat** comprise only a small percentage of the population of the community and many take little interest in local politics.

Point Hope also features a recently reconstituted IRA council. Reactivated in 1987, this council effectively had no role in the community for over twenty years. It was reformed for a variety of reasons, including a desire to protect village lands and resources from changes brought about by changes in status of the **Tigara** Corporation as a result of **ANCSA** provisions changing in 1991, a desire by the village to exert a geographically larger sphere of influence and control around the community, and the desire to have a one-to-one relationship with the federal government and the degree of sovereignty such a relationship implies.

The **Tigara** Corporation in Point Hope, unlike the **Cully** Corporation in Point Lay, is a political entity in addition to being an economic one. The **Tigara** Corporation functions independently of both the city and IRA councils. These organizations often disagree as to priorities and what course of action would be the best for the village. The corporation is currently under bankruptcy proceedings, and as evidenced by the 1988 annual shareholders meeting, there is sharp disagreement among shareholders as to the preferred course of action of the corporation. Given the cognitive salience of the problem of unemployment in the community, the corporation is under pressure to create more local jobs. On the other hand, there is the need, mandated by the bankruptcy court, to justify all business decisions on the basis of the bottom line. This has meant, for example, the hiring of a non-local **non-Inupiat** store manager in Point Hope, a fact that has not set well with many residents. Unfortunately, even if it increased the number of people hired locally dramatically, the corporation does not have a reasonable chance to meet the hiring level expectations of some people in the village. Unlike in Point Lay, in Point Hope kinship is openly discussed as being involved in local politics.

Given that Point Lay is unincorporated, formal connections to the NSB would seem quite different from formal connections of Point Hope to the borough. Nevertheless, the NSB treats Point Lay essentially as they do any other village, although the size of Point Hope gives it much more clout in the borough. Paradoxically, Point Lay is fully integrated into the borough, while Point Hope is on the border between two regions and the respective influences of the service centers of Barrow and **Kotzebue**. This has resulted in some programmatic advantages and disadvantages for Point Hope. For example, Point Hope receives funding for the clinic and health programs through both Barrow and Kotzebue, resulting in an increased level of service in some health service areas and a lack of service in others.

A common theme in both Point Lay and Point Hope is that the village **is** not getting **its fair** share of funding or programs from the borough and that Barrow **is** getting too much. Sentiment **is** strong **in** both **Point** Lay and **Point** Hope that the borough effectively ignores them. Ironically, Point Lay has less political power in the borough due to its smaller size, but has benefited from borough programs to a greater degree than Point Hope has.

The Role of Non-Natives in the Community

As described in the section on ethnic relations in Point Hope, non-Native residents of Point Hope are distinguished from Native residents in Point Hope on the basis of several different factors. Non-Natives tend to have a shorter length of residency in the community, are more occupationally homogeneous as a group, have different migration decision-making criteria, have a different perception of desirability of the village as a living environment, and are more socially isolated as self-contained groups in the community.

Historically, the community of Point Hope experienced the same type of contact with **non-Inupiat** as Barrow, and **at** about the same time. Barrow's importance as a regional center has made it the locus of contemporary non-Native influence, however, while the relative influence of resident non-Natives has declined in Point Hope. Point Hope's decline as a service center no doubt played a large part in this. Point Hope, in times past, was a service center to satellite settlements in a sphere of influence or hinterland; today it does not act in this capacity for other communities in any major way. **Kivalina**, the village to the south of Point Hope, is oriented toward **Kotzebue** as its service center; Point Lay, the village to the north is oriented toward Barrow as a service center (**and to a much lesser degree to Wainwright**). There are no more small satellite settlements on the land between the permanent villages. For transportation, merchandise, and some governmental/administrative functions Point Hope depends on **Kotzebue**; for the majority of governmental functions and related employment Barrow is the service center for Point Hope.

The vast majority of **non-Inupiat** in contemporary Point Hope are "white." In a recent survey by the NSB, 540 Point Hope residents identified themselves as **Inupiat**, 29 as white, 6 as other Alaska Native, 2 as American Indian, and 1 each Hispanic, Oriental, and Black, with 3 non-responses.

Inupiat individuals tend to live in Point Hope as a result of social or kinship ties to the community; the overwhelming majority of non-Inupiat residents of Point Hope come to the community for reasons such as increased earnings, specific financial goals, professional opportunity, a change of pace, a change of lifestyle, a chance for adventure, a chance for a new start, or a combination of several of these reasons.

Non-Native residents in Point Hope are divisible into several categories: teachers, managers, Public Safety Officers, missionaries, construction workers, and those who marry into the village. Those in the first five categories tend not to marry into the village; those who do marry into the village tend not to fit the occupational categories of other non-Natives. Teachers, managers, Public Safety Officers, and missionaries attempt to modify behavioral patterns of at least some of the village residents in the course of their job. Teachers do so through the processes of **enculturation** and formal socialization, managers through direction of work tasks and planning, Public Safety Officers through formal social controls via law enforcement and preventative actions, and missionaries through a change in value and belief

systems. Construction workers tend to be isolated from the social life of the community at large due to the project-specific nature of the job, working hours, and relative transience. Those who marry into the village tend not to attain leadership or supervisory positions. For those **individuals**, constancy of career **is** not an orienting factor **in** decisions to **remain in**, leave, or return to the community, although **simple availability** or unavailability of employment has at **times** been a factor. In **this** respect, **non-Inupiat** who marry **into** the community are more like **Inupiat** residents than other **non-Inupiat** residents. Additionally, the **non-Inupiat** who marry into the village do not tend to form their own interactive social group in the same sense as the teachers, Public Safety Officers, or construction workers.

Point Hope also has a number of non-Natives who pass through the village who, while not resident, have a significant influence on the community. These include administrative personnel from the North Slope Borough on various projects, researchers on various government projects, and state and federal officials.

Point Lay's historical contact with **non-Inupiat** was of a different nature than that of Point Hope. It can be claimed that it was **non-Inupiat** contact that fostered the development of Point Lay as a community through the establishment of a school at Icy Cape and later Point Lay that has operated intermittently since 1906. The school served as the "magnet" that anchored a village of Point Lay and fostered its identity as a community. While the church and school in Point Hope also acted as a magnet to nomadic individuals in the area of the Point Hope spit, these institutions were set in what was already a year-round community.

The start of construction on the DEW Line station near Point Lay in 1954 is taken as a pivotal point in time **by** most **Inupiat** residents. The presence of the DEW Line adjacent to the community today represents continuing interaction of a **non-Inupiat** institution and a set of individuals with the community although of quite a different nature than in the 1950s and 1960s. Some informants consider the presence of the DEW Line, because of lack of control over access to alcohol, to have been a major contributor to the dispersal of the village in the late 1950s. It was, in the opinion of these informants, a destructive influence on the village, particularly when there was no school (it closed yet again in 1958) to otherwise compensate for the poor community conditions.

Point Lay exists today primarily as a result of the political and economic climate that accompanied the desire to extract oil resources from Alaska. These conditions resulted in both the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, which articulated the relationship between Alaska Native groups with the federal government, and the formation of the North Slope Borough, which articulated the relationship of North Slope villages with the state of Alaska.

As well as can be determined, the founding population of the present "permanent" village of Point Lay was totally **Inupiat**. Indeed, the village may have remained 100% Native until the Point Lay School was reopened in 1974. A teacher was brought in from Fairbanks and stayed several years; soon after her arrival, she was joined by another young Caucasian woman who served as an aide. The teacher eventually moved on; the aide married a **local Inupiat** man and still teaches in Point Lay.

The **Inupiat** of Point Lay remember the first seismic crew's operation in the Point Lay area as dating from the 1973-74 period. Informants say that these crews were not very careful and left quite a bit of trash behind, and this has had lingering effects in the community on perception of resource exploration efforts.

In the period following resettlement, **non-Inupiat** transients were common in Point Lay. In 1976 the **non-Inupiat** with the longest continuous residence in Point Lay arrived. Her presence has brought other **non-Inupiat** into the village one of her sons from a previous marriage has moved to Point Lay with his wife; one of her daughters married an **Inupiat** man and settled into the village. Another unmarried son worked in Point Lay on seasonal construction jobs before his disappearance in the winter of 1987-88 and **still** another son has spent a large amount of time in Point Lay.

After occupying two different sites since 1972, the original site of Point Lay was resettled with some hesitation, because of its proximity to the DEW Line station and memories of past problems. These fears did seem to bear fruit as the DEW Line reportedly continued to be a source for socially disruptive factors. The first relocation site (moving from the "old side" to the "new side") in the delta was chosen essentially by non-residents in Barrow and elsewhere, and was partly due to its separation from the DEW Line station. It is unclear whether it was this phase of the construction of Point Lay (1976) which attracted some of the non-Inupiat who now live in the village, or whether this took place in the next phase. This period is remembered as a time when people were working together and helping each other with few outsiders around. Most if not all of the resident **non-Inupiat** were associated with the school, and relations with the DEW Line station improved.

Construction of the village at its present site began in 1980. Informants report that this was an extremely turbulent time for Point Lay due to a large influx of non-local laborers and a new proximity to the DEW Line station. Local residents attribute the development of a racial or ethnic awareness to this period. Prior to this move, they said, no one was concerned about **ethnicity**, but during and after the move ethnic tensions became all too obvious. This is also said to be the time of the addition of hard drugs such as cocaine into the village where only alcohol and marijuana were present. Alcohol abuse reportedly increased during this time as **well**.

In contemporary Point Lay, ethnic tension between **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** residents exists, but is stronger between some categories of individuals than others. **Long-term non-Inupiat** residents who have jobs in the community are, for the most part, well accepted by **Inupiat** residents. They have proven themselves by their ability to fit into the community and to perform a job in the community over a long period of time. Competent performance in a significant job in the community is valued regardless of **ethnicity**. Where tensions do arise sometimes between long-term **non-Inupiat** residents and **Inupiat** residents is in voluntary service. Typically, a person becomes involved with one of the voluntary organizations in the community, such as Search and Rescue, the Fire Department, or the School Advisory Board, during a time when the organization is undergoing a crisis or is in some form of disarray. This person will "seize the bull by the horns" and manage the organization, and not infrequently **non-Inupiat** long-term residents are actively encouraged to take these positions. In any such position there are conflicting interests that wished to be served by the organization, and responsibilities are heaped upon the position -- the person is asked to take on more and more work. People hold on to these positions until it becomes too much and they are "thrown from the bull" or burn out or simply get fed up with the difficulties of what are, after all, volunteer positions. Ironically, if a person manages to stay on for a long time, this is perceived by some villagers as an attempt to "run things" and people "who like to run things" are considered to have motives that are suspect, even if the individual is performing a necessary job competently. If this person is **non-Inupiat**, this tension is sometimes expressed as a function of **ethnicity**.

There is considerably more tension felt between transient **non-Inupiat** residents and **Inupiat** residents. Transient **non-Inupiat** are seen as in direct competition with **Inupiat** residents for temporary jobs in Point Lay, and these are the most widely desired jobs in the community because of the flexibility they allow. Unlike long-term **non-Inupiat** residents, transient **non-Inupiat** residents are seen as taking money directly out of the pockets, and opportunities away from, **Inupiat** residents.

For **Inupiat** residents of Point Lay, there is now virtually no interaction with the DEW Line personnel. The DEW Line personnel do not come into town very often, and there are few reasons for Point Lay residents to visit the DEW Line site. Reportedly the DEW Line has been entirely eliminated as a source of alcohol and drugs for the community. It would be accurate to characterize many of the DEW Line workers as being of the "great white hunter" mentality -- they have found adventure (or boredom) in the arctic, and the local villagers are irrelevant to their experience. Some **non-Inupiat** residents maintain social contact with DEW Line personnel. At least one **non-Inupiat** resident has a standing dinner invitation at the facility.

Non-Inupiat residents of Point Lay are employed in a variety of jobs. **Non-Inupiat** comprise the teachers at the school and the Public Safety Officers who rotate through the community. The supervisor of Public Works is **non-Inupiat**. Two **non-Inupiat** are employed by the Utilities department, although not in supervisory positions. One **non-Inupiat** individual is employed at Cully Camp. Another **non-Inupiat** is employed as the preacher at the Baptist Church. In all of these positions, **non-Inupiat** are in supervisory or relatively independent positions. The relatively numerous supervisory and independent employment positions that **non-Inupiat** in Point Lay hold, and the relatively high percentage of key positions held by **non-Inupiat** in Point Lay is in distinct contrast to the position of **non-Inupiat** in Point Hope.

Another key contrast between the communities in ethnic distinctions internal to each community is seen in the basis for migration decision-making. In Point Lay, decisions to move into the community, by both **non-Inupiat** and **Inupiat** individuals alike, are predicated on the availability of jobs in the community. Reasons for wanting the jobs differ between the two groups: **non-Inupiat** are openly drawn to Point Lay by the available high wages; **Inupiat** tend to be drawn to Point Lay by the lifestyle and the desire to live in a village on that part of the North Slope, but a job is clearly needed to support that lifestyle. The desirability of living in Point Lay, for both **Inupiat** and **non-Inupiat** alike, is predicated on the availability of good-paying jobs.

In Point Hope, as discussed, the reasons for the vast majority of **non-Inupiat** coming to the community (and staying) are varied but nonetheless occur in combination with the opportunity for relatively high-paying jobs. On the other hand, **Inupiat** residents of Point Hope are drawn to, and/or remain in the community, for a variety of reasons, many of them having little to do with employment opportunities, such as kinship and other social ties, lifestyle preferences, subsistence opportunities, and the fact that it is "home." One of causes for this differentiation between Point Lay and Point Hope is due, no doubt, to the fact most of the **Inupiat** residents of Point Lay were not raised there. Perhaps as generations grow up in Point Lay the **Inupiat** residents will more closely resemble Point Hope residents in their migration decision-making processes and become less like their **non-Inupiat coresidents**, but this is not at all clear at this time.

Social Relations and Social Organization

The primary set of relations between **Inupiat** members of both Point Lay and Point Hope are kinship-based or interact with kinship factors in complex ways. Kinship networks are very dense in both communities. Within each village, there are several clusters of households which are more closely related to each other than to households outside of that cluster. This is perhaps more pronounced in Point Hope than in Point Lay. The larger size of Point Hope makes such social differentiation more obvious -- the statistical perturbations possible in a community as small as Point Lay may very well mask them. While it is recognized in both villages that these clusters of related households exist, in Point Hope it is expressed as the formal kinship ideology; whereas in Point Lay the expressed ideology is exactly the opposite. In Point Hope political and other community issues **will** often be expressed in terms of named kinship groups as opposed to issue-oriented interest groups. To an outside observer, such characterizations sometimes seem to reflect reality, but the "objective analysis" does not affect the fact that kinship groups are often used to define conflicting positions on community issues in Point Hope. In Point Lay, the ideology is that "We are all one family." This is even extended to the NSB level, when local residents claim not to **fully** understand the NSB bureaucrats who refuse to see how the village Fire Department and the Search and Rescue organization cannot be kept separate. The issue in this case is money and who has to keep track of it; this is fully understood at both the NSB and Point Lay levels. It is in the ideological interest of Point Lay, however, to stress the cooperative family ideology over that of the **divisive** competitor model.

Point Hope has an active village corporation, a formal city council (since it is incorporated as a city), and a newly revitalized IRA Council. These organizations do not always agree on what the important issues are, let **alone** the solutions to them. Again, named kinship groups are sometimes used to identify positions. In Point Lay there is one formal governing body, the IRA Council. The village corporation wishes to function **solely** as an economic agent -- to such a degree that it refuses to accept its ownership in any form of land in and around Point Lay. All land transactions must have the approval of the IRA Council. The boards of the two organizations overlap but the constituencies of the two are not the same. All Alaskan Natives can vote in Point Lay IRA elections as long as they are residents of Point Lay. On the other hand, only **Cully** Corporation shareholders can vote for corporation board members. Less than 50% of current adult **Inupiat** residents of Point Lay are **Cully** Corporation shareholders, yet only shareholders have been elected to the IRA Council. The ideology of "We are all one family" is indeed behaviorally operative in the public domain of Point Lay.

Another area of public contrast between Point Lay and Point Hope is the role of kinship within the primary subsistence event of the year for each respective village. In Point Hope this is bowhead whaling, whereas in Point Lay it is the **beluga** harvest. Point Hope bowhead whaling is ideologically a cooperative effort. Crews are based predominantly on kinship ties, and a successful harvest depends upon the cooperation of several crews working together. Whaling, however, is also a very competitive undertaking. Those who first strike whales that are landed gain considerable prestige, and to be able to talk about "my whale" is indeed a point of honor (so much so that the most recent NSB mayoral election featured a dispute between two of the candidates as to the first strike on a disputed whale). The successful captain acts in the classical sense of a "big man," redistributing amassed goods to the general public. Furthermore, there are a number of formal statuses associated with whaling by which participants other than the captain can obtain considerable prestige (harpooner, paddler). Crews collectively are ranked as well, so that merely being a

member of one crew rather than another can have significant differential prestige attached to it. The Point Lay **beluga** hunt contrasts markedly with this.

