CHAPTER 1. NAUTICAL NATION: INDIGENOUS COMMERCIAL FISHING IN AN EASTERN ALEUT COMMUNITY

1.1 Introduction to the Aleut World

A casual visitor to King Cove, Alaska, might at first consider it to be more of a commercial centre than a rural Aleut village. Massive boats, advanced electronics, cannery feuds and gear wars dominate the outward social and political dynamics. At closer examination, the reverse also presents itself with equal strength. On a calm evening, with fishing boats cruising in and out of the harbour and fishermen sharing their tenth cup of coffee playing cribbage in the Harbor House,[1] the village seems to fit a quaint, romantic ideal. Fishing is the lifeblood of the village, the society, and perhaps it can be said, of a culture.

This study traces the fisheries as they relate to the expression of individual and community relations and identity in the small Aleut (Unangan)[2] fishing village of King Cove. The Eastern Aleut make a living in a single way: commercial fishing or in support of commercial fishing. Subsistence is a defining feature for many Alaskan Natives, however, for the Aleut, commercial fishing is not simply taken up in order to meet the minimum financial requirements for continued subsistence activities, and neither is it simply a 'job.' Contemporary Eastern Aleut identity is a product of their intimate relationship with the commercial fishing industry, particularly the salmon industry that so many rely upon. This century long (and arguably longer) engagement with commercialisation is a modern extension of their traditional fishing economies, a complex transformation of the ecological, political and economic, yet also relatively unremarkable in their own words, that this is simply what they do. Their self-definition as commercial fishermen in an area where the majority of Alaska Natives define themselves as subsistence societies has negatively affected how they are seen by others. The development and compatibility of commercial and subsistence patterns are not the dominant sources of concern for the Aleut, rather it is the continuation of these practices—the future—over which they express anxiety: "The fish are always going to be there. I hope we are too."

Identity has been a prevalent but nebulous focus in recent anthropological analyses (e.g. Barth 1969; Cohen 1993, 2000; Friedman 1992, 1994),[3] and has been argued as being a valuable concept in studies of social and cultural change in the arctic (e.g. Anderson 2000; Nuttall 1992; Pullar 1992), but the concept itself requires further contemplation. What is identity and how do people make meaning

[1] This is the common gathering space for fishermen, located by the harbour. I use the American English "Harbor House" because it is a place name, but the British English "harbour" for general discussion.
[2] I use the ethnonym Aleut throughout the dissertation and not Unangan (plural meaning 'the people who call themselves Seasiders', Unangax = singular), which is gaining momentum as the preferred ethnonym in Aleut communities outside the Aleutians East Borough, because Aleut was the only reference people made to themselves. The only times that I heard Unangan is when I asked if they ever use it.
[3] In titles of presentations for the 2002 annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in New Orleans, "identity" appeared in 34 of them, second only to "globalisation," featured in 39 titles.

through identity? What does it mean to be Aleut? What happens when the hallmarks of being Aleut are challenged? This research is an analytical engagement that moves between the nature of Eastern Aleut identity, my understanding of their identity, and local responses to social and economic change. In particular, I am concerned with what happens to men and women who are shut out of participating in the fisheries at their desired levels and, thus, the future prospects for the next generation of Aleuts.

Seeking to define identity and status in Aleut terms, this study focuses on local constructions of identity that hinge on context, and the impact of changes to these contexts, through the lens of individual success and status. Using elements of personal success, status, gender differences, and societal values, I place these within their cultural contexts and consider the positive and negative circumstances surrounding relationships between social change, economic change, and social opportunities for individuals. In this context, I propose alternative explanations for identity development that include the important relationship between identity and status.

The relative absence of publications and research on the Aleut is conspicuous, a condition that I feel contributes to many contemporary problems that Aleuts face; this dissertation itself is presented simultaneously as an ethnography of the Eastern Aleut and a study of the effects of culture change. This research also contributes to the anthropology of fishing in that the Aleut uniquely participate, share, hire relatives, and support their families in an industry where they dominate the local fleet. My objectives are to describe the relationship between subsistence and commercial economies from the individual, household, and fishing fleet levels; analyse perceptions of 'indigenous commercial economies'; and give the Aleut a proper context in northern studies. This is a misunderstood part of the world and part of Alaska, where indigenous peoples are highly modernized and embedded in global processes and thus, this work also has an applied and policy-related function.

The anthropology of fishing is a growing area of interest in the social sciences, tackling the "tragedy of the commons"[4] (Acheson 1981; Gilbertsen 1993; Hardin 1968; McCay and Acheson 1987), fishing strategies (e.g. Durrenberger and Pálsson 1986; Gatewood 1983, 1984; Poggie and Pollnac 1988), applied aspects of fisheries management (Maurstad 2000; C. Smith 1981), urgent calls to save diminishing fish stocks and the societies that exploit them (McGoodwin 1990; Playfair 2003), and aquaculture[5] (e.g. Lewis, Wood and Gregory 1996; Tango-Lowy and Robertson 2002). "Traditional ecological knowledge" (TEK) of localized or indigenous fishing peoples is a current focus for research on management systems (e.g. King 1997; McDaniel 1997), but often separates TEK from more scientific knowledge practices, or vice versa (Durrenberger and King 2000:10).