The Point Lay **beluga** harvest is less about individual prestige and more about communal redistribution than the bowhead hunt. Individual boat crews may be kinship based, but given the **small** number of people needed in each boat and the degree of relationship among most Point Lay people, this is an untestable hypothesis. The skills needed in crew members -- accurate shooters, knowledgeable boat handlers -- are rather more general than the skills needed for bowhead whale hunting. An individual is recognized for his skills, but gains little additional prestige thereby. No **beluga** is "claimed" by the particular person who happened to shoot it -- all **beluga** that are harvested as part of the communal hunt are communally processed and divided up into the available storage areas. Anyone who participated in the hunt can then take **beluga** out of storage to use as needed. It is also served at community feasts. The only status that a hunter achieves from participation is public awareness of his ability to organize the hunt, or know how to drive **beluga** with a boat, or ability to shoot. Occasionally someone may remark that "X shot so many **beluga**," but even this is the exception and can easily be taken as boasting. There is also widespread ownership of the aluminum boats and motors needed for **beluga** hunting in Point Lay because of the wage income opportunities available. This is quite different from the pattern of ownership of equipment needed for whaling in Point Hope where, because of the expense of whaling and the manpower needed, economic and other support are most often mobilized through household **kinship** networks. In **Point Lay**, with the more widespread **distribution** of necessary equipment, crews are based on more context-related (and **individual**) factors. **Beluga** whaling is viewed as a very special **time in Point Lay** and causes a good deal of excitement **in** the village, even **if it** does not have all of the symbolic elaboration and surrounding festivals that accompany bowhead whaling **in Point Hope**.

Point Hope virtually moves out onto the ice for bowhead whaling and the resource and social orientation of the community changes during that time of the year. The terrestrial Point Hope becomes a "ghost town" while the Point Hope on the ice is a place filled with anticipation. The people on the ice are at once in a setting that is timeless and temporary; it is truly a **liminal** world. Social arrangements are different than the norm in the village in terms of living, eating, sleeping, and work groups. Work tasks and virtually **all** other aspects of life are changed as well. In **Point Lay during the beluga harvest time**, virtually all other **activities in** the village cease. Utilities, **Public Works**, and all other **minimally** necessary functions are staffed **with** skeleton crews **during this time**, but **Point Lay social** organization does not undergo the sweeping scope of change that **Point Hope** does during its whaling time.

Paradoxically, actual behavior in the two villages may be **counterintuitive** to the main ideologies expressed. In general, Point Hope households are larger and cooperate on a day-to-day basis to a far greater extent than is evident for households in Point Lay. Except for those of the Elders, Point Lay households all have at least one wage earner and are, for all intents and purposes, functionally independent of each other. **All** normal household needs can be met by the wage earner(s) and hunter(s) of that household. Different households have different requirements, of course, but it appears that most **Inupiat** households in Point Lay use a smaller percentage of subsistence resources than households in Point Hope. This is most likely related to the greater availability of so much wage labor in Point Lay. It also agrees with the self-report of Point Lay informants that when they work for wages they eat more "store" (store-bought) food, and that in the past when work was less available they ate more subsistence food. Also providing collaborating support,

individuals in Point Lay form separate households at a much younger age than they **do** in Point Hope. Informants in Point Hope say they eat subsistence food primarily because it tastes good and is better for you than store food, but many add that they cannot afford to eat a diet composed of a large percentage of store food in any event.

There are no “central distribution” households in Point Lay similar to that of the senior woman of Network A (discussed on page 151) in Point Hope. The major beneficiaries of the redistribution that usually takes place are the Elders. Only one Elder in Point Lay has a number of **housemates**, and they eat substantially less subsistence food than he does. The **beluga** harvest in July is the one event in which most of the active hunters of the village will participate. The harvested **beluga** are distributed out to participant and non-participant residents of the village on pretty much an “as-needed” basis. Most of the harvest is stored in freezers in individual households, or in the three usable ice cellars on the Old Side.

There are also no examples in Point Lay of the type of family generation household as seen in Network B in Point Hope, where new families are formed in some numbers. This is in part due to the youth of present Point Lay itself, as it has not had much time to develop such households as yet. Such a development appears unlikely in any event, however, given the apparent ease with which independent households are formed by young couples. This happens only rarely in Point Hope, where couples generally remain a part of the household of one of their parents until they have several children of their own. The greater availability of housing and jobs providing a means to be independent of other households appears to be the key difference in this regard. The subsistence focus of the head of the family factory is whaling, but he is also generally active in all other pursuits. He has an especially active son whose catch enables his father to generously distribute subsistence food to many other households.

Network C from Point Hope approaches the Point Lay case more than the others, but also has unique elements. The household seems isolated, but the oldest woman is actually the sister of the head of household featured in Network B, and they have many other relations as well. The young couple have only two children, which is unusual. The couple has lived with the grandmother of the husband for at least six years, except for a period of time when they went to Point Lay to help with the construction there. When the grandmother moved into her present new house, they moved with her. They help to care for the grandmother in the course of daily living. Their direct contribution to the household is primarily through the provision of money and purchased goods. Both of the couple have full-time jobs and have taken on additional paid duties as well. Although the man truly enjoys subsistence food, most of the subsistence products consumed by the household are procured by others. The man concentrates his subsistence activities primarily upon whaling, and is **the** effective captain of his grandmother’s crew. **The man also provides occasional** monetary assistance to the household of his father and others in his family.

Another difference in the social organization of the two communities, as previously discussed, is the relative proliferation of formal organizations in Point Hope as compared to Point Lay. The fact that Point Hope has more formal social organizations is consistent with its larger size. The process of formalization is also consistent with greater time depth of the community to enable differentiation to take place. Social organizational differences in Point Hope are also seen that appear to have resulted from the processes of centralization (pooling of resources and limitation control over those previously communally or informally controlled resources, as in the case of Tigara Corporation control of land around the community), linearization

(the proliferation of organizations to respond to higher order decision-making resulting from the city integrating with the North Slope Borough), and promotion (where control over a particular resource leads to the elevation of status and increased prestige for a group within the community as is seen in the example of whaling captains).

In the past few years the formal volunteer organizations of Search and Rescue and Fire Department have formed in both Point Lay and Point Hope under the auspices of the North Slope Borough. Point Lay has seen further development of the Lions Club, a formal service organization in a community characterized by its traditional sharing networks, and the Women Dog Mushers which, in addition to sponsoring dogsled races, also perform community service work. One would also expect that formal service organizations would be more likely to be found in larger communities because the presence of a formal service organization implies a certain degree of anonymity or social distance between provider and recipient of services. It should be noted that in both communities membership in volunteer organizations that require an ongoing commitment of time and effort is generally lower than those that require episodic commitment. For example, in both communities the Fire Department, which requires ongoing training, is much smaller than Search and Rescue, which draws many people into its organization in times of crisis when people are more than willing to pitch in and help.

The two Eskimo Dance groups in Point Hope also represent a different type of social organization than is found in Point Lay. These two groups were originally part of a single group. The split occurred as a result of growing factionalism in the group, and at festivals in the village individuals from both groups perform together as well as separately. These groups celebrate traditionalism in the village and are very competitive at the state level in Native dancing. The dancers take great pride in their performance and although individual honors are accrued, the common statement for the dancers is that they dance in competitions to bring renown to Point Hope. There is no organization similar to these in Point Lay.

Another difference between Point Hope and Point Lay is their orientation toward kin networks outside of the village. Point Lay is primarily oriented toward kin ties in **Wainwright**. Point Hope, on the other hand, has many diffuse ties to villages to the north and south. A further difference between the two communities with respect to social organization is seen in the **non-Inupiat** component of the population of the two villages. Point Lay is only 20% **non-Inupiat**, whereas Point Hope is approximately 4-5% **non-Inupiat**. The ramifications of this difference have already been discussed.

Subsistence

The divergent histories of Point Lay and Point Hope contribute to differences in contemporary subsistence practices in the two communities in several ways. As a result of being a continuously occupied site, land use patterning around Point Hope is significantly different from that of Point Lay. Point Hope families tend to have a number of sites that are utilized for subsistence harvesting, processing, or storage, and are identified as 'theirs.' These sites are located within the townsite proper, at the old townsite, in the **Jabbertown/Beacon Hill** area, on the river, and on the beach. Use of these sites by others varies in flexibility, but for resource harvest locations, typically sites are open to those who request access if the site is not being used. Although being utilized as a seasonal occupation area for generations, Point Lay was only recently resettled and, at least partially as a result, long-term use by individual families, and recognition of those patterns by

other groups within the village, have not yet evolved. This observation is supported by the exception to the rule, which is the case of the one family that did remain in Point Lay during the time when all others left. Theirs is the only family that has a subsistence area and a cabin that is recognized as “theirs” on the river. This cabin is currently open to all who request permission and who agree to leave it in good shape. (There has been some talk in the village recently of restricting access to this cabin as there have been instances where the cabin was not left in good shape, and this **led** to subsequent damage by bears.) Also, partially as a result of being recently resettled, there are apparently significant differences in the intimacy of knowledge of the land around the communities by the people who are the current residents of the villages. Generally speaking, hunters in Point Lay appear to be less familiar with the land around the community than hunters in Point Hope.

The different economies of Point Lay and Point Hope also contribute to the differences in subsistence practices observed. In Point Hope there are not enough jobs to satisfy demand for employment. For those who are unemployed, one activity pursued as an alternative to employment is subsistence. Several instances have been observed of adult males whose level of subsistence activity could not be sustained were they able to obtain full employment. The interrelation of fruits of subsistence and commercial pursuits to the household or extended family are, of course, complex. Subsistence goods are, as a general rule, more widely shared than commercially obtained goods to the effect that an unemployed individual who is an intensive subsistence hunter may contribute more significantly to the dietary needs of his extended family than an employed individual who shares purchased goods primarily with his immediate household, if that. It is, of course, necessarily a give-and-take relationship as, for example, someone must provide the money—to purchase, maintain, and refuel the vehicles used for subsistence.

Point Lay subsistence practices also vary from those in Point Hope due to the latter community’s favored spatial relationship vis-a-vis desired resources. In general, Point Hope is located in an area much richer in subsistence resources than Point Lay. This is dramatically apparent when subsistence range figures are considered. Point Lay has a much more extensive terrestrial focus than Point Hope; Point Hope is more marine-oriented. According to **ADF&G** figures developed for this study, the subsistence range for Point Lay is approximately 11,000 square miles with approximately 7,000 of these being terrestrial. Point Hope, with its much larger population, has a subsistence range of approximately 3,500 square miles. The difference in the two ranges is even more dramatic when one considers subsistence range per household averages. Point Lay averages approximately 315 square miles of subsistence range per household; Point Hope averages approximately 26 square miles of subsistence range per household. These figures point to the fact that Point Hope is a much richer environment for subsistence pursuits, Point Hope hunters have to range less far afield, and it is much easier to be a subsistence specialist in Point Hope than in Point Lay. In Point Hope it is possible, if necessary, to walk to the beach and some marine mammal hunting locations. The location of Point Lay is such that it is not possible to walk to subsistence harvest locations, except on very rare occasions.

The divergence of the subsistence range figures of Point Lay and Point Hope is so extreme as to suggest that it is perhaps not practical to be a full-time subsistence specialist in Point Lay. This articulates with the fact of full employment and the absence of full-time subsistence specialists in Point Lay. The most intensive subsistence hunters are all fully employed. Subsistence trips are typically **long-range**, but brief, forays to fit with work schedules.

One of the pervasive subsistence-related differences between the two communities is whaling. As discussed elsewhere, whaling influences many aspects of life in Point Hope and, indeed, may be seen as one of the central organizing principles for sets of social relationships in the village. Whaling in Point Hope requires a very substantial commitment of resources, effort, and time of those involved, particularly for the families of whaling captains. This involves work during the preparation stages, during the whaling season itself, and at the festivals associated with whaling. Whaling is the major occasion for redistribution on a community-wide basis, particularly if one considers that whale meat and muktuk are redistributed at the Easter, Thanksgiving, and Christmas feasts, in addition to the whaling festivals.

While landing a whale is the primary gain of whaling, there are a multitude of secondary gains for whalers in the form of casting off everyday cares, the pleasure of spending time with friends in a non-occupational context, working with friends toward a common goal that is valued by the entire community rather than dealing with the ambivalences and ambiguities of daily life, participating in an activity that is quintessentially **Inupiat** and traditional and openly discussed as being at the root of the identity of the community and residents of Point Hope. It is a time when the entire orientation of the community shifts from the physical, permanent, terrestrial village of Point Hope to the ice and the sea, to impermanent yet timeless whaling camp; from a mixed subsistence and commercial economy to community-wide subsistence undertaking. While the individual camps and crews represent segments of the community that are in essence competing, there is also a strong current of cooperation that is essential for successful whaling.

In Point Lay, there is no bowhead whaling from the village, nor is there an analog to the whaling complex in Point Hope. That is not to say, however, that Point Lay residents are uninvolved in whaling. Indeed, a very large percentage of the men of whaling age go to other villages to whale. In the spring of 1988 alone, four men went to Point Hope, and four went to **Wainwright** to join crews in those villages, while another is reported to have gone to Barrow to help prepare for whaling there. These nine men represent approximately 25% of the men of Point Lay who could be considered potential whalers.

Point Lay is also heavily involved in **beluga** harvesting. According to informant reports, **beluga** accounts for between 50 and 60% of the subsistence intake in the village. (It must be recognized that the relationship between number of animals harvested and usable take is not a straightforward relationship, and this percentage estimate may be a little high. Still, it is indicative of scale.) It must be noted, however, that the **beluga** harvest in Point Lay, even on a relatively large scale, is not directly comparable to bowhead whaling in Point Hope on several dimensions, primarily in terms of social organization and coordination of task groups. **Beluga** hunting in Point Lay is relatively unorganized and does not involve the mobilization of resources on anywhere near the scale of bowhead whaling in Point Hope.

In both communities groups of individuals go to fishcamp, but even here there seems to be a difference in the nature of the experience in the two communities. In Point Lay one informant stated that **fishcamp** was for fun, and that to get food people use nets in the lagoon in the summer. This statement confirms field observations of the **fishcamp** experience in Point Lay. It also substantiates the relatively low reported per capita consumption of fish in Point Lay. In Point Hope, **fishcamp** is also a time that people look forward to and enjoy, but the primary focus would seem to remain the taking of fish. In Point Lay, more fish seem to be consumed by older people than by younger ones, especially in the frozen form, which may be a change in food preferences.

Caribou hunting is usually done close to both villages, but in recent years the caribou have been staying further away. This is locally attributed to a number of factors, primarily the noise in the villages and the construction of large buildings that are visible from long distances. Noise within the villages is attributed to operation of **snowmachines, ATVs**, generators, and other equipment. The issue of noise also arose in another context in Point Lay on one occasion when visitors from **Wainwright** expressed surprise at how noisy Point Lay people were when hunting **beluga**. This is also a concern village residents have had with past seismic testing in the offshore region and proposed OCS lease sales. Point Hope reports that the summer migration of **beluga** no longer comes close enough to their village to harvest. This is the same migration from which Point Lay takes most of its **beluga**.

Interestingly, subsistence also differs between Point Hope and Point Lay as a result of there being an additional set of consumers of subsistence products in Point Hope. In Point Hope, not only humans are consumers of significant amounts of subsistence resources. **Dogsled** teams have recently enjoyed a resurgence in popularity in the community, while there are none in Point Lay. One of the sources of food for the teams, as in earlier times, **is** seal meat. Because of this the team owner or another member of the household typically spends additional time and effort hunting to provide for the dogs.

Subsistence is an integral part of the fabric of life in Point Hope and subsistence activities are fitted into individual lives in a variety of ways. At one end of the spectrum there is the activity of whaling which, in effect, involves the “mobilization of very substantial resources and affects virtually every individual in the village in one way or another. At the other end of the spectrum are individual pursuits that are fitted into otherwise busy schedules, such as taking a **snowmachine** out to look for seals during a workday lunch break.

Capital outlay specifically designated for subsistence does not appear to vary **greatly** between the two villages, with the notable exception of whaling. This, of course, is a matter of analytical perspective. In Point Hope, for example, one may consider the purchase and maintenance of a snowmachine as a high-dollar subsistence expenditure. This blurs the fact that the **snowmachine**, though critical for subsistence hunting, is a general purpose vehicle that is also **used** for many other activities, including visiting friends, hauling goods home from the store, and running errands within the village. The dramatic difference between Point Lay and Point Hope in expenditures (and effort) directed exclusively toward subsistence is **seen** in the outlays directed toward whaling. As discussed, this includes a protracted preparation period when boat frames are refurbished or constructed, boat covering skins are prepared, paddles and various tools are put back into shape, darting guns are prepared and bombs loaded, lines and floats are prepared, camp materials and equipment are brought together, ice cellars are cleaned, and dozens of other details are taken care of. The period of whale camp is marked by commitment of time and effort of a very large number of people to the whaling enterprise. Even those who remain in the ‘village while others go to whaling camp have their lives altered by the whaling, through members of the household being out on the ice, or having co-workers out on the ice which means an altering of job responsibilities, or in any number of subtle ways. The normal life of the village is dramatically altered during this time, including the function of most jobs.

Subsistence Learning, Sharing, and the Future

The passing of subsistence skills to the next generation is viewed as problematic in both communities. Of **special** concern in both villages is the passage of women's subsistence skills. In Point Lay, for example, there is one older **Inupiat** woman who, along with possessing a wide range of other subsistence knowledge, is recognized as being skillful in the preparation of seal oil. When her informally adopted son married a **non-Inupiat** woman ("X"), this woman took an interest in learning subsistence skills and has, in time, come to be very skilled at the preparation of seal oil. When the older **Inupiat** woman is now asked by others, even her own daughters, for help in making seal oil, this woman replies to these requests by saying something to the effect of "go ask X, I'm tired of teaching you one-on-one." In Point Hope, one of the women's subsistence skills that seems to be in the process of being lost, and is the cause of some considerable concern, is the treatment and sewing of **ugruk** skins for **umiak** covers. In the recent past, the sewing of these skins was the responsibility of the whaling captain's wife; she would coordinate the efforts of the wives of the crew to perform the task. Today, there are approximately eight women in Point Hope who still sew these skins. These women sew for all of the crews, and it has become a paid activity rather than being a contribution of skill and labor toward a specific crew of which the women and their husbands were a part.

The passage of men's subsistence skills is also seen as problematic in both communities. In Point Hope, there is a recognition that important knowledge is being lost with the passage of elders, and there is a conscious effort being made to preserve at least some of this knowledge. A good example of this is that, under the auspices of Search and Rescue, a videotape was made of one of the elder men relating knowledge of the **land~while** referring to local topographic maps. This man related place names, many of which are unknown to young hunters, along with specific information about these places. The motivation for the production of this tape and the recording of the knowledge was provided, at least in part, by a large Search and Rescue operation the previous winter. During that operation, difficulty with accurate descriptions of places, and a set of names that were known in common to refer to those places, had proved problematic. (As noted in the discussion on Search and Rescue, on page 182, subsistence and Search and Rescue are intertwined in a number of ways, and Search and Rescue is a logical extension and application of skills acquired in a subsistence context in combination with the ethic of generosity of giving of self for the benefit of fellow villagers.)

In Point Lay during the past winter (1987-88), a Search and Rescue operation was also the impetus for the conscious transmission of a significant amount of subsistence information. During an extended search, young men who were recognized as not having a broad knowledge of the land were teamed with experienced individuals. It was discussed that this was an excellent subsistence skill learning experience for the younger men even as it was an actual Search and Rescue operation. It was recognized that the transmission of detailed knowledge of the land simply was not occurring for a significant number of young males under normal conditions. The Search and Rescue effort was an occasion for many more people to get out on the land than usual, as many people took significant blocks of time off from their jobs. In this way, individuals were able to spend time with other individuals with whom they would not normally be able to do so, as well as to range further afield than typically would have been the case.

The articulation of the teaching of subsistence skills (and other traditional skills) within the context of the school is problematic in both Point Lay and Point Hope. In Point Lay, people have made it clear to the school that they are not willing to teach

traditional skills in the school unless they are compensated for doing so at a rate commensurate with other employment in the village. A problem with this is that the North Slope Borough School District has historically been reluctant to pay substantial wages for individuals to teach in the school **if** those individuals are not accredited teachers. Additionally, the school administration in Point Hope feels that it is receiving mixed messages in that there are those whose very strong desire is to increase overall student performance of standard achievement test scores and to better prepare students for post-secondary education (and this includes the school district), while at the same time they are being asked (primarily by the community) to foster traditional skills and the passing of traditional knowledge during school hours.

Harvested subsistence resources are shared in both similar and different patterns in Point Lay and Point Hope. Similar patterns of sharing are seen for **most** resources; the primary difference in sharing is seen in the case of the sharing of whaling resources. In Point Hope, the sharing of whale meat, muktuk, and other whale products is a fundamentally different process than the sharing of other subsistence takes. What differentiates this process from other sharing in Point Hope, and all sharing in Point Lay, is its degree of formality: With most resources, there are patterns evident that are based on kin and friendship relations, but these are not public and formal processes. In whaling, particular parts of the whale are shared according to a formula that is dependent upon the **qalgi** membership of the captain of the crew credited with catching the whale, the particular roles of individual whaling crews in the taking of the whale, kin relations to the crews, age status, and formal and informal social relations. Additionally, specified parts of the whale, such as the tail, are distributed at particular festivals during the year. Effectively, the round of formal distribution of whale meat and **muktuk** translates for the most part as the right of specific individuals, crews, and kin groups to distribute certain parts of the whale, not to have exclusive access to those parts. After the formal distribution of the whale, there is informal distribution **of** the take as there is with other subsistence goods.

Elders enjoy a favored place as recipients of subsistence goods in both Point Lay and Point Hope. In Point Lay, for example, it is a matter of course for a hunter who returns with a substantial take to make certain that the two widely-recognized elders each receive some of the product, along with an older couple who live by themselves and a fifth older individual who does not live in a large household. These five older residents are also routinely included in any distribution of relatively unusual game, such as when a polar bear was taken this past winter. In Point Hope, with its much larger number of elders, it is not possible for each hunter to provide every elder with something even from a very large take. Elders are provided for by a large network, however, as elders have multiple and complex relationships with other community members. Most common providers for elders are sons and grandsons, but **there are quite** a number of other relationships that are activated as well, such as **individuals** who are favorite nephews, or who have informal adoptive relationships **with** members of the elder's immediate family. How **wide** the sharing network for a particular elder **is is** also predicated upon the hunting status of members of the elder's immediate household. In one household observed **in Point Hope**, a female elder lived with her grandson and his family. The grandson was fully employed and did not subsistence hunt very frequently, and the grandmother was often provided with subsistence products from relatives outside of the immediate family. When a seal was given to the grandmother, for example, the butchering and preparation of the seal was done by the grandson's wife and the meat was shared within the family. In this way, the entire household was supplied with meat, but provision of meat to the household was articulated as providing seal for the grandmother. The grandson's income (and

his wife's) are used to purchase food for the household, but "Native food" is relished by the whole family. Differentiation of redistribution patterns of resources obtained by subsistence or through commercial channels is similar in the two villages; subsistence goods are much more likely to be shared outside of the immediate family than purchased goods.

Subsistence articulates with attitudes toward development differently in the villages of Point Lay and Point Hope. In the case of Point Lay where there is full employment, the village as a whole tends to regard development, such as OCS lease sales, as exposing subsistence resources to substantial risk in return for no benefits to the village. In Point Hope, where increased employment opportunities are strongly desired, there is a much more ambivalent attitude toward development in general and OCS development in particular. There is a conscious weighing of risks of development to subsistence resources against the benefits of increased employment opportunities. This weighing of risks and benefits is a very trying process for village leaders, because both potential risks and potential benefits are seen as very high indeed.

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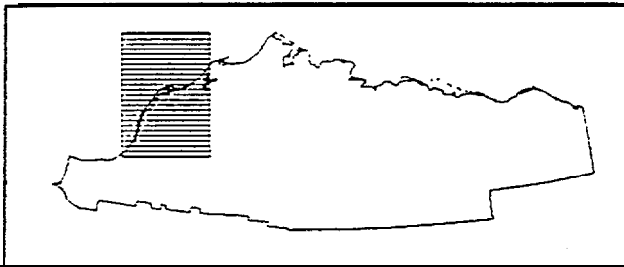
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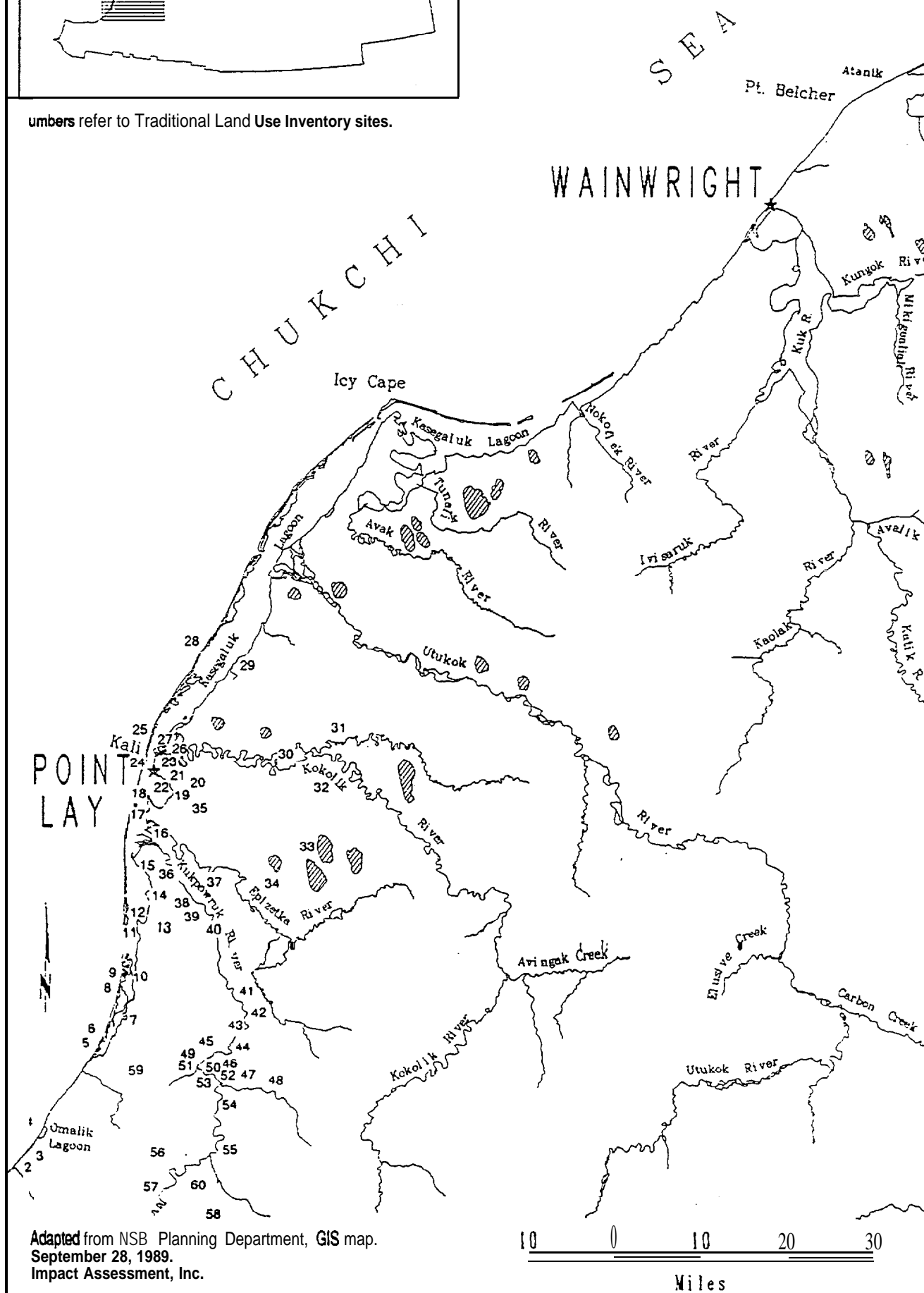
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APPENDIX A
TRADITIONAL LAND USE, POINT LAY, ALASKA

This appendix is included as useful primarily for historical purposes. It also holds intrinsic interest for the community and should be useful in the Point Lay School. This information will also place the often detailed information contained in the volume of transcripts and biographies with its local and regional context. The **numbered** sites have been plotted on the Point Lay, Alaska regional map.



Numbers refer to Traditional Land Use Inventory sites.



THE TRADITIONAL LAND USE INVENTORY FOR POINT LAY AREA
(With Comments on Historical Use - various sources)

PL-1 LIZ-A

An abandoned hut was fixed up and is now in use as a stop over place. People lived here before the 1939's. Hunting place for wolverines, wolves, seals, **ugruk** and caribou. Site of a now abandoned DEWline station (may be used for other research), built in the 1950s.

PL-2 AMATUSUK

At the Kakaktak **River** going up from **Amatusuk**. Ruins of house of Jim **Macheen** and second wife plus two girls and one boy. Christopher Tingook and wife **Adella** and four kids - Irma, John Rose and Carl - lived here in the early 1930s, as did Eli Stone Sr. with his wife Molly and their four kids - Howard, Raymond, David and **Aileen** (along with the **Macheens**, it seems).

PL-3 KAGLUKTAQ

West end of Sapummik Mountains

PL-4 OMALIK LAGOON

People moved here from Kakaktak River.

PL-5 KUUCHIAK (RUINS)

A number of people lived here at one time, in an area known for its subsistence resources:

Galipe Macheena and his wife Susie, with their three girls and one son,

Jim **Macheen**,

Joseph **Towkjhea** Sr. and his wife Agnes and kids (Bertha - Jim **Macheena's** wife, Marie, Agnes, Julian and Joseph Jr.),

Peter Stone Sr. and his wife **Aileen** and kids (Eli Stone, Lucille)

Louis Swan Sr., and his wife Martha and kids (Dennis, Bertha, Oscar, Lucy, Edgar, Minnie and Joseph) stayed here about 1929 and left around 1935. Louis Swan and family stayed until around 1940-1950's.

PL-6 TACHIM ISUA

Sod houses, ruins, hunting brown bears, ducks nesting area, seals, caribou, **ugruks**, **beluga**, snow geese, land birds. Reindeer hunting.

PL-7 KUCHAURAK

PL-8 POUNGAGRIK

Poungagrik means blackberries, people pick berries here.

PL-9 KASIGEALIK

Place where spotted seals are.

PL-10 IGLOORUAK

Eight ruins, plate made of wood found here.

PL-11 NEAKOK'S HOUSE

Called **Neakok's** house, has been redone for the third time. Made out of lumber. Built in 1932 by **Neakok**. Raised here were Anna **Towkjhea**, Peter and Tommy Neakok, Warren **Neakok** was raised here by his grandparents, **Neakok** and Kimmik. House still in use, primarily as a hunting **cabin** and refuge for travelers.

PL-12 OLD RUINS

Found here are plate made of wood, wooden ladle and ivory spear.

PL-13 REINDEER CORAL

First reindeer coral was made of wood and burlap. One of main corals for Point Lay's share of reindeer herd from Wainwright. Herders Chief Christopher Tingook, Eli Stone, Jim **Macheena** Sr., Willie **Susook**, and Tony **Susook** during the 1930's.

PL-14 ALEGENAK

Main camp for the families of the reindeer herders, near coal mine for fuel in 1930's when reindeer herding was a way of life.

PL- 15 KAPKAGISAK

Pungaruak Adam's old house, now a heap of piled up ruins.

PL-16 KIKIKTAK

Still visible about three, not in same place.

PL-17 KIPPISAKOUK

Ruins visible, non-Native explorers lived here for awhile looking for North West passage, Also later used by reindeer herders,

PL-1 8 SINIRURAK

Name place, Ada **Susook** and **Tounais** around 19 12's. Later used by reindeer herders.

PL-19 LAKE

Fresh water lake, still in use.

PL-20 LAKE

Fresh water lake, still in use.

PL-21 LAKE

Fresh water lake, still in use

PL-22 KAYATUALOOK

Simon **Samroalook's** old sod house. Used fall time during the 1940s during World War II. Hunting ptarmigans and squirrel area.

PL-23 REINDEER CORAL

Reindeer coral made of lumber and wire fence. This **was** the last reindeer coral used in 1930.

PL-24 CULLY HILL

Graves, cellars and old ruins. House of Johnson Tournai and Rachel **Saghaloon** was here when **Dorcias Neakok** came to Point Lay in about 1927.

PL-25 POINT LAY

Ruins, second Point Lay, hunting, fishing, trapping, berry picking, camping and nesting area. This may be where two of the three houses were that existed when **Dorcas** Tingook (now **Neakok**) came to Point Lay to live with the Meyers in approximately 1930. People who lived in the houses:

Johnson **Tournai** and Rachel **Saghaloon**
Charlie Susook and Ada
Allen **Upicksoun** Sr. and **Dorcas** Tingook

After school house built, and the one at Icy Cape closed, (1928 - 1930) many more people came to Point Lay. These families seem to have come from the south (Point Hope and sites between Point Hope and Point Lay) as well as the north (Icy Cape people who did not go to **Wainwright**). Names mentioned are **Agnasagga**, Tukrook, Turak, **Tugaruk**. School teacher was Mr. Moyer, married to Mary Joule. Tony Joule the school teacher later in the 1930s, helped organize the last whaling done out of Point Lay (according to **Dorcas Neakok**). The period after the school was built was when Point Lay proper had its largest population (until the 1970s) - an estimated 100 to 150. Later in the 1930s the estimate was 75 to 150 (**Dorcas Neakok**). The population in 1951 was 65 (Weed 1957:127). During 1950s population declined to almost zero, school closed. **Dorcas** married approximately 1937, widowed approximately 1947 - Warren Neakok in Point Lay area for some years previous to 1947.