[4] This "tragedy" posits fish as a common property resource that are overexploited by individual fishermen because there is no benefit for them to conserve in ways that privately owned resources might be protected (Hardin 1968). Durrenberger and King argue that fish are not common property resources in state societies, but state property that are heavily regulated and only accessible to certain constituents (2000:3-4).
[5] The science and/or business of cultivating fish or shellfish under controlled conditions.

What is lacking from many of these studies, particularly in the North American context, is an analysis of the land and sea connection, the social organization intimately tied between them, economic implications, the effects of policy on resource claims, and the ramifications of change. Acheson's (1981) call for "shore-based studies of fishing communities" has scarcely been heeded, notable exceptions include, but are not limited to, Pálsson's Icelandic community studies (1988, 1991, 1993); Nadel-Klein's (2003) study of Scottish fishing villages; Mishler and Mason's (1996) "Alutiiq Vikings" study on kinship and community; and Taylor's (1981) study of an Irish fishing community. The "tragedy of the commons" has been a debate about property and ownership, but these discussions often stop short of tackling what might be considered cultural claims to resources.

In many coastal indigenous communities, their survival and ability to earn a living often depends upon the strength of the fisheries. The collapse of fisheries is a global trend that cannot be ignored; coastal communities, particularly indigenous, peripheral ones, are especially vulnerable in the face of marine ecosystem collapse, and have much to teach us about survival and integrity against global forces.[6] In the Aleutians, villages are reliant on commercial exploitation of marine resources and have few prospects for economic diversification, placing the Aleut in a precarious position where changes in marine productivity, global markets, and state and federal management have both short- and long-term repercussions at sea and on land.

Thus, this research is an attempt to understand the relationship between Aleut identity, society, economy, and the commercial fishing industry. It seeks to identify the connection between the negative impacts of changes in the commercial fishing industry on status, identity, social deviance, and social relationships in the context of a global sphere of changes that are being felt at the individual and community levels. In this context, the anthropology of fishing in King Cove, Alaska, is approached from a diverse set of theoretical perspectives using both qualitative and quantitative data.

1.1.1 The Eastern Aleut

Inhabiting the lower Alaska Peninsula, Aleutian Islands, and the Pribilof Islands, the Aleut are fishermen, hunters, and trappers; but the overwhelming majority rely on the sea for a living as seiners, gillnetters, longliners, trawlers and pot fishermen.[7] The Aleut draw upon an archaeological

[6] The fishing crisis Aleuts face is one of many (McCloskey 1998; McGoodwin 1990), the collapse of the Atlantic cod fishery perhaps receiving the most publicity (Carey 1999; Chantraine 1993; Haedrich and Hamilton 2000; Kurlansky 1997). In the PBS Frontline series *Empty Oceans, Empty Nets* (2001), it was argued that there is "serial depletion" of marine resources and fish cannot reproduce quickly enough to keep up with current demands. There is intensified fishing pressure even though the global catch has decreased. Species caught today were barely considered edible a decade ago. Bycatch (the unintended or unwanted species caught in the context of other fishing, often commercially unusable or undesirable at the time) is argued to be the greatest concern with 20 million metric tons discarded worldwide (4 times the U.S. fleet catch, Pacific and Atlantic).

[7] "Fisher" has entered the social and political jargon as more politically correct and gender inclusive. Many women who fish reject the term (Allison, Jacobs and Porter 1989:xix; Fields 1997) and many Alaskan fishermen

record that reveals a 10,000-year relationship to a marine ecosystem (Laughlin 1963, 1980; Laughlin and Aigner 1975; Maschner *et al* 1997; Maschner 1999a, 1999b, 2000; McCartney 1974, 1984), from which the Aleut link their present maritime sociocultural identity directly to the past, positing a recent history with the depth of many millennia. Today, there are 13 communities in the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands.[8] The Aleut who fall within the Aleutians East Borough, whose boundaries form a distinct cultural zone both historically and now, occupy six communities (Sand Point, King Cove, Nelson Lagoon, False Pass, Akutan, Cold Bay) with a total permanent population of about 2,500, 50% Native (Census 2000). This number increases three-fold during peak fishing seasons.

The western Alaska Peninsula can also be considered an island environment because of the relatively few land animals and the predominately marine orientation. No one passes through these villages accidentally. The sheer expense and difficulty of getting in and out of the villages gives every new face an inherent purpose for being there.