PL-26 PAA

Ada **Susook's** and **Tounai's** old sod houses. First Point Lay around 1912's.

PL-27 RUINS (**IMIANIK**)

All around the coast where there is little grass, there are nesting **areas** for brandts and all kinds of ducks. Sea ducks, Eider, -geese and **aaqhaallich**. Mostly where there is ponds. Also hunting of polar bear, **ugruks**, seals, etc.

PL-28 **NAPAGTAACHIAQ**

Stone age, all around the coast where there is little grass, there is nesting area for brandts and all kinds of ducks. Eider, geese and **aaqhaalliqs**.

PL-29 **TUUNGAICH**

Ducks called **tuungaich** now extinct, polar bear, eggs, caribou and trapping.

PL-30 **MITGUNITCHUT**

Name place for travelers.

PL-31 **ISUNAKUUQ**

Name place for travelers.

PL-32 **KANAKUTTQ**

Name place for travelers, fishing.

PL-33 **GROUP OF LAKES**

Fishing.

PL-34 **KANAKTUUQ NO. 2**

Name of place

PL-35 **KAGIAVIK**

Ducks, ptarmigans.

PL-36 IMIK

Ruins, ancient, families of reindeer herders main **camp**. Coal near for fuel around 1930's.

PL-37 ATANILAK

Possible oil seep, burns when lit during winter.

PL-38 TIGGIAT

Fish, coal.

PL-39 MAGGAKTUUQ

Name of place.

PL-40 KIMMIKKIRAK

Sod house made of willows, stayed up for two years. Is now standing and now built with lumber by Warren and **Dorcas** Neakok. Fishing and hunting area.

PL-41 KAKEAK

Ruins, fishing, reindeer herders old camp for so long, trapping and hunting area. People left this area in 1960's.

PL-42 KIGRAGIIT

Fishing and trapping area.

PL-43 QAGLUQPAK

Fishing.

PL-44 ALUAKAT

coal.

PL-45 AMAKTUK

Fishing.

PL-46 ITCHALINAAQ

Ruins, fishing and trapping.

PL-47 KOGANAAQ

Graves, Point Hoper named Koganak's grave marked with a whale jaw.

PL-48 SAPIMMIK

Mountains which block west end of flat land, good hunting and trapping area.

PL-49 UMIAT

Mountain sign of Umiat on top.

PL-50 ANGILUKTAK

Deep pond with fish

PL-51 KUGLUKTAK

Water fall with fish climbing.

PL-52 KIASIK

Name of mountain.

PL-53 KAGLUKAQ
West end of Sapummik.

PL-54 QALTUGPAK
Grave.

PL-55 **IGGACHIAT**
Ruins, graves, fishing and trapping area.

PL-56 ATANGICH
Name of mountains.

PL-57 KAUKAT
Fishing area.

PL-58 KEKAK
Name of mountain.

PL-59 AGLUTAITCH
Side curves of mountains.

PL-60 **PINGAUAK**
High mountains.

APPENDIX B

ESKIMO GAMES - BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS

Appendix B is included as an example of observed cultural continuity in Point Lay. “Eskimo games” can now mean many things in all sorts of contexts - there are the formalized “Eskimo Olympics” where there are restrictions on who can participate on the one hand to the informal “pickup finger-pulls” that can be observed at almost any informal or celebratory (church excepted) **Inupiat** social occasion. The following games were observed at Christmas in Point Lay in 1987. Any references to participants refer to the games of that particular year. As this detail is not suitable for the body of the report, it was felt desirable to place it in an appendix.

Christmas games: December 1987- A Listing and Brief Description of Games

KNEE WALK: For distance - The player kneels and then holds feet up to his buttocks so that all weight is on the knees and then walks as far as possible. If he makes it to the end of the measured off distance he turns around and goes to the other end and so on. Any person is entitled to try as many times as he desires, and the team point is awarded only after everyone else on the opposing team has given up. The event is won by a very young, and very light, **Inupiat** male. Weight is a severe disadvantage for this event.

LEG-HOP-SPIN: For the most revolutions - The player puts one hand on the floor palm down and picks up the same-side foot with the other hand. This leaves the player with the original hand and the opposite-side foot on the floor. The object is then to hop in circles using the down hand as a pivot and keeping the raised hand and foot off the ground. Again, each player is entitled to as many tries as he wants, and the point is awarded once all give up. A high school senior male won this event, which requires strength, stamina, and **limbiness**.

"HANDSLAP": For two players, with the loser being eliminated from the game. Point is awarded when one team runs out of players. The two players stand and face each other about a foot or a foot and 1/2 apart and hold **their** hands out to the **side** or in front of them. The object **is** to make the opponent lose **his** balance by **hitting his** open palms **with** yours. Withdrawing ones hands and **feints** are as important as actual contact, as often an opponents' own actions **will** make **him** lose **his** balance. In **this** way **size** and **weight** need not be an advantage. The **winner** was a **fairly** heavy high school **junior male**.

HANDWALK: For distance. Players did a handstand and then **walked** on his hands for as long a distance as possible along the measured out tape. If he reached the end he turned around and went to the other end, and so on. Not many people could do this event, which requires strength and balance.

STANDING HAND PULL: For two players, with the loser being eliminated from the game. The team point is awarded when one team runs out of players. The players stand facing each other about a foot and 1/2 apart and compete right arm against right arm and left against left. The object is to hold hands and by pulling, pushing, and jerking to make the opponent lose his balance before you do. The winner must win both sides. If there is a split the tiebreaker involves each players winning hand (and is thus an asymmetrical contest).

ONE-LEGGED HIGH KICK: For highest kick. A string **is** suspended from the ceiling and a ball **tied** to the end of **it**. The object **is** to stand on one foot, jump up and **kick the** ball with that same foot, and land on that foot. Each player has any number of tries at **all** heights, and point awarded only when all members of one team have given up. Two young men (19-23) were the best in this event.

STANDING BROAD JUMP

OVERHEAD-PASS RELAY

STICK-PULL

SEATED ONE-LEGGED PUSH (two person competition). Players sit back-to-back on the floor with one leg extended and the other with the knee up and foot flat on the floor. The hand opposite to the leg with the knee up is put between the legs, with the other hand put outside the legs. The object is to push one's opponent back using one's hands and leg that is up for force. The reigning champion gets to choose **which** leg **is** used, as only one **trial** determines the winner. **Point is** awarded after one team runs out of players. Won by a male **high** school senior.

LEG WRESTLE (commonly known as "Indian wrestling"): For two players, with the loser eliminated from the game. The players lie down beside each other with one's head at the other's feet. They each raise their inside leg up to a right angle to the count of 1-2-3-go, and at the go lock feet, ankles, or whatever, and try and pull the other over. Winner must win both sides (left and right) and if there is a split the first side is done over and the winner is the one who wins 2 out of 3. Point awarded when one side runs out of players. Won by a man in his young 20s.

EAR PULL (string loops around the lobes). For 2 players. Players sit facing each other with legs crossed in the standard position (see introduction above). The string is looped around the same-side ear of each player (right against right, left against left) and the loser is the one whose ear the string slips off of first. If the first two contests are split the tiebreaker involves each player's winning ear (asymmetrical). Point awarded when one team runs out of players. Won by a **middle-**aged woman.

RING FINGER PULL. For two players. Players sit facing each other with legs crossed in the standard position and lock the same-side ringfingers (right with right, left with left - order of the two contests at the discretion of the reigning champion). The loser is the one whose hand is pulled all the way to the other side or who **slips** first. If one is still pulling it is possible to recover from being **pulled** all the way to the opponent's side, but it is an unlikely thing to have happen. Point is awarded when One team runs out of players. Won by middle-aged man.

"**TRIPLE JUMP**" - but a weird combination of hops. For distance. I am not sure how to describe this event. One stands on both feet and jumps so as to land on one foot, with the other hooked behind this foot. One hops off this foot to land on the other foot and to take a third hop off of this foot to land on both feet to establish the distance. One must land steady on one's feet or the try does not count. Any player gets any number of tries. with point awarded only after all members present of one team have given up. Won by a male high school senior.

ONE-LEGGED HAND SLAP (left leg). For two players, with loser eliminated from the game. Exactly the same as for "hand-slap" above except that the players stand on their left-leg only. Won by a slender high school male.

MIDDLE FINGER PULL. For two players. Exactly the same as "ring-finger pull" above except that the middle finger is used instead of the ring-finger. Won by a young man in his 20s.

TOGGLE PULL. For two players. Players sit facing each other with legs crossed in the standard position. They each hold one handle of the toggle-rope (a short cord with a wooden handle at each end). The winner must win both side competitions (right hand against right, left against left). If there is a split, each player uses his winning hand (an asymmetrical contest). Point awarded when one team runs out of players. Last champion was a young man in his 20s.

NECK PULL. For two players, a young man in his 20s as the last champion. Players face each other on all fours. Two belts are connected with each other to make a loop of leather. This is looped around each player's head and at the signal each player tries to drag the other a certain distance. The loser is the one who is dragged or lets the belt slip off his head. The loser is eliminated from the game and the point is awarded when one team runs out of players.

"BALLET" ("contortions with a stick"). Highest number of repetitions wins. It is difficult to describe the exact motion that is required. A young woman (**mid-20s**) wins it with 30 repetitions. She clearly specializes in this type of event.

BACKWARDS CRAB WALK. For distance. Player lies on his back on the floor and puts palms on the floor by his head with the fingers facing forward. He then raises his head and body from the floor, being supported by his hands and feet, with his elbows pointing backwards (unless one is athletic enough to lock one's arms). Few people can do this. Distance is along a measured tape, as in several events above. Any player entitled to as many tries as he wants, with point awarded after all present members of one of the teams give up. A high school male wins with 1.5 repetitions of the measured distance.

HAND SPIN. For most revolutions. A high school male wins with 5.5 revolutions. Player sticks one of his elbows in his belly and balances on his flat palm. He then uses his other hand to propel himself around in a circle. All players have an unlimited number of tries, and point is awarded only after all present members of one team give up. It does not matter which arm one uses as the balance arm.

OBJECT PUSH THROUGH LEGS. For distance. Player stands with both feet behind a mark and holds an object in one hand. The other hand is kept behind the back. The hand with the object is put through the legs from behind and the object placed down on the measured tape as far as possible. The object can not be pushed (as that is a different game) but must be placed down. The feet must be kept still and stable behind the line. Each player can have as many tries as desired and the point is awarded only after **all** present members of one team have given up trying to beat the other team's record.

ARM WRESTLING. For two players. The players lie facing each other and compete right arm against right arm and left against left. Each puts his arm out in front with the elbow resting on the floor and the forearm straight up. They grasp each other's hand and at the signal try to force the other's arm to the floor by pushing. If left and right contests are split, the tiebreaker is a repeat of whatever arm was used first (an asymmetric contest is not possible in this game). Point awarded when one team runs out of players.

KNEE JUMP. For distance. Won by a man in his 20s. Player kneels with his knees behind the mark. He then jumps up by swinging arms, shifting weight, and extending legs, and lands on his feet as far out on the measured tape as possible. The player ^{must} land steadily on his feet. Each player has as many tries as he wants and point is awarded only after all present members of one of the teams give up.

STRETCH AND PLACE. For **distance**. Player stands with feet on a mark and places one hand out in front of him and uses the other hand to place an object as far out along a measured tape as possible. He must then regain a standing posture using only the hand he has placed on the floor. No other part of his body may touch the floor and his feet must remain steady. All players have as many tries as they want, and the point is awarded only after all present members of one of the teams have given up trying to beat the other team's record.

ONE-LEGGED HIGH KICK WITHOUT LEAVING THE FLOOR. For greatest height. Player **stan** under the string with an object tied to its end, Without jumping, the player tries to kick the object with one foot. The other foot must remain stable. Each player has as many tries as he wants and the point is awarded after all the members present from one team have given up trying to beat the other team's record. A very tall **non-Inupiat** wins this game.

HAND SLAP SEAL WALK. For distance. Player assumes a pushup position, only with bent arms out to the side. The object is to push himself up so that he can clap his hands before assuming the same position, while pushing himself forward with his feet. He cannot stop, but must stay in motion once he starts. He cannot straighten his arms at any time. Each play has unlimited tries, and the point is awarded only after all players from one team have given up trying to best the record of the other team.

"BALLET IN REVERSE" - contortions **with** a stick, but backwards. **This is** harder than the other form and just as difficult to describe. The same woman **wins**.

MONKEY HOP over two sticks. For distance. Player starts behind a mark and must place his knuckles down within the bounded area, hop and bring his feet up, **place** his hands in front of the stick which marks the farthest edge of the bounded area, and hop again so that his feet land beyond the stick. He must land on both feet and be steady. The stick is gradually moved further out, until only one team has players who can make that distance. Each player has any many tries as he wishes, and the point is awarded after **all** members of one team give up trying to beat the record of the other team.

UNDER RELAY. Team Competition. The participating members of the two teams are arranged from shortest to tallest. The object relayed is passed between the legs of the players from the front of the line to the back. The end person then runs to the front and restarts the process. This continues until everyone on the team is in the same position as at the start. The first team to do so wins the point, and the race is run only once.

WRIST PULL. For two players. Players sit and face each other with legs crossed in standard position. They lock same-side wrists (right with right or left with left). They compete on both sides and if they split have a tiebreaker with each using his winning wrist. Losing player is eliminated and point is awarded when one team runs out of players.

ARM PULL. For two players. Players sit facing each other with legs crossed in standard position. The arms are hooked at the elbows - right arm against **rightarm** and left against left, unless a **tiebreakeris** needed. In that case each person uses his winning arm. Losing player is eliminated and point awarded when one team runs out of players.

SIT-UP HIGH TOUCH. For greatest height. A bench is placed under a string with an object tied to its end. A person lies with his back flat on the floor and his lower leg on the "bench". The knee is at the edge of the "bench". The person then tried to raise his body to touch the object tied to the end of the string with one hand, with his other hand resting on **his** tummy. The object is gradually increased in height until one team no longer has a player who can touch it. All players can try any number of times, and point is awarded when **all** present members of one of the teams give up trying to beat the other team's record. A tall non-Inupiat wins the game,

"STATIONARY" or "BLOCK" TOGGLE PULL. For two players. One person kneels on the **floor** and grabs one end of the "toggle-rope" with the hand furthest from the opponent. He braces this arm with the other arm by grasping it on the upper arm. The opponent sits with extended legs at right angles to the kneeling person and grasps the other end of the "toggle-rope". Right hand vs. right hand, left vs. left except for the tiebreaker case. If the seated person wins, he takes the place of the kneeling person. The kneeling person remains in place until he loses and the winning member of the opposite team takes his place. Losing players are eliminated from the game and the point is awarded when one team runs out of players.

HAIR PULL. For distance. Player is dragged by his/her hair as far as can be stood along a measured tape. If the end is reached, the puller turns around and goes the other way. Players can try any number of times, and point is awarded only after the other team has given up.

TOGGLE PULL with THUMB and MIDDLE FINGERS gripping the handle. For two players. The opponents sit facing one another, with legs crossed in the standard position. Each grasps one end of the toggle rope between his thumb and middle finger and tries to pull it from the grasp of the other. One loses by letting go of the **toggle** or by being pulled all the way over to the opponent's side. Losing player is eliminated from the game and point is awarded when one team runs out of players.

TWO FOOT HIGH KICK. For greatest height. Player stands under string with object tied on to its end, jumps up and kicks object with both feet, and lands on both feet (steadily). Object gradually increased in height until only one team has a player or players who can do it. All players have as many tries as they want, and team point is awarded when one team gives up trying to beat the record of the other.

SIDE-BY-SIDE TOGGLE PULL. For two players. Opponents kneel on the floor, facing in opposite directions. They grasp one handle of a short rope with two handles with the arm furthest from the opponent. The other arm is used to brace the pulling arm by pushing on the upper part of the arm. Right arm against right arm, and left against left, unless a tiebreaker is needed in which case the winning arms are used (in which case the opponents have to kneel **facing** the same direction). Loser **is** eliminated from the game and **point is** awarded when one team runs out of players. There are few **rapid** victories **in this** game, as the room available for pulling **is** somewhat restricted.

BULL FIGHT or BULL PUSH. For two players. The two opponents face each other on all fours. They lower **their** heads, interlock necks, and at the signal try to push each other back. Losing player is eliminated from the game, and point is awarded when one team runs out of players.

EAR WEIGHT. For distance. Player hangs a weight from his ear by means of a loop of string and walks as far as possible **along** a measured tape, changing directions as necessary. In this case the weight was a purse full of pool balls. Each player has as many tries as he wants, and point is awarded when all members of one of the team give up trying to beat the record of the other,

INDIAN STICK PULL. For two players, who sit facing each other with legs crossed in the standard position. They each grasp a short straight stick with the same-side hand (right-right or left-left) and pull at the signal. The one who slips first is the loser (no one was observed to lose by being pulled over). The loser is eliminated from the game and the point is awarded when one team runs out of players.

APPENDIX C

SUBSISTENCE LAND USE MAPS - POINT LAY, ALASKA

and

TABLE OF CONVERSION FACTORS

This appendix contains the subsistence land use maps for various resources for Point Lay, Alaska. They are placed in this appendix as they were deemed too much **of a block** to place in the text and they make a convenient reference when placed in an appendix. The table of conversion factors would be out of place in the text, again tending to disrupt the flow of the narrative. It is useful information to have make available, however, and so is included in this appendix.

SUBSISTENCE LAND USE - POINT LAY VILLAGE CARIBOU HUNTING



This map depicts the subsistence land use by the residents of Point Lay Village, Alaska, as of 1978. The map was prepared by the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence, Arctic Region, North Slope Office, Fairbanks, AK. Scale 1:250,000.

Data were collected through mapping sessions and review of composite community maps by individual subsistence users, and mapping efforts. A listing in the community time-frame was used for all categories. Areas depicted as subsistence use-areas include the used by residents and 1978 survey map biographies from 7 households covering 14 resource categories were collected. In 1978, 8 households reviewed the 1978 maps and other additional land-use information in all of the 14 original categories.

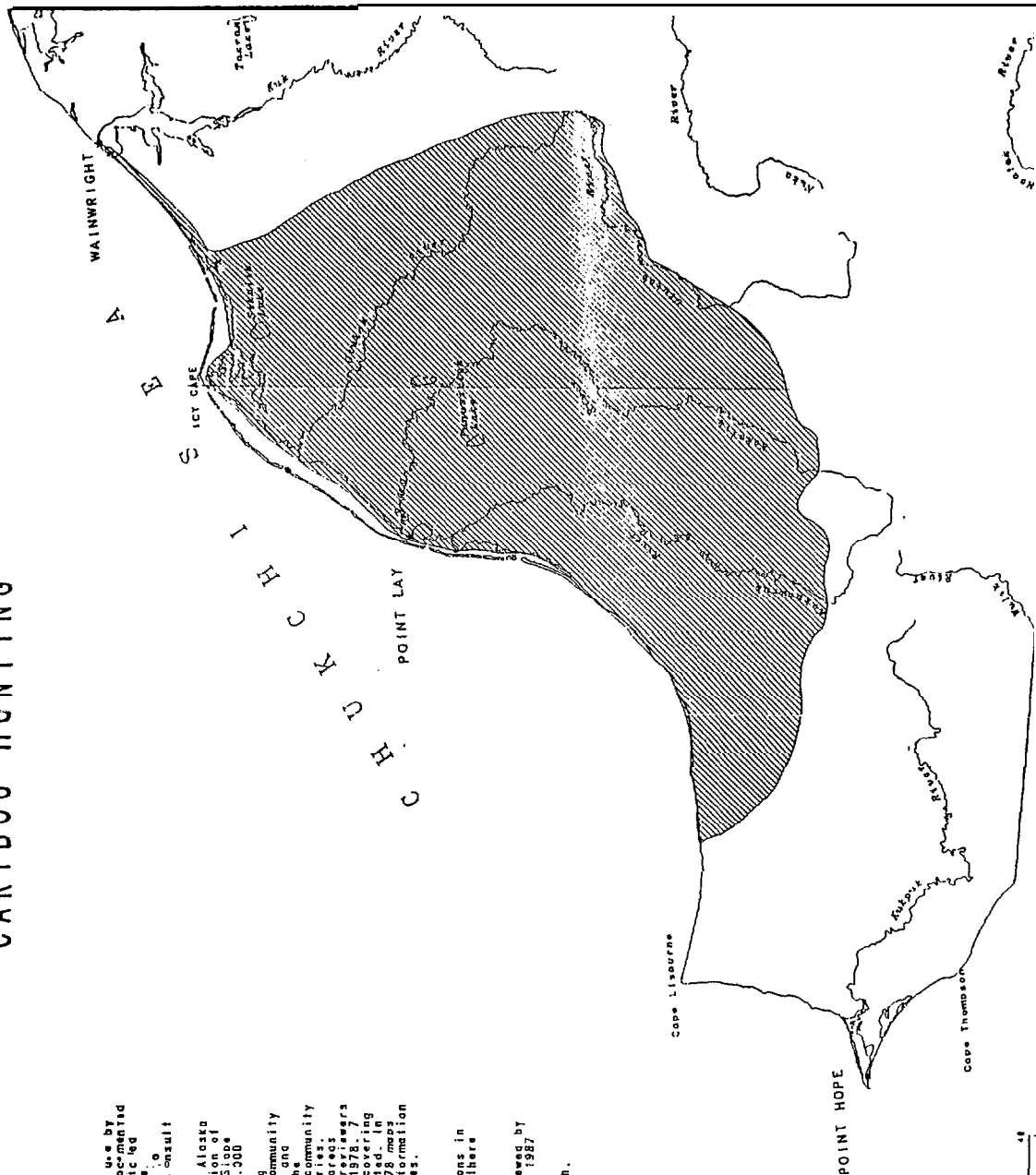
Point Lay's population was 54 persons in 1978 and 1987 there were estimated 155 persons in 43 households.

Community composite maps were reviewed by community representatives in 1978, 1987 (and in 1988).

Map Production: North Slope Borough, Planning Department, Geographic Information System, Anchorage, AK.

Map Projection: Albers' Equal Area

Date: May 1988.





SUBSISTENCE LAND USE - POINT LAY VILLAGE VEGETATION GATHERING

This map depicts where subsistence use by residents has been documented. Undocumented use of areas other than those depicted may occur. In addition, use of other species than those listed is known to occur. For definitive information consult with the local community.

Source: Original files compiled by Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence, Arctic Region, North Slope Office, Fairbanks, AK. Scale: 1:250,000

Data were collected through mapping sessions and review of community maps. Individual subsistence users and entire households contributed to the mapping effort. A lifetime in the community time-frame use of all categories. Areas depicted as subsistence use areas are those used by respondents and were since they moved to Point Lay. 1978. 7 maps and 60 households covering 14 resource categories were collected. In 1987, 8 households reviewed the 1978 maps and offered additional land-use information in all of the 14 original categories.

Point Lay's population was 54 persons in 15 households in 1978 and in 1987 there were estimated 155 persons in 43 households.

Community composite maps were reviewed by community representatives in 1978, 1987 (and in 1988).

Map Production: North Slope Borough, Planning Department, Geographic Information System, Anchorage, AK.

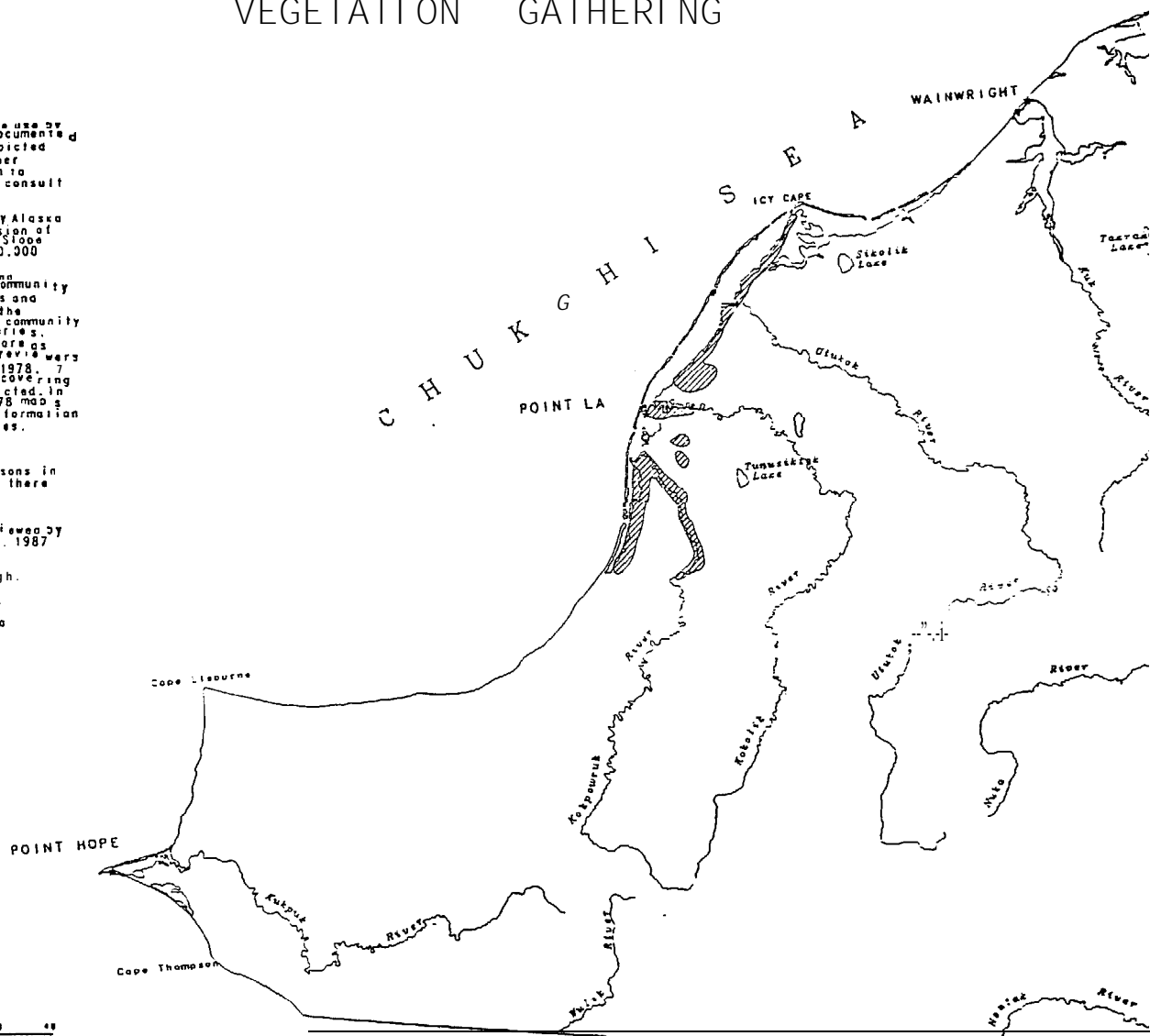
Map Projection: Albers' Equal Area

Date: May, 1988.

VEGETATION
 {blueberry}
 {raspberry}
 {grass roots}
 {Hudson's Bay tea}
 {sawtooth}
 {wild celery}
 {wild potato}
 {mushrooms}
 {willow leaves}



0 5 10 20 30 40
MILES



SUBS STENCE LAND USE - POINT LAY VILLAGE FURBEARER TRAPPING



This map depicts the subsistence use by residents of Point Lay Village, Alaska. The use is based on information gathered from interviews with residents, and is not a scientific study. The map is intended to provide information on the subsistence use of the area, and is not intended to be used for any other purpose.

Source: Original files compiled by Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence, Fairbanks, AK. Scale 1:250,000.

Data were collected through mapping sessions and interviews with residents. The entire households contributed to the mapping effort. A lifetime in the community time-frame was used for all categories. Areas designated as subsistence use were determined by residents of Point Lay, Alaska, since they moved to Point Lay in 1978. The map depicts the subsistence use of the area, and is not intended to be used for any other purpose.

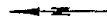
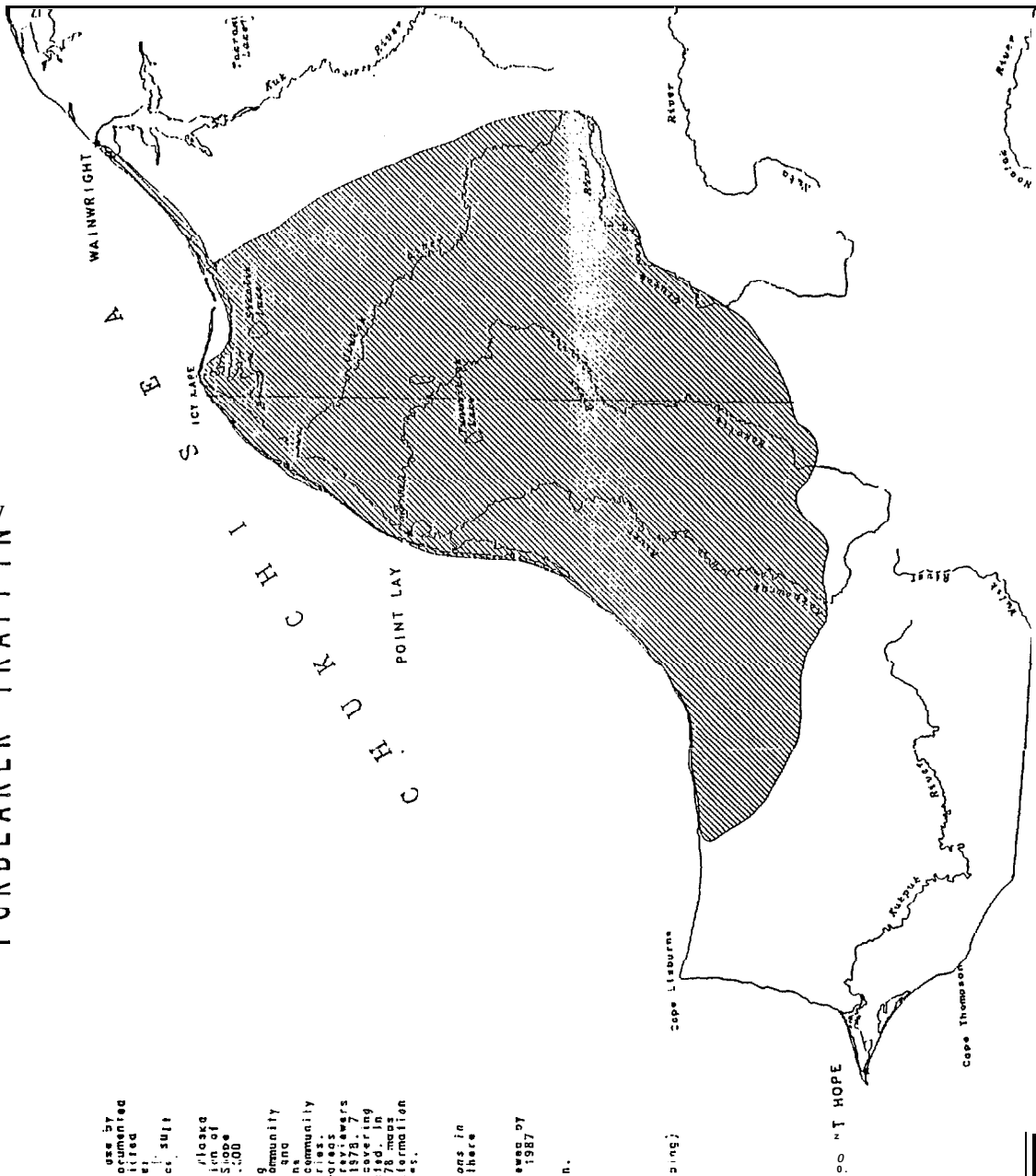
Point Lay's population was 54 persons in 1978 and 155 persons in 1987. There were estimated 155 persons in 43 households.

Community composite maps were reviewed by community representatives in 1978, 1987 (end in 1988).

Map Production: North Slope Borough, Planning Department, Geographic Information System, Anchorage, AK.

Map Projection: Albers' Equal Area
Date: May, 1988.

FURBEARERS (Hunting or Trapping):
Arctic fox
wolf
wolverine





SUBSISTENCE LAND USE - POINT LAY VILLAGE WHALE HUNTING

This map depicts where subsistence use by residents has been documented. Undocumented use of areas other than those depicted may occur. In addition, use of other species than those listed is known to occur. For definitive information consult with the local community.

Source: Original files compiled by Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence, Arctic Region, North Slope Office, Fairbanks, AK. Scale 1:250,000

Data were collected through mapping sessions and review of composite community maps. Individual subsistence users and entire households contributed to the mapping effort. A lifetime in the community time-frame was used for all categories. Areas depicted as subsistence use-areas are those used by respondents and reviewers since they moved to Point Lay. In 1978, 7 map biographies from 7 households covering 14 resource categories were collected. In 1987, 8 households reviewed the 1978 maps and offered additional land-use information in all of the 14 original categories.

Point Lay's population was 54 persons in 15 households in 1978 and in 1987 there were estimated 155 persons in 43 households.

Community composite maps were reviewed by community representatives in 1978, 1987 (and in 1988).