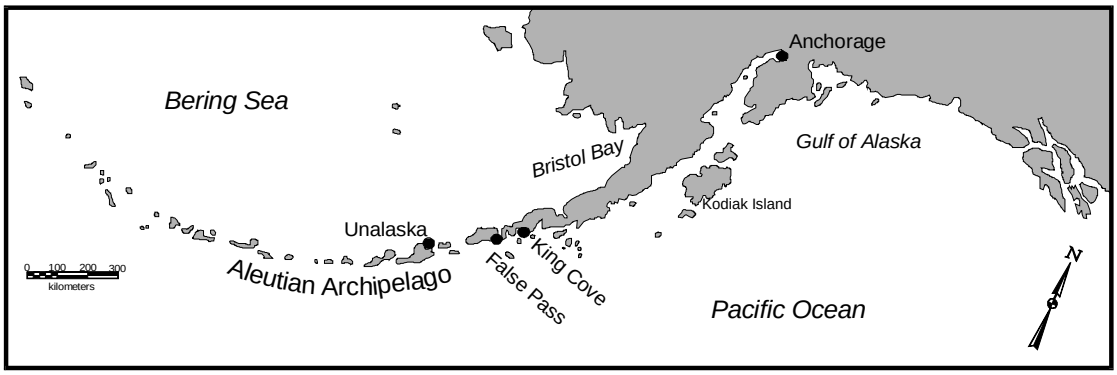

Figure 1.1. Map of the western Alaska Peninsula and Aleutian Archipelago.

The Eastern Aleut are an indigenous people who are also western and industrialized. They are linked politically through membership in the Aleutians East Borough, economically through commercial fisheries and transportation, and socially and culturally through education, shared histories and circumstances, intercommunity kinship bonds, identity, and common ethnicity. All Aleut claim a mixed Aleut, Russian, Scandinavian and other European heritage, though most identify themselves as Aleut and Native Alaskan first; ethnic identity is not inherently about blood, and historically these have been fairly open communities.

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understand a *fisher* to be a "furry animal related to the marten" (Lord 1997:xi). For the Aleut, they only use the term *fisherman*, and it is understood that this also includes women who fish.

[8] The Aleutians West Census Area has an Aleut population of approximately 1500. Many Aleuts also reside in Anchorage (see also Morgan 1976) as well as the Pacific Northwest, where approximately 600 Aleuts live in Washington and Oregon and are members of the Northwest Aleut Association.

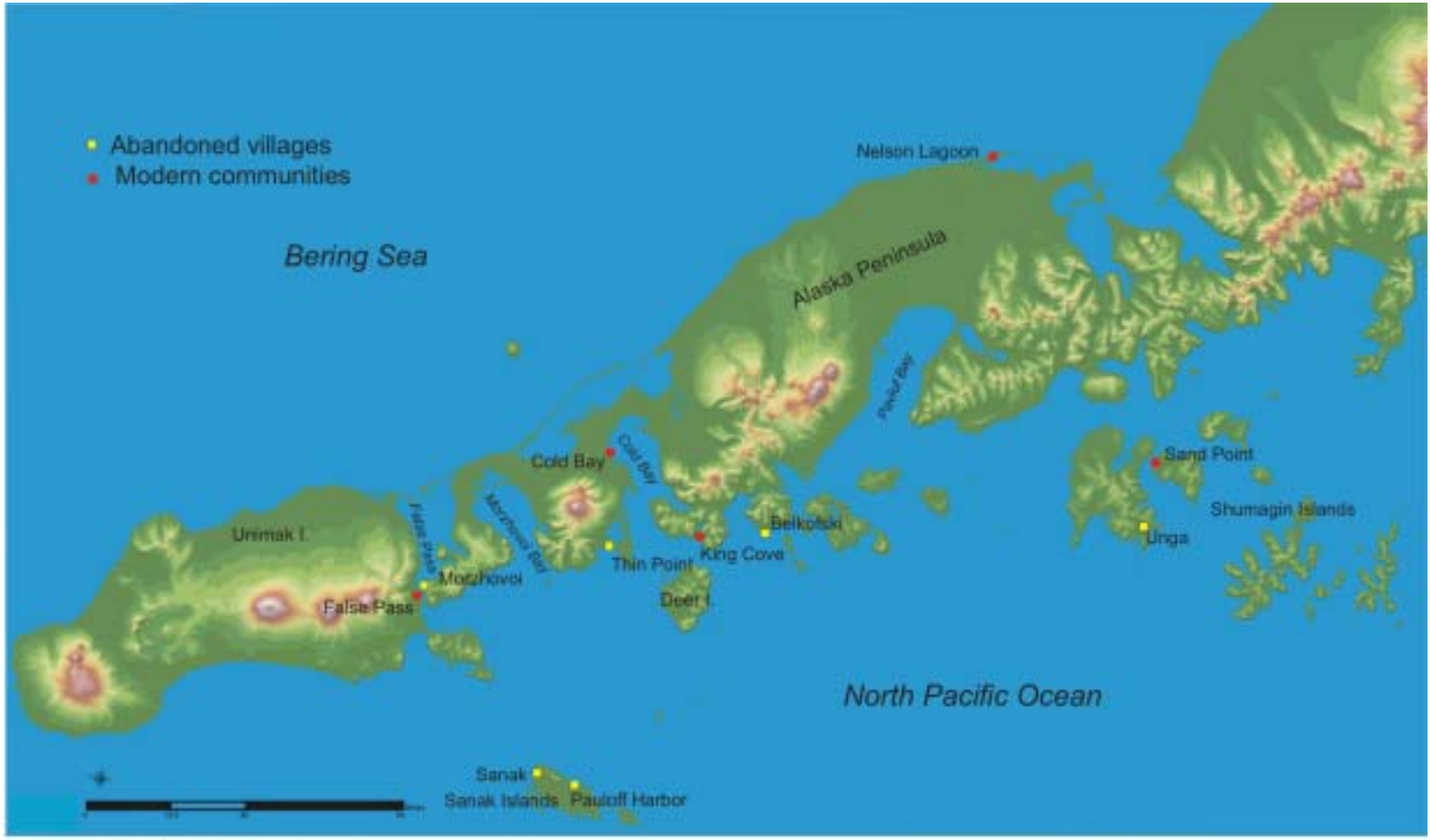

Figure 1.2. Detailed Map of the Eastern Aleutian Region

1.1.2 The Evocative King Cove

In the 1880s, English immigrant Robert King married an Aleut woman from Belkofski and moved his family to the cove to trap and hunt sea otters. A few years later, King was lost at sea but his name stayed with the cove. The present-day village was founded in 1911 when Pacific American Fisheries built a cannery on the sand spit. Of the first ten families in King Cove, five consisted of a European husband and an Aleut wife (Black and Jacka 1999:103-4). Western influences on cultural, economic and social structures have continuously been felt. King Cove is essentially a commercial fishing town with almost all residents tied directly and indirectly to fishing and seafood processing.

King Cove is located at the head of an embayment fronting Deer Island and adjacent uplands (Figures 1.2; 1.3). It is nestled between high mountain ridges around a natural bay on the south side of the Alaska Peninsula, 18 air miles southeast of Cold Bay, the government town with the only major airport that everyone must necessarily pass through, and 625 miles southwest of Anchorage. Snow-patched mountain slopes end at the water's edge and are incised by numerous small streams. One has the sense of being perched on the edge of the world in King Cove, because in fact you are.

Figure 1.3. King Cove, Alaska, Summer 2002. Photo by Jane Trumble.

Located on the narrow peninsula between the tempestuous Bering Sea and rolling Pacific Ocean, a series of weather systems collide over this frontier. Though King Cove claims a maritime climate with mild winters (20-30º F) and cool summers (30-65º F), the environment is anything but

mild. Extremely high winds are commonplace, often blowing rain or snow horizontally at 100 mph. The streets puddle up and sometimes flood. When it is not raining, the winds dry out the dirt streets and turn the village into a dustbowl. The Pacific Plate subducting under the North American Plate has created an active volcano complex that includes seven volcanoes within 20 miles of King Cove. Tectonics produce frequent earthquakes and the occasional tsunami. All villages have tsunami warning systems and evacuation plans to move to higher ground. Tucked in the back of the cannery's library is an "earthquake meter", as the librarian called it, which was installed in 1988 after they experienced 200 earthquakes in one day. The seismograph registered activity in the few minutes that she and I stood in front of it.

Accessible only by air and sea, King Cove has a 4500-foot gravel runway outside of town. Air access depends on weather and only small planes can use the strip. The airport itself is a small shack that Brown bears (*Ursus arctos*) use as a chew toy. All flights are VFR (Visual Flight Reference, that is, fly by sight only in daylight) based on ceiling and visibility data from Cold Bay.[9] There is frequent fog and hazardous winds, making travel a challenge. The village is supplied by the cargo shippers Western Pioneer, Coastal Transport, and Sampson Tug, which carry high freight prices. The state ferry M/V *Tustumena* runs once a month from Homer to Dutch Harbor between April and October, stopping in King Cove once each way. The seaward approach to King Cove is not prone to forming sea ice and is often the only route in and out of the village in the winter months, but only if a fisherman is willing to risk it with his vessel and if he is licensed for passengers and carries enough survival suits.

King Cove is a long, thin coastal village with three distinct sections: downtown, the Old Rams housing subdivision, and the New Rams subdivision. The Aleutian Housing Authority, which serves ten Aleut villages, applies to the federal Housing and Urban Development (HUD) program for funding, builds single-family homes, then sells them to qualified Native families. All have gone to great lengths to personalize these carbon-copied homes with paint, additions, or repositioning walls. A few have hauled topsoil into their yards to grow lawns on the unforgiving tundra. The village is overrun with enormous free roaming, sometimes feral, dogs who bark at bears while most homes have tiny little lap dogs ("eagle bait") who bark at the wind. I was always able to recruit mangy Labrador retrievers as hiking companions.

Communications technologies are relatively recent. The cannery had a wireless operation for most of the past century. This system was replaced by radiophones and finally satellite telephones. Connection with the outside world is possible via telephone, RATNET (the single channel of the Rural Alaska Television Network), the 14 channels of the Mt. Dutton Cable Company, satellite

[9] Airfare to King Cove is expensive, costing $785 from Anchorage to Cold Bay and an additional $125 to King Cove. (The exchange rate during fieldwork between 2000 and 2003 averaged roughly US$1.70 per UK£1).

television, and the scratchy KSDB-Sand Point/Dillingham radio station. The *Dutch Harbor Fisherman* is a bimonthly newspaper produced 200 miles down the Aleutian chain that arrives in King Cove at least one week late, and week old Sunday editions of the *Anchorage Daily News* can sometimes be found at the King Cove Corporation-owned store. Most important news—fish prices, who is fishing what and where, state politics, local politics, gossip, and regulation changes—can be heard over the VHF radio and at the Harbor House.