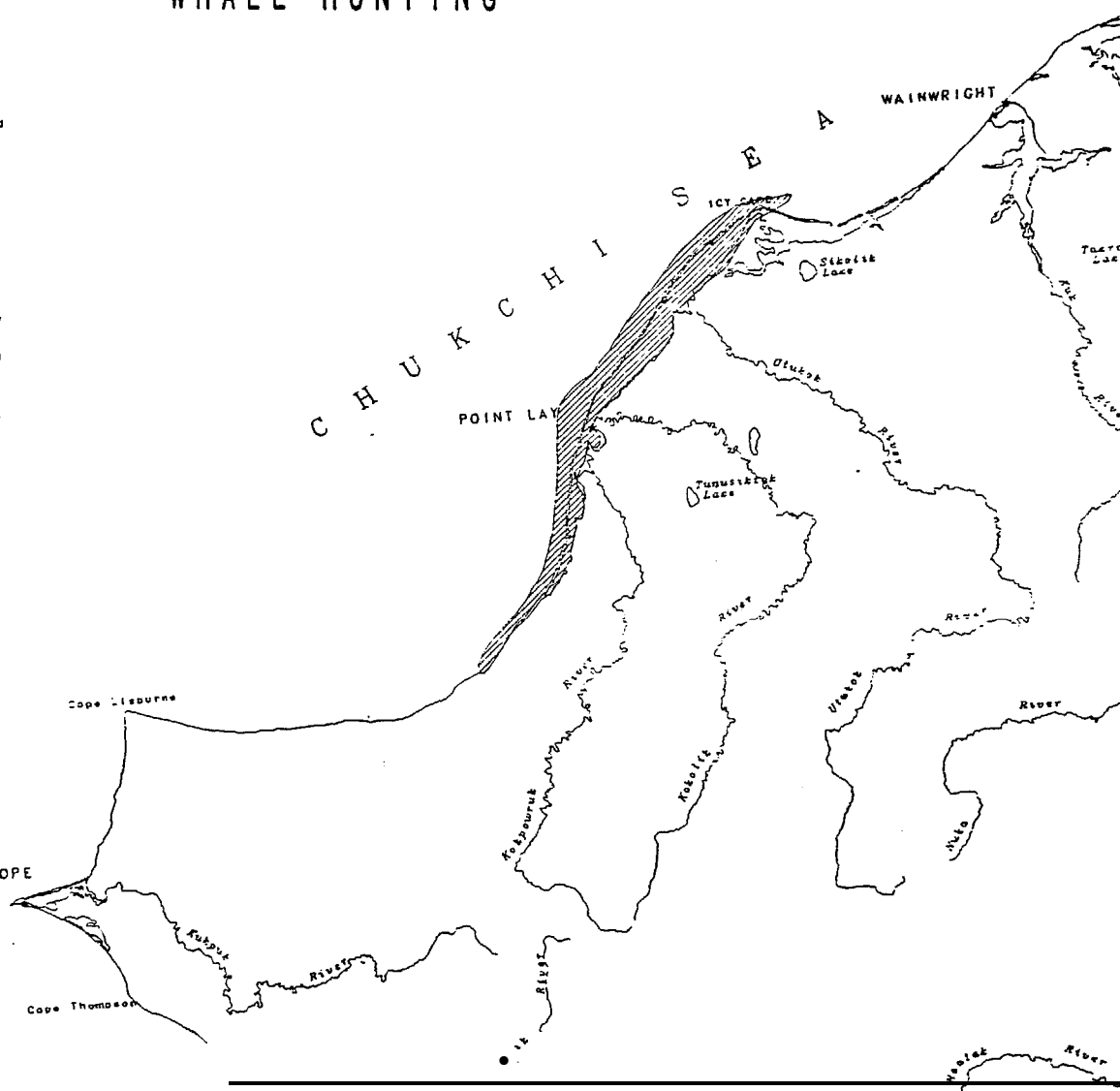
Map Production: North Slope Borough, Planning Department, Geographic Information System, Anchorage, AK.

Map Projection: Albers' Equal Area

Date: May, 1988.

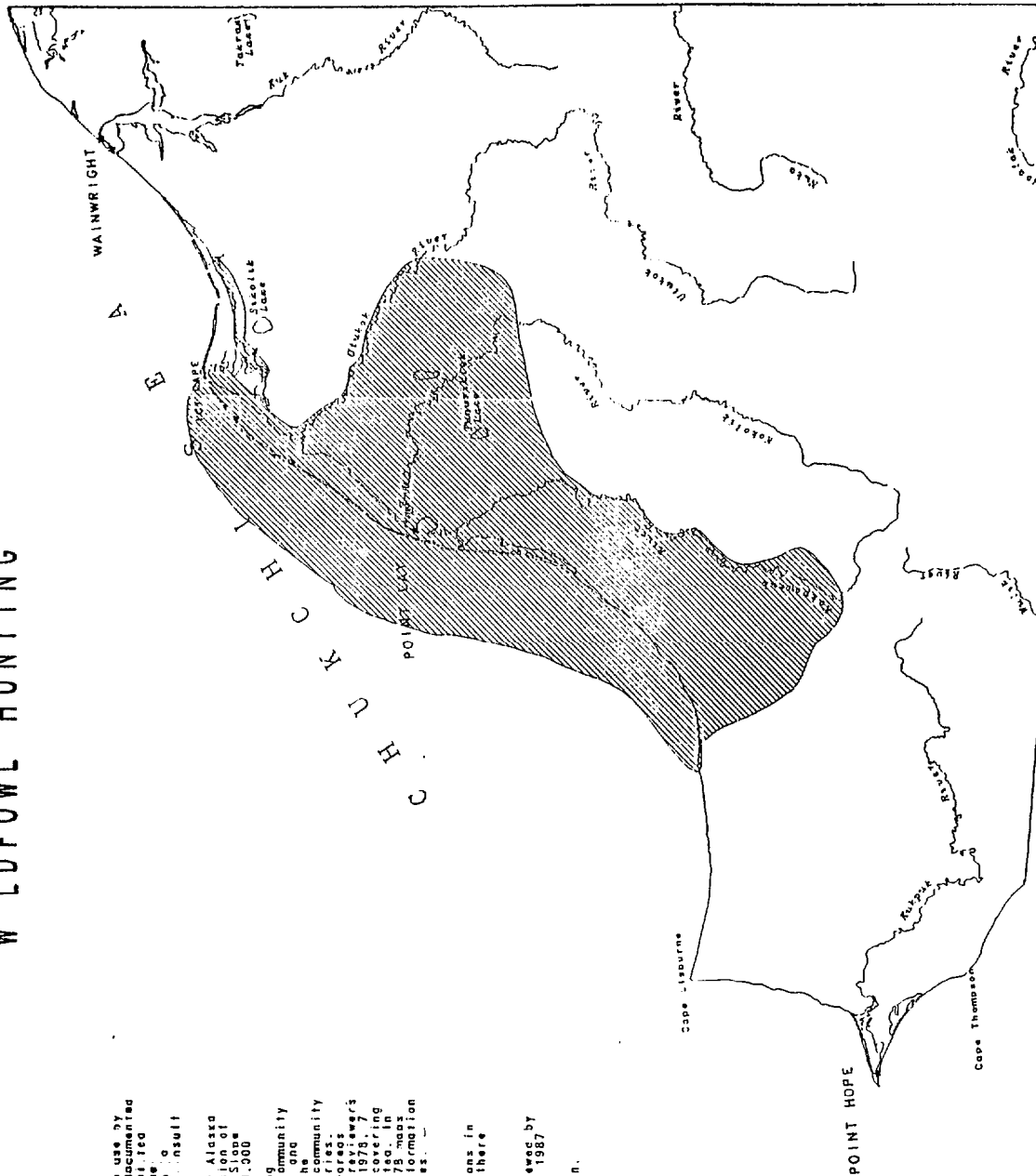
WHALES
Beluga

0 10 20 30 40
MILES



SUBS STENCE LAND USE - POINT LAY LLAGE
W LDFOWL HUNTING

WILDCROW
 black-bellied black starr
 common star
 song star
 speckled star
 starling's star
 Canada goose
 (white-fronted goose)
 (common murre)
 (thick-billed murre)
 oisduw
 pintail
 willow starwing
 bird eggs



SUBSISTENCE LAND USE - POIN LA VILLAGE BROWN BEAR HUNT NG



This map depicts where subsistence use by residents has been documented. Undocumented use of areas other than those depicted here is not shown. Only those areas where subsistence use is known to occur. For definitive information consult with the local community.

Source: Original files compiled by Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence, Arctic Region, North Slope Office, Fairbanks, AK. Scale 1:250,000

Data were collected through mapping sessions and review of composite community maps. Individual subsistence users and entire households contributed to the mapping. The community map was used for all categories. Areas depicted as subsistence use-areas are those used by respondents and reviewers since they moved to Point Lay in 1978. 14 resource categories were collected. In 1987, 8 households reviewed the 1978 maps and offered additional land-use information in all of the 14 original categories.

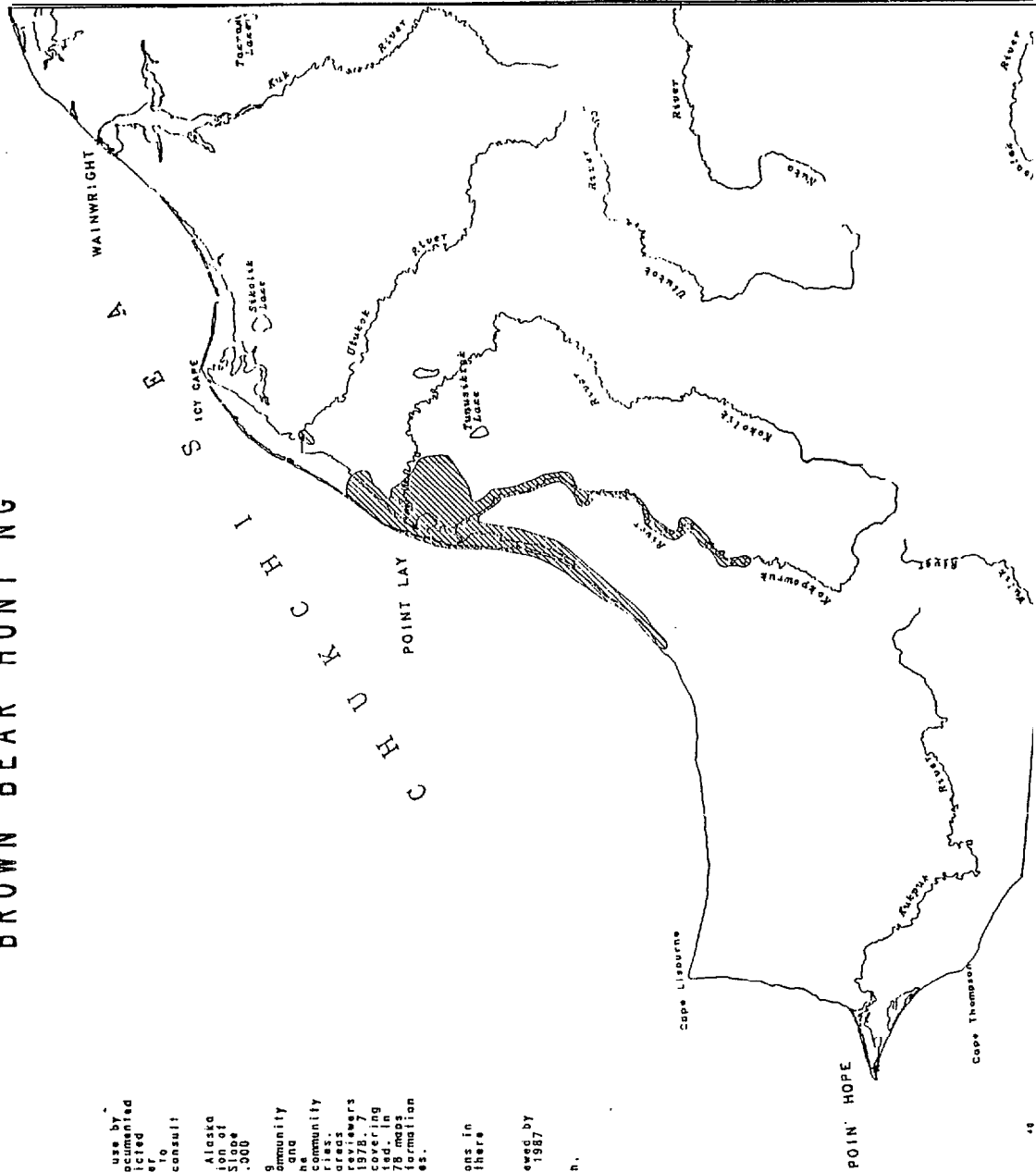
Point Lay's population was 54 persons in 1978. In 1978, 155 persons in 43 households were estimated to reside there (and in 1988).

Community composite maps were reviewed by the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (and in 1988).

Map Production: North Slope Borough, Planning Department, Geographic Information System, Anchorage, AK.

Map Projection: Albers' Equal Area

Date: May, 1986.



SUBSISTENCE AND USE - POINT LAY VILLAGE
FUEL & S RUC URAL MATERIAL GA HER NG

This map depicts where subsistence use by residents has been documented. Undocumented use of areas other than those depicted may occur. In addition, use of other tracts than those listed is known; a request for additional information consult with the local community.

Source: Original files compiled by Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence, Arctic Region, North Slope Office, Fairbanks, AK. Scale 1:250,000

Data were collected through mapping interviews with 100 community health workers (CHWs) and 100 adolescent substance users and their parents. Individual substance users and their parents contributed to the mapping effort. A lifetime in the community time frame was used for all categories. Data were collected from 1978 to 1997. There were 100 respondents and reviewers for those used to paint lay. In 1978, 7 respondents from 7 households covering 7 neighborhoods were collected. In 1987, 100 sources were collected in 100 neighborhoods. In 1997, 100 sources were collected in 100 neighborhoods and offered additional land-use information in all of the 14 original categories.

Point Lay's population was 54 persons in 15 households in 1978 and in 1987 there were estimated 155 persons in 43 households.

Community composite maps were reviewed by community representatives in 1978, 1987 (and in 1988).

Map Production: North Slope Borough.
Planning Department. Geographic
Information System, Anchorage, AK.

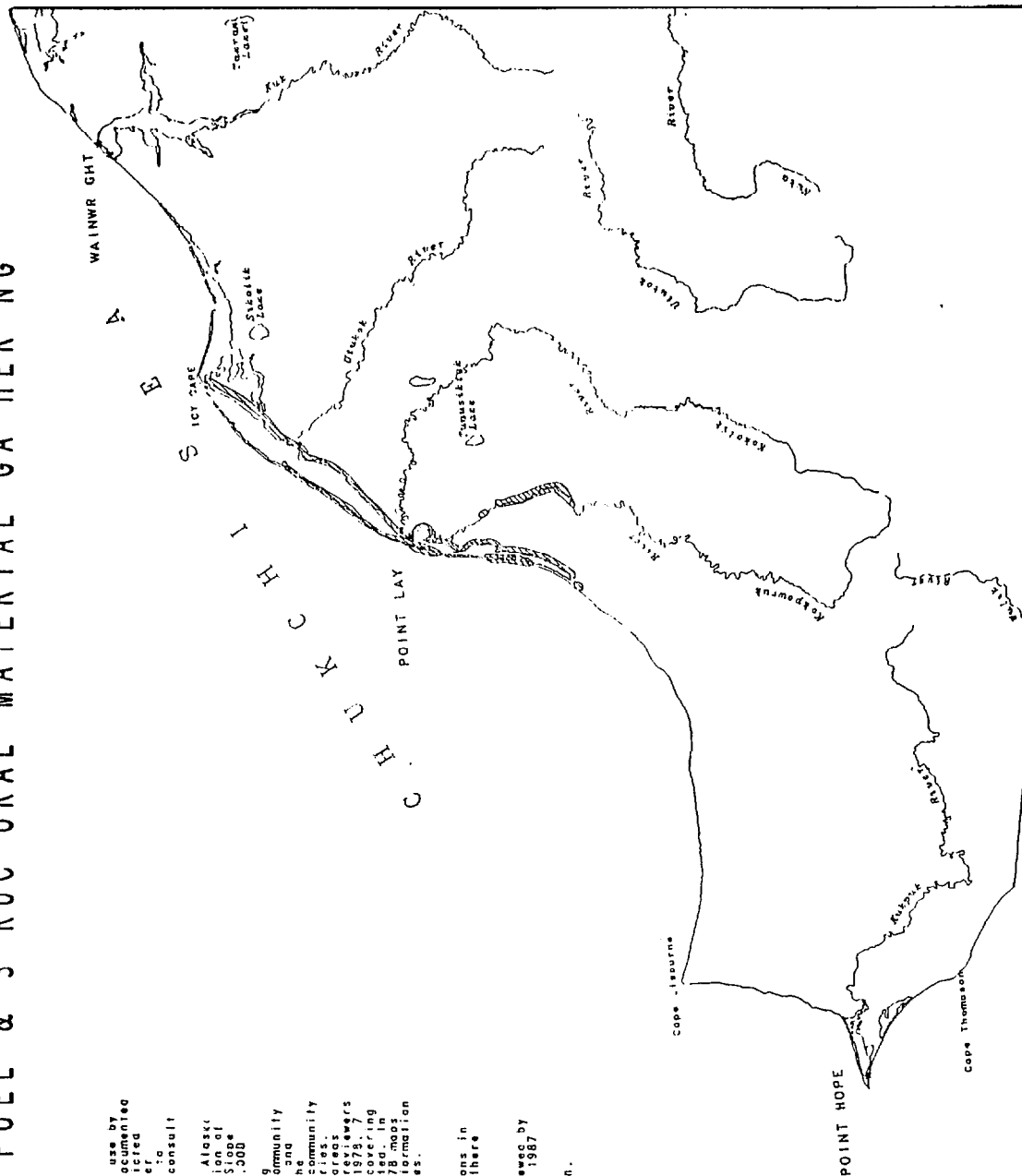
Map Projection: Albers's Equal Area

Date: May 1988.