In the summer months, King Cove is as timeless as the arctic sunlight. At midnight, children are still riding their bikes and playing in the streets, the Harbor House is buzzing with caffeine and conversation, salmon boats are moving in and out of their slips, the VHF radio is crackling with chatter, people are driving out as far as the road will go looking for bears, and the bar's jukebox is vibrating its walls. Autumn is a time for the brief, but frenzied, inundation of crab fishermen, clam digging, stocking the last space in the freezer, and awaiting Permanent Fund Dividend cheques.[10] Winter months are cold, windy, dark and isolating, but extremely active as the peak of fishing for cod and pollock takes over. Spring is long, slow and muddy, and a small herring fishery offers a welcome interruption. The boat harbour is the focal point of King Cove, and with its many docks, slips, a boat lift, upland boat storage, stacks of crab pots, warehouses, and 24-hour Harbor Master service, there is continuous activity at all hours of the day and night.

1.1.3 The Political King Cove

Life in King Cove is also about a complex political atmosphere, and residents engage daily with institutional and governmental processes. The Aleut as situated in the Greater Aleut World find themselves under layers of bureaucracy stacked high and overlapping. Each is part of a community in the Aleutians East Borough, the village corporation, tribal council, and the regional corporation. The Aleut Corporation (TAC) is the for-profit Native Corporation that was formed as part of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971.[11] Village corporations, of which the King Cove Corporation is one, are often organized based on former Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) villages and own the surface rights of the land while regional corporations own the subsurface rights. The Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association (A/PIA) is the regional non-profit social service corporation.[12]

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[10] Annual cheques are issued to every Alaska resident based upon the state's earnings from oil revenues. In 2002, they were $1,540.76 per resident; in 2003, they were $1,107.56.

[11] Congress passed ANCSA (P.L. 96-487) as a means of settling land claims with Alaska Natives. Contrived as an improvement over the failed policies of allotment and termination in the Lower 48 (Berger 1985; Case 1984; Flanders 1989), ANCSA was rendered through the formation of thirteen regional for-profit corporations, twelve regional non-profit social service corporations, and over 200 village corporations. Legislation provided a land settlement totalling 44 million acres and a cash settlement of $962 million divided between the thirteen regional corporations. Individuals became shareholders of the village, nonprofit, and regional corporations.

[12] The Aleut International Association (AIA) formed in order for Aleuts to become members of the Arctic Council, and their staff overlaps with A/PIA.

Eastern Aleutian Tribes (EATS) is the health organization, and local village councils have passed resolutions giving EATS control of health care. The Agdaagux Tribal Council is the King Cove tribal council. The former residents of Belkofski now live in King Cove, and are part of the Belkofski Corporation and Tribal Council. This list of organizations is not exhaustive and it is common for one individual to act as a board member on more than one.

The commercial fishing industry provides 47% of private sector jobs in Alaska (www.adfg.state.ak.us). Ninety-five percent of all commercially caught salmon in the U.S. are harvested in Alaska, with an average annual catch of 175 million salmon. Alaska produces 80% of the world's supply of wild, high value sockeye, coho and king salmon, and is home to approximately 17,000 salmon fishermen. The Eastern Aleut represent a small portion of this vast industry, so why are they special? They are important in northern studies because the Eastern Aleut are one of the few indigenous peoples to successfully translate traditional patterns of resource harvesting into a contemporary commercial economy through both active and passive participation, creating an unusual cultural continuity and a social system dependent upon participation in the industry.

Given these political and economic conditions, a 10,000 year maritime history, and the current global political climate that shapes participation in fishing, I began thinking about their lives in terms of an "indigenous commercial economy," through which knowledge and practice have been reproduced and revised, and avoiding, as the Aleut do, an imaginary balance of traditions past and disruption by state-level systems in the present. I entered the field assuming a connection between the erosion of identity, defined here in particular ways in relation to the system of fishing, and community-defined social problems. The potential disruption of the powerful relationship to fishing due to imposed policies, resource depletion and market forces are currently blamed for social conflict, economic burdens, and political pressures by the Eastern Aleut. Facing social and economic catastrophe, Aleut communities are struggling to redefine an indigenous local identity that encompasses their entire way of life, one that is now based on progressive commercial interests. The thrust of this thesis is to substantiate and analyse the grounds on which such a connection between identity and social conflict can be made and to explore what seem to be strong implications for the anthropology of fishing as a sub-discipline and delicate issues of identity and status.

In the course of this introduction, I first place the Aleut within the local anthropological literature to highlight the dearth of Aleutian research and understanding. Then I build a theoretical argument that is particular to this area but has strong implications for how western social sciences posit cause and effect, looking at culture change and conflict. Following this, I discuss aspects of method, how multiple avenues of data can be used to illuminate one another. Because the Aleut live in a social and political world dominated by both the State of Alaska and the United States, quantitative data on fisheries, economics and social statistics are critical to placing the Aleut in a broad social and

political context to examine potential influences. This project thus developed from the interaction between the qualitative and quantitative, and from an engagement between behavioural theories, field-grown theories, and the practicalities of the Aleutian research context. Combining these methods also shows how one approach can provide a critical perspective when evaluating the other. This is problem-oriented research, both applied and theoretical, aimed directly at practical applications.

1.2 21st Century Fishermen

To the northernmost extent of the Aleut homeland, anthropologists have presented commercial fishing as something alien to the world of the Pribilof Islands Aleut, arguing that realignment to the fishing business is causing community and cultural disintegration (Corbett and Swibold 2000). In the Aleut chapter of *Endangered Peoples of the Arctic* (Freeman, ed. 2000), which focuses solely on Pribilof Aleuts, Corbett and Swibold wrote, "Aleuts have become their own agents of assimilation and modernization through their participation in the fishing industry" (2000:14). This Aleut population was relocated from the Aleutians to these two small Bering Sea islands in the late 18th century to hunt Northern fur seals, where three-quarters of the total population breed each year. Despite beginnings as hunters for Russian fur merchants, within the span of a few generations, the commercial fur seal hunt became hailed by Pribilof Aleuts as the key to their survival, and when the U.S. government took over the industry after the purchase of Alaska in 1867, the Aleut continued as hunters for another century. Pressure from animal rights activists and budget concerns under the Reagan administration lead to its abandonment in 1985 and a withdrawal of the U.S. government, their millions of dollars, and the economic mainstay from the islands. Subsistence hunting of fur seals by Aleuts has continued (Veltre and Veltre 1987), but a suite of social problems increased with the end of the commercial industry.

In the mid-1980s, as the fur seal industry was being dismantled, crab and groundfish fisheries boomed in the Bering Sea to the benefit of most Aleutian communities. The Pribilof villages of St. Paul and St. George also expanded their harbours and facilities to become regional service centres for fishing vessels and floating processors, a move which Corbett and Swibold suggest would never have happened if the commercial fur seal harvest had continued (2000:8). Pribilof Aleuts also partake in these fisheries as fishermen and are part of a Community Development Quota (CDQ) program where they receive percentages of the Bering Sea groundfish allocations. Corbett and Swibold admit that Pribilof Aleuts are successful commercial fishermen with busy harbours, processors, and vessel supply operations, bringing "new prosperity" to the villages. They also state, however, that the marine fishing economy has brought socioeconomic disruption to the communities in the way of increased traffic on the roads, transient fishermen transforming the "small village atmosphere", and processors that require freshwater to operate that are "straining" the aquifer (2000:13). "The insecure future,

increasing loss of cultural identity associated with the seal, and lack of respect from urban populations evidenced by attacks on the traditional Aleut sealing practices, all led to rapid social disintegration," they write. "In the first years after the government pullout, there were unprecedented numbers of suicides and murders, and an increase in drug and alcohol abuse and violent behavior" (2000:8). The local government, tribal council and village corporation were divided, "intensified by a heritage of oppression and the fact that two institutions were patterned after the dominant society (a municipal government and a for-profit corporation) and the third represented tribal functions" (2000:8).

After listing Russian enslavement and American hegemony, Corbett and Swibold list a prosperous fishing industry as the "third major wave" of assimilation and acculturation, since the fisheries are volatile and driven by a global market economy and environmental forces that the Aleut have no control over. Restoring nostalgia over a golden past and asserting that there is something that needs to be reclaimed to bring everyone back into harmony, these researchers talk of "cultural recovery" and "counteract[ing] the loss of Aleut identity" (2000:8, 14). If, as Corbett and Swibold state, increases in traffic, transients and stress to the aquifer are the main problems, then I argue that these commercial fisheries are a success.

Why the diatribe on the plight of Pribilovians? I question their analysis because I question their starting point, which replicates a romanticism of the past and a salvage-style anthropology surrounding contact's destructive impacts (e.g. "Now is the time to record" Haddon 1898:xxiii; also Bank and Williams n.d.) that has persisted (examined in Rosaldo 1979). Pribilof Aleuts are often described as representative of the entire Aleut population, passively accepting new developments that are negatively altering their culture and their attitudes towards the environment. This, I believe, is due to a paucity of contemporary Aleutian anthropology in print. It is unclear whether Pribilof Aleuts share the views of the anthropologists; it appears instead that these authors are echoing the sentiments of a few. The reality today is that no arctic society can live exclusively on subsistence hunting and fishing,[13] nor do they want to. A cash income is indispensable for health care, transportation, taxes, heating, clothing, food, and other basic necessities, not to mention satellite dishes, vacations, SUVs, and computers. The Eastern Aleut have thoroughly embraced the commercial fishing economy, and engage daily in processes that link them to a vast industry and market forces. They regard their livelihood as the modern extension of a customary marine orientation. While the trials of modernity are upon us all, and there can be an uneasy fit for indigenous peoples, these are 21st century hunters and fishermen engaged in 21st century processes, and I intend to keep them there.