FUEL & STRUCTURAL MATERIAL

50001: 1 J5
50002: 1 W00C

SAB 11A
POS



SUBSISTENCE LAND USE - POINT LAY VILLAGE SMALL MAMMAL HUNTING & RAPPING



This map depicts where subsistence use by Point Lay residents has been documented. Undocumented use of areas, in addition to those depicted, may occur. In addition, use of other species than those listed is known to occur. For definitive information consult with the local community.

Source: Original files compiled by Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence, Arctic Region, North Slope Office, Fairbanks, AK. Scale 1:250,000

Data were collected through mapping sessions and review of composite community maps. Individual subsistence users and mapping effort contributed to the time-frame was used for all categories. Areas depicted as subsistence use-areas are those used by residents and reviewers are those used by the community. The map is based on information collected during 14 resource categories were collected in 1987. 2 households reviewed the 1978 maps and offered additional land-use information in all of the 14 original categories.

Point Lay's population was 54 persons in 1978. In 1992, there were 155 persons in 43 households.

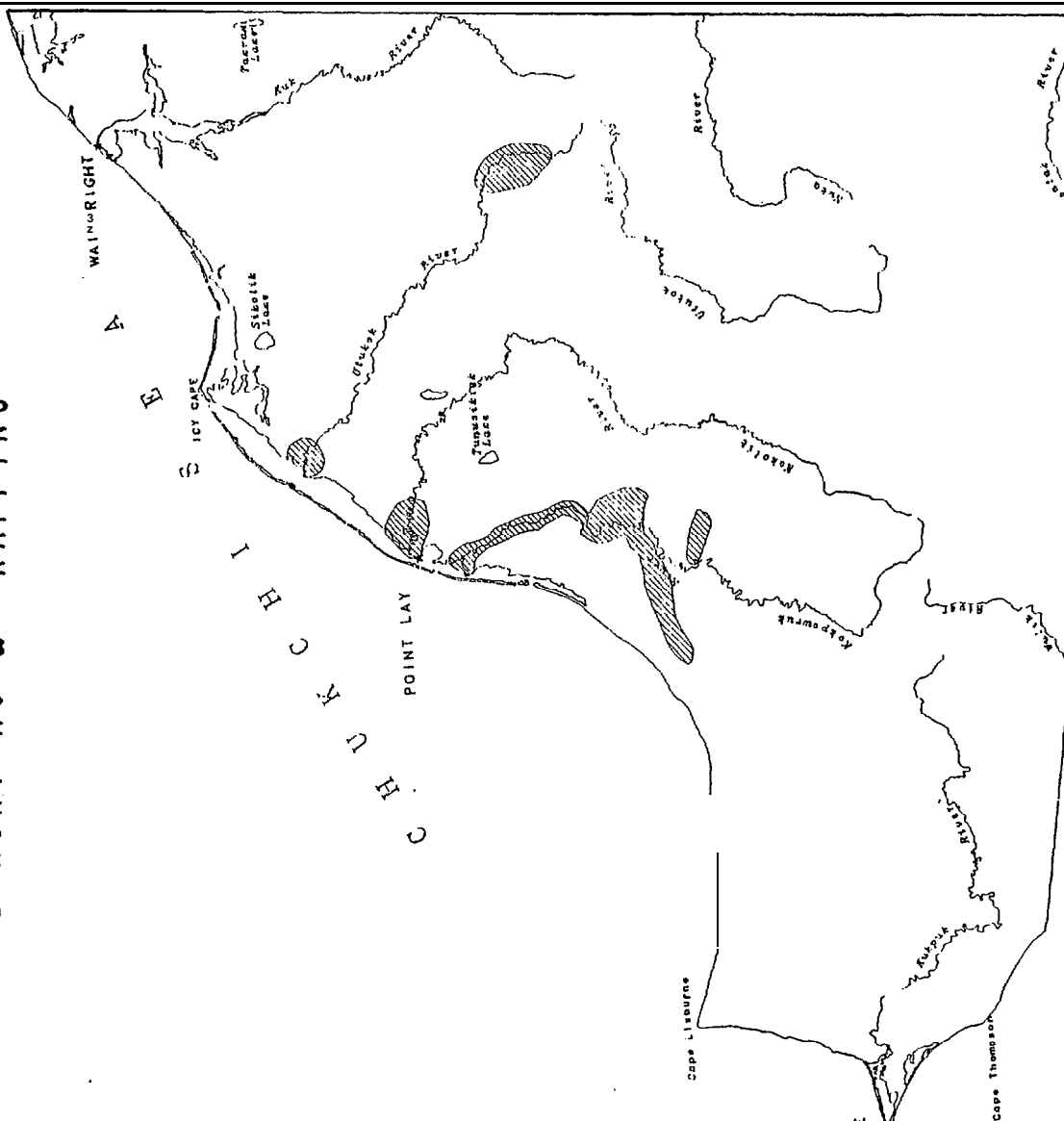
Community composite maps were reviewed by community representatives in 1978, 1987 (and in 1988).

Map Production: North Slope Borough, Planning Department, Geographic Information System, Anchorage, AK.

Map Projection: Albers Equal Area

Date: May, 1988.

SMA-1 MAMMALS (Hunting and Trapping)
Arctic ground squirrel
Marmot





Map of the Point Hope area in Alaska. The map shows the Chukchi Sea to the west of Point Hope. Key locations include Wainwright, Cape Lisburne, Cape Thompson, and various rivers and lakes. A shaded area is labeled 'POINT HOPE'. The map also shows the Kupuk River, Kook River, and other smaller water bodies. The map is oriented with North at the top.

POINT HOPE

Cape Thompson

[illegible]

SUBSISTENCE LAND USE - POINT LAY VILLAGE FURBEARER HUNTING



This map shows the subsistence land use by residents of Point Lay. It is based on data collected from interviews with residents and on aerial photography. The map shows the areas where subsistence hunting and trapping occur. For detailed information consult with the local community.

Source: Original files compiled by Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence, Arctic Region, North Slope Office, Fairbanks, AK. Scale 1:250,000

Data were collected through mapping sessions and review of composite community maps. Individual subsistence users and entire households contributed to the data. The map shows the areas where subsistence hunting and trapping occur. Areas depicted as subsistence use areas are those used by residents and reviewers since they moved to Point Lay. In 1978, 7 households moved to Point Lay. Since 1978, 14 resource categories were added, totaling 1987. 8 households reviewed the 1978 map and offered additional land-use information in all of the 14 original categories.

Point Lay's population was 54 persons in 1978 and 155 persons in 1987. There were 155 persons in 43 households.

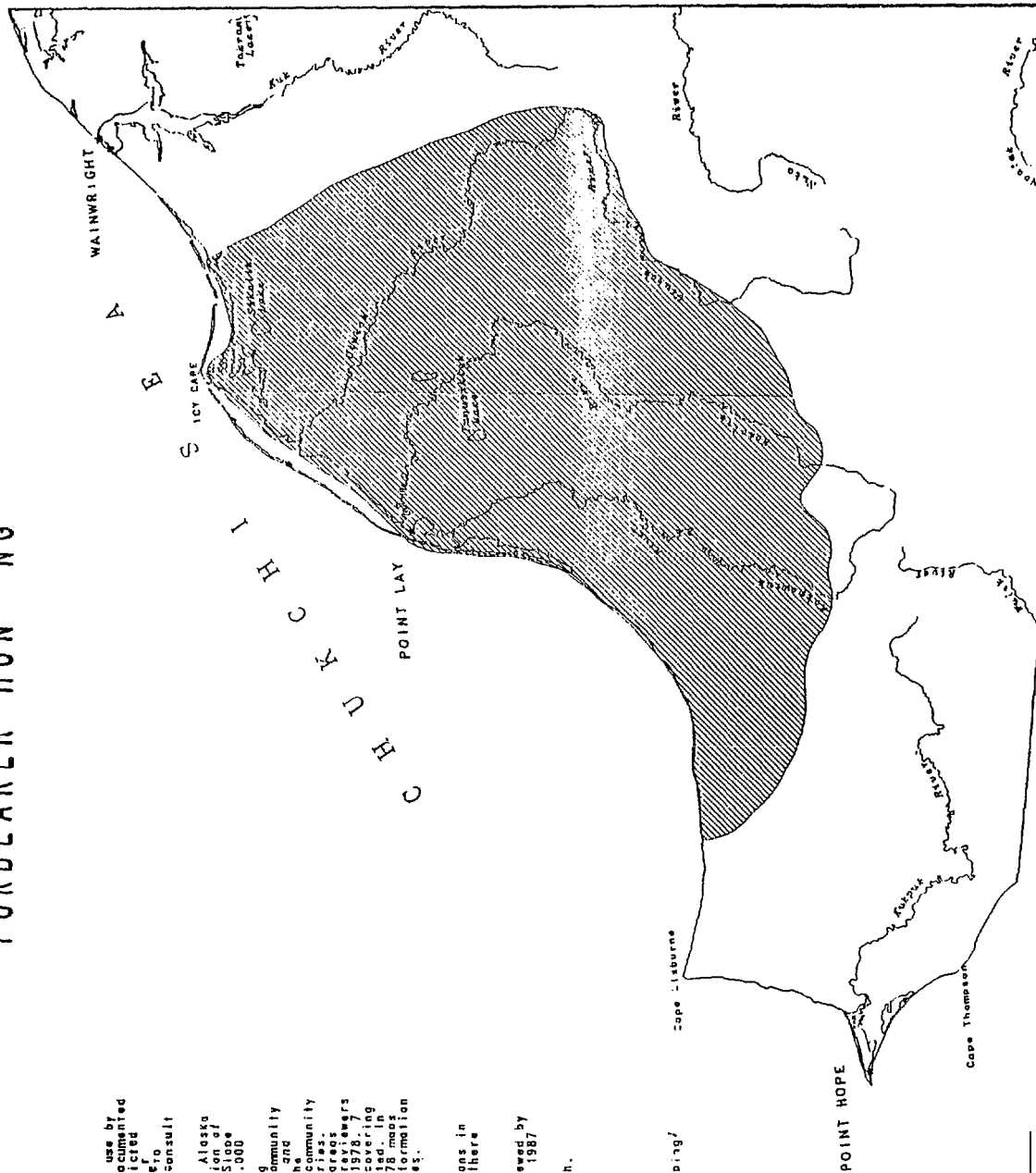
Community composite maps were reviewed by community representatives in 1975, 1987 (and in 1988).

Map Production: North Slope Borough, Planning Department, Geographic Information System, Anchorage, AK.

Map Projection: Albers' Equal Area

Date: May, 1988.

LEGEND:
Hunting or Trapping
Residential
Water
Wetland



SUBSISTENCE LAND USE - POINTLAYVILLAGE
SEAL HUNTING



Source: Original file s compiled by Alaska
Department of Fish and Game, Division of
Subsistence, Arctic Region, North Slope
Office, Fairbanks, AK. Scale: 250,000

Data were collected through mapping sessions and review of composite community maps. Individual subsistence users and entire households contributed to the mapping effort. A lifetime in the community time-frame was used for all categories. The data were collected from 1978, the year those used by respondents and reviewers since they moved to Point Lay. In 1978, 7 map biographies from 7 households covering 14 resource categories were collected. In 1979, 6 households contributed 12 maps and affected an additional land-use information in all of the 14 original categories.

Point Lay's population was 54 persons in 15 households in 1978. . . . in 1987 there were estimated 155 persons in 43 households.

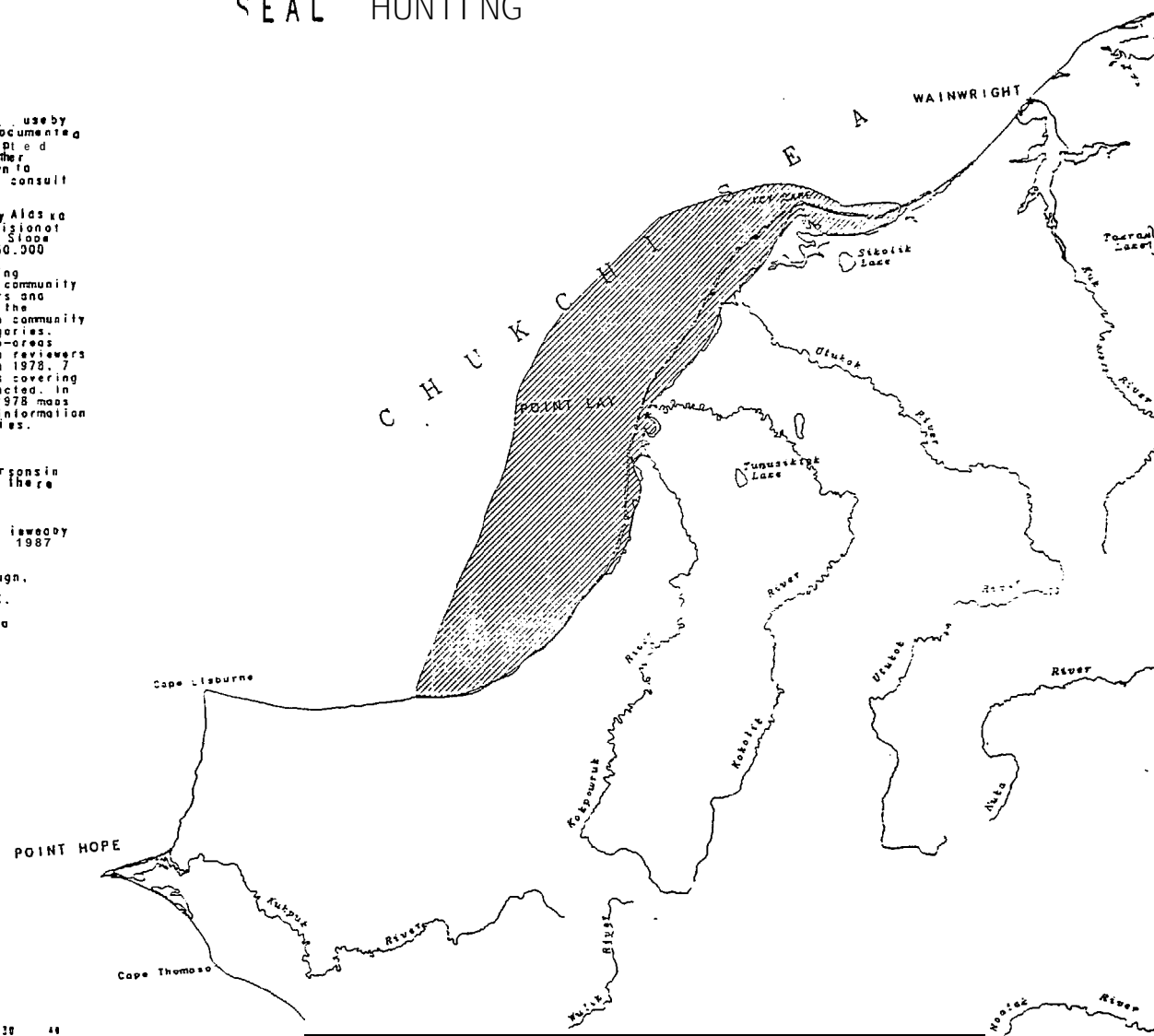
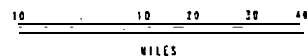
Community composite maps were reviewed by community representatives in 1978, 1987 (and in 1988).

Map Production: North Slope Borough,
Planning Department, Geographic
Information System, Anchorage, AK.

Map Projection: Albers's Equal Area

Date: May, 1988.

SEALS
bearded
(ribbon)
ringed
spotted



SUBSISTENCE LAND USE - POINT LAY V L LAGE POLAR BEAR HUNT NG



This map depicts where subsistence land use by residents has been documented. Undocumented use of areas other than those depicted may occur. In addition, use of other areas may occur. This map is not to be used for definitive information. For more information, consult with the local community.

Source: Original files compiled by Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence, Arctic Region, 12th Street Office, Fairbanks, AK. Scale: 250,000:1.

Data were collected through mapping of community maps, individual subsistence users and entire households contributed to the mapping effort. A lifetime in the community time period was used for mapping. Areas mapped are subsistence categories. Areas used by respondents and reviewers are those used by respondents and reviewers since they moved to Point Lay. In 1978, 7 map diagrams from 7 households covering 187 subsistence categories were collected. In 1987, 2 households were added. This map offers additional land-use information in all of the 14 original categories.