Situated not only within a broad literature on the noble savage, Corbett and Swibold's assertions fit within the dated, yet unfortunately most up to date, literature on the modern Aleut (Jones

[13] E.g. Bodenhorn 1988, 1989; Caulfield 1997; Condon 1996; Fienup-Riordan 1983b, 2000; Jolles 2002; Kruse 1991; Langdon 1991; Nuttall 1992; Wheeler 1998; Worl and Smythe 1986.

and Wood 1975). The living Aleut were given up for lost by anthropologists in the 1950s (who considered them a branch of Eskimo, see also Quimby 1944). “It is a picture all too familiar to anthropologists: a once-thriving, independent people, admirably disciplined for life in a rigorous environment, now impoverished, diseased and spiritually weakened, its ancient culture all but destroyed. The story might serve as a lesson to us. But it is probably too late to save the southernmost of our Eskimos,” lamented Bank (1958:120). In the anthropological discourse of the 1960s, the Aleut were “continuing to disintegrate at a rapid rate” (Rubel 1961:70). Sociological research by Jones (1969a, 1969b, 1972, 1973a, 1973b, 1976) again found little to be optimistic about. Her *Aleuts in Transition* (1976) is a comparison of "Aleut adaptations to white contacts" between two Aleut villages, King Cove and Unalaska.[14] King Cove, she argued, was successful at adapting under the hegemony of American politics and economy, lacking a chief system, community banya, fish camps, Orthodox Church organizations,[15] and speakers of Aleut whereas Unalaska failed to make a smooth transition in refusing to shed elements of their “traditional culture.” For Unalaska, Jones argued that a study of deviance was irrelevant because one must deviate from sociocultural norms, and the village has been so dishevelled by foreign control that norms were indeterminate (Jones 1969a:xx). This assessment was met with resentment by people of Unalaska, and it is still fresh in many Aleuts’ minds. Though Jones believed she was putting a positive face on King Cove, the people were (and still are) not impressed with her acculturative suppositions.

Jones related her perceived problems in Aleut communities with white impositions destroying traditional culture, that they were "pawns in someone else's game" (1976:68), which was a fashionable standpoint in late 1970s social science. Ethnographic writings on the Aleut ground to a halt while these types of depictions were dominant, and thus ideas on the Aleut remain fixed there. Today, an imagined composition of Aleut villages and their activities has replaced these former assessments. The State of Alaska has contributed to the problem of misrepresentation by effectively dehumanising and “bleaching” the region as white. In debates over fishing rights involving Eastern Aleutian fishermen and Yup’ik fishermen of the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta, Alaska’s Governor and natural resource agencies within, referred to the Eastern Aleutian region and its people solely as Area M, the Alaska Board of Fisheries designation.[16] Area M is believed by many to consist of “Seattle boats” and wealthy part-time fishermen from outside Alaska who have other jobs and supplement with fishing.

One of the leading problems in giving the Aleut a more global image is that there is no classic ethnography on the Aleut. Most arctic (and hunter-gatherer) volumes refer to the Aleut in footnotes or

[14] Jones gave fictitious names for the villages, New Harbor for King Cove and Iliaka for Unalaska, to disguise informants. However, the villages were easily identifiable through her descriptions.
[15] At the time of her fieldwork, the Russian Orthodox Church had not yet been built in King Cove.
[16] www.state.ak.us, ‘Operation Renew Hope’ link.

conflate Inuit (or Eskimo) and Aleut while really only discussing the Inuit.[17] More recently, the new term Alutiit (Alutiiq, adj.), which refers to Pacific Yupiit, has been erroneously used to describe everyone from Prince William Sound through the Kodiak Archipelago and out the Aleutian Chain (recent example in Nuttall 1998:2). A goal of this study is to build a contemporary ethnography of Eastern Aleutian society, not as representative throughout the region, but to illustrate the subtle variation and introduce them as they live and work today, hopefully raising the attention of state and federal policymakers.

1.2.1 Hunter-gatherer-fisher

Anthropologists have long deliberated over the definition and position of hunter-gatherer peoples, using language like "Fourth World" or "encapsulated," in search of an appropriate classification (Dyck 1985; Lee 1988; Myers 1988; Swift 1978; Woodburn 1988). Indigenous peoples have also adopted these terms as political tools in which to locally or even transnationally unite geographically peripheral peoples, and collectively make political claims.[18] A strong theme in hunter-gatherer literature (as well as literature on non-hunter-gatherers) has tended to emphasize relativism and uniqueness of these cultures, beliefs and practices on their traditional lands, highlighting their particular way of relating to the environment (debated in Burch and Ellanna 1994; Kelly 1995; Leacock and Lee 1982; Myers 1988). These models are inclined to treat hunter-gatherers as separate from broader economic and social processes. Bettinger notes that hunter-gatherer research is often dictated by a larger theoretical agenda, and not the hunter-gatherers themselves (1991:7).