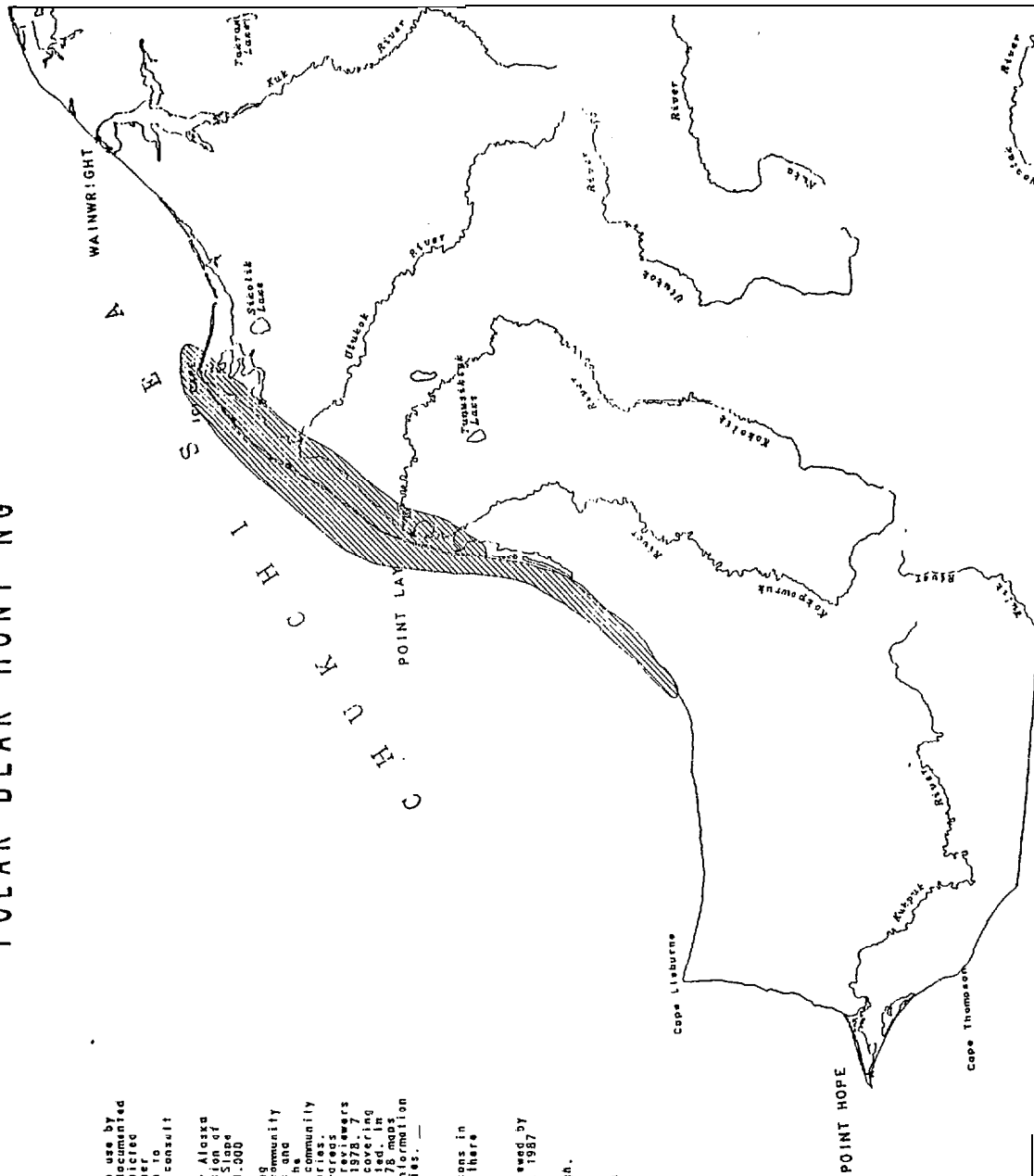
Point Lay's population was 54 persons in 15 households in 1978 and in 1987 there were estimated 155 persons in 43 households.

Community composite maps were reviewed by community representatives in 1978, 1987 (and in 1988).

Map Production: North Slope Borough, Planning Department, Geographic Information System, Anchorage, AK.

Map Projection: Albers' Equal Area

Date: May, 1988.



SUBSISTENCE LAND USE - POINT LAY VILLAGE FISHING



This map shows the subsistence land use by residents of Point Lay. The land use is categorized by type of use, such as hunting, fishing, and gathering. The map is based on information gathered from residents of the community.

Sources: Original files compiled by Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence, Arctic Region, North Slope Office, Fairbanks, AK. Scale 1:250,000. Data were collected through mapping sessions and review of composite community maps. Individual subsistence users and entire households contributed to the mapping effort. The information in the community maps is based on the information provided by residents of the community. Areas depicted as subsistence use areas are those used by residents and reviewers since they moved to Point Lay. In 1978, 7 map coordinates (township and range) covering map coordinates 10N, 11N, 12N, 13N, 14N, 15N, 16N, 17N, 18N, 19N, 20N, 21N, 22N, 23N, 24N, 25N, 26N, 27N, 28N, 29N, 30N, 31N, 32N, 33N, 34N, 35N, 36N, 37N, 38N, 39N, 40N, 41N, 42N, 43N, 44N, 45N, 46N, 47N, 48N, 49N, 50N, 51N, 52N, 53N, 54N, 55N, 56N, 57N, 58N, 59N, 60N, 61N, 62N, 63N, 64N, 65N, 66N, 67N, 68N, 69N, 70N, 71N, 72N, 73N, 74N, 75N, 76N, 77N, 78N, 79N, 80N, 81N, 82N, 83N, 84N, 85N, 86N, 87N, 88N, 89N, 90N, 91N, 92N, 93N, 94N, 95N, 96N, 97N, 98N, 99N, 100N, 101N, 102N, 103N, 104N, 105N, 106N, 107N, 108N, 109N, 110N, 111N, 112N, 113N, 114N, 115N, 116N, 117N, 118N, 119N, 120N, 121N, 122N, 123N, 124N, 125N, 126N, 127N, 128N, 129N, 130N, 131N, 132N, 133N, 134N, 135N, 136N, 137N, 138N, 139N, 140N, 141N, 142N, 143N, 144N, 145N, 146N, 147N, 148N, 149N, 150N, 151N, 152N, 153N, 154N, 155N, 156N, 157N, 158N, 159N, 160N, 161N, 162N, 163N, 164N, 165N, 166N, 167N, 168N, 169N, 170N, 171N, 172N, 173N, 174N, 175N, 176N, 177N, 178N, 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1866N, 1867N, 1868N, 1869N, 1870N, 1871N, 1872N, 1873N, 1874N, 1875N,

SUBSISTENCE LAND USE - POINT LAY V LLAGE AL RESOURCE CATEGOR ES



This map depicts where subsistence use by residents has been documented. Use of subsistence resources may occur in areas other than those depicted. In addition, use of other species than those listed is known to occur. For detailed information consult with the local community.

Source: Original files compiled by Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence, Fairbanks, Alaska, 1987. Scale 1:250,000.

Data were collected through mapping sessions and review of composite community maps. The maps were prepared by the entire household community and the mapping effort. A lifetime in the community time-frame was used for all categories. Areas depicted as subsistence use-areas since they moved to Point Lay and 1978-79 map biographies from 7 households covering 14 resource categories were collected. In 1978, 15 households reviewed the 1978 maps and provided additional information in all of the 14 original categories.

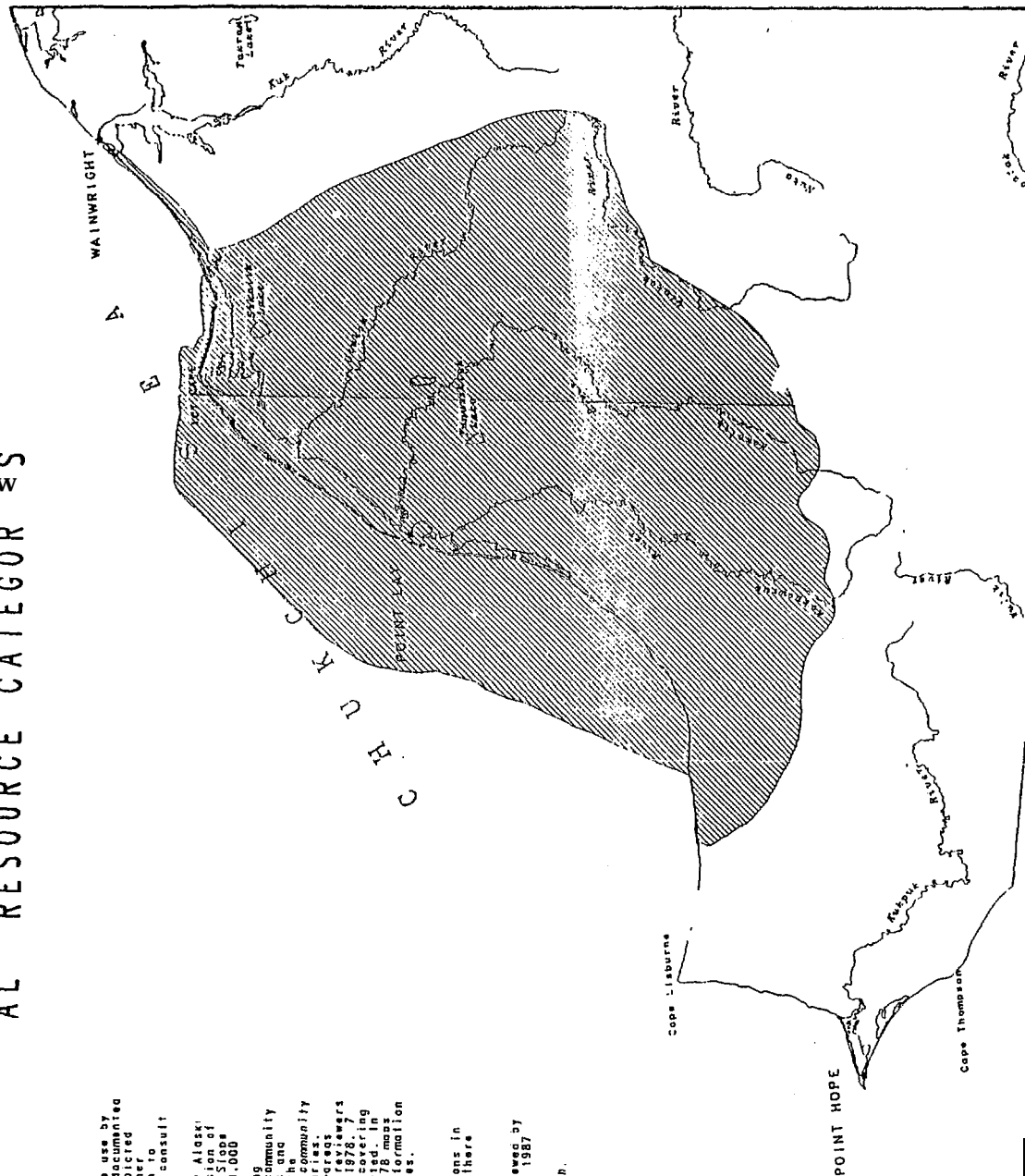
Point Lay's population was 54 persons in 15 households in 1978 and in 1987 there were estimated 155 persons in 43 households.

Community composite maps were reviewed by community representatives in 1978, 1987 (and in 1988).

Map production: North Slope Borough Planning Department, Geographic Information System, Anchorage, AK.

Map Projection: Albers' Equal Area

Date: May, 1988



APPENDIX C

DOCUMENTATION OF CONVERSION FACTORS USED FOR POINT LAY SURVEY -1988

<u>Species Code</u>	<u>Species Name</u>	<u>Conversion Factor (# to edible lbs)</u>	<u>Source</u>
100	Canada Goose	4.2	Bellrose '76 ³
101	Black Brant	4.2	Bellrose '76 ³
102	Eider Ducks	1.5	Bellrose '76 ³
103	Pintail	1.5	Bellrose '76 ³
104	Oldsquaw	1.5	Bellrose '76 ³
105	Murre	1.5	Bellrose '76 ³
106	Eggs	0.15	Conversion Sheets
109	Ptarmigan	0.7	Conversion Sheets
120	Caribou	117	Jim Davis-Game Div. ³
121	Moose	500	Stoker ³
122	Grizzly Bear	100	Conversion Sheets
130	Ground Squirrel	0.41	Conversion Sheets
131	Red Fox	n/a	Not Eaten
132	Arctic Fox	n/a	Not Eaten
133	Wolverine	n/a	Not Eaten
134	wolf	n/a	Not Eaten
136	Marmot	n/a	Not Eaten
140	Spotted Seal	42	Stoker ³
141	Ringed Seal	42	Stoker ³
142	Bearded Seal	176	Stoker ³
143	Walrus	772	Stoker ³
144	Bowhead		
145	Polar Bear	496	Stoker ³
146	Beluga	1855 ¹	Fay '71 Klinkhart '78
150	Arctic Char	3.3	DiCicco '85
151	Arctic Cisco	n/a	No Harvest
152	Grayling	0.9	Morrow '80
153	Ling Cod	n/a	No Harvest
154	Arctic Cod	n/a	No Harvest
157	Broad Whitefish	3.4	NSB 1986 ³
160	Smelt	0.14	Willette '87 ³
162	Pacific Herring	0.18	Willette '87
163	Chum Salmon	6.1	Hamner '86 ³
164	Pink Salmon	1.7	Craig & Schmidt '85 ³
165	Flounder	0.5	Researcher Est.
166	Sheefish	n/a	No Harvest
180	Berries ²	4.0	Conversion Sheets
181	Plants ²	4.0	Conversion Sheets

¹ Fay and Klinkhart estimated the live weight of **beluga** to be 2650. The percentage of that which was edible was low in the researchers opinion. 1855 pounds was calculated assuming that 70% of the 2650 lb **whale** would be edible. This 1855 is a researcher estimate, although the original figure he based it on came from Fay and Klinkhart. It is used to compute total **lbs** harvested by the community, but no household harvests are computed.

² Gallons to edible pounds.

³ Personal Communication to Sverre Pedersen or unpublished documents available in the Fairbanks ADF&G office.

APPENDIX C (continued)

CONVERSIONS from Sacks to Numbers Harvested

It was necessary to estimate the live weight of certain species harvested in Point Lay because amounts harvested were given to us in sacks. Knowing that an average sack would weigh 70 pounds, the number per sack could be calculated. The edible **weight** conversions are listed here as well - not because they are used in these calculations, but because edible weight is .7 of live weight, and we wanted to be sure and be consistent when later we will convert all numbers harvested into pounds.

<u>Species</u>	<u>Live Wt</u>	<u>Edible Wt¹</u>	<u>No. per Sack²</u>	<u>Source</u>
Canada Geese	6.0³	4.2	12 (11.7)	Bellrose '76⁴
Black Brant	6.0³	4.2	12 (11.7)	Bellrose '76⁴
Eiders	2.1	1.5	33 (33.3)	Bellrose '76⁴
Oldsquaw	2.1	1.5	33 (33.3)	Bellrose '76⁴
Grayling	1.3	0.9	54 (53.8)	Morrow '80
Arctic Char	4.7	3.3	15 (14.9)	DiCicco '85
Chum Salmon	8.7	6.1	8 (8.04)	Hamner '86⁴
Pink Salmon	2.4	1.7	29 (29.2)	Craig and Schmidt '85 ⁴
Flounder	0.7	0.5	100	Researcher Estimate
Smelt	0.2	0.14	350	Willett '87⁴

¹ Edible Weight = 70% of Live Weight

² Based on a 70 pound sack

³ Based on **Bellrose '76** estimate on average goose weight, species unspecified.

⁴ Personal Communication or **unpublished documents** available in the Fairbanks **ADF&G** office.

DATA CORRECTIONS to the "Amount Harvested" variable'

Below are the cases where we had to make a conversion from sacks to numbers harvested so that we could code the data consistently. The numbers in the column on the left were inserted into the raw data file.

SPECIES CODE	SPECIES NAME	HHID#	AMOUNT IN SACKS	AMOUNT IN NUMBERS
100	Canada Geese	032	6.0	72
101	Black Brant	032	2.5	30
102	Eider Ducks	032	4.0	132
104	Oldsquaw	032	0.5	17
152	Grayling	009	2.0	108
152	Grayling	010	2.0	108
152	Grayling	012	4.0	216
152	Grayling	015	3.0	162
152	Grayling	020	0.5	27
152	Grayling	022	4.0	216
150	Arctic Char	029	1.0	15
152	Grayling	029	3.0	162
163	Chum Salmon	029	0.5	4
164	Pink Salmon	029	0.5	15 (14.5)
150	Arctic Char	042	1.5	22 (22.5)
165	Flounder	042	1.0	100
152	Grayling	032	5.0	270
160	Smelt	032	0.5	175
152	Grayling	143	2.0	108

3. Beluga

In 1988, the estimated number of **beluga** taken by the community was 35. Fay '71 and **Klinkhart '78** estimate the average live weight of and adult **beluga** at 2650. Using a live to edible conversion factor of .7 (which is a researchers estimate of the proportion of a **beluga** that is actually used), the estimated edible weight of these 35 **beluga** would be:

$$(35 * 2650) 8.7 = 64,925 \text{ pounds}$$

These pounds will be added in to the total pounds harvested figure for the Point Lay survey whenever the extrapolated community total is calculated.

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