The modern Aleut do not fit any tidy definition of indigenous or hunter-gatherer people. Like other Native Alaskans, the Aleut have multiple political and economic statuses. They maintain some autonomy but also enjoy certain governmental privileges. They are kin-based. They continue to reside in their homeland and use wild resources to their fullest, inextricably for home use and commercial sale. The Aleut are wealthy relative to most of North America's and the world's indigenous peoples (many earn more than anthropology professors). They eat salmon and halibut, but also pizza and fried chicken. Mayonnaise and Worchester sauce are key ingredients in some "traditionally" prepared foods. Few speak the Aleut language and there is no everyday traditional dress or adornment, unless you count fishermen's rubber boots and Helly Hansen raingear. They also wear Tommy Hilfiger or Ralph Lauren clothes and watch HBO and MTV. Aleut leaders have dined in the homes of senators and have travelled as far away as Washington, D.C., Japan, and Iceland to protect thousands of years

[17] Recent omissions in Hall 1988; Smith and McCarter 1997; and Lee and Daly's 1999 *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers*.
[18] I introduced the term "Fourth World" to a small group of Aleut fishermen in the Harbor House one morning over coffee. They thought it was "ridiculous" because it sounds worse off than "Third World" nations and implies an even lower standard of living.

of cultural identity. Most, however, have never been out of the country, and many have never left Alaska. They pilot boats through the Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea's dangerous waters and yet the majority are uncomfortable with cities or potential dangers of the outside world.

Figure 1.4. Aleut dancers with ABC's *Good Morning America* camera crew, June 2002. King Cove was featured as part of a larger story on Alaska, highlighting the success of telemedicine in the region. Here the dancers donned their costumes for the filming event, but since the boys, who customarily are the drummers, were all out fishing, the older girls stepped in.

Hunter-gatherer-fisher societies exhibited greater social complexity than mobile foragers for much of human history (Ames and Maschner 1999; Price and Brown 1985; Renouf 1984), and the same could be said for these contemporary marine-based societies. For all the weight that so many indigenous Alaskans place on subsistence[19] together as sustenance, social relations, knowledge systems of the environment and human relations within it (e.g. Anderson *et al* 1998; Fienup-Riordan 1983b, 1990a, 2000; Hensel 1996), often at the exclusion of commercial economies,[20] Eastern Aleuts place *commercial* activities at the heart of sociocultural relations and identity, which makes them stand out amongst arctic societies. Many Native Alaskans sell their fish, pelts, or basketry, for example, as commodification of goods but it often remains short of going into business. The Aleut, however, are part of a for-profit, capitalist enterprise, and not just individual fishermen selling fish.

[19] *Subsistence* is a poor word for the activities and beliefs that it is used to describe in Alaska. In most definitions, subsistence refers to means of support or providing sustenance, often the barest means. *Subsistence* is a local word, with local meaning for the Aleut.

[20] The lack of discussions on commercial activities or on commodified exchange in many parts of the arctic could also reflect that there are laws against such activities, not that sale and exchange do not occur. At the same time, laws do not explain why people might not sell wild foods, for example, the Iñupiat of Barrow did not sell their whale meat even when it was legal to do so (Bodenhorn 2000/2001).

They are caught in a kind of "culture trap" in which outside critics expect them to behave in certain ways, and are disappointed when they do not (see also Krech 1999:225). For example, impressions of several non-Native cannery employees found this dual use of tradition and modernity to be disappointing and decided that it was too late for me to study Aleut culture in King Cove. They recommended that I move further out the Aleutian chain, particularly to Akutan where they were "pure blooded" and "more traditional." Their low population, lack of political representation, turbulent history, lack of material cultural display or ritual, few speakers of Aleut, geographic remoteness and expense of travel, and full participation in an industry that has traditionally been associated with white men has made it easy to overlook the fact that there are living indigenous people. These factors have direct consequences concerning fishing rights and their ability to earn a living. The battle over salmon rights involving the Yupiit and the Aleut, discussed in Chapter 5, is also a debate over different representations of traditional lifeways.

1.2.2 Indigeneity and Identity

As commercial fishermen, this greatly affects the politics of (mis)recognition and representation. Hodgson (2002) describes a trend amongst indigenous peoples (and anthropologists' roles within it) to adjust their identities formerly based upon ethnicity or occupation to "indigenous" identities, and rights of self-determination. Hensel (1996) found that the Yupiit are concerned with identity and ethnicity at the village level as a matter of degree through discourse and practice; that is, how Yup'ik one is perceived can be based on what he or she says and does. The Aleut, on the other hand, are not concerned with degree of ethnicity; one is not seen as more or less Aleut based upon fishing practices, but they can be seen as more or less of a fisherman. The dominant concern for the Aleut on the basis of ethnicity is being recognized collectively as an indigenous people who are commercialised.

In Abner Cohen's (1974, 1981) volumes on the political elite of West Africa, he sensibly separates cultural identity in its variety of collective representations manifested in individual behaviour from ethnic identity, which is relational and political, marked out by symbols and elements of culture. The urban elites claim legitimacy on their ethnicity, and use the language of identity in struggles to maintain it. Cohen concludes that ethnicity does not count until it counts. In politicised contexts, ethnic identity is used to present a united front. The Aleut are amongst the trend Hodgson illustrates: their indigeneity has become a political tool but only in outward contexts, and the role of anthropology has played a large role in that, which I return to in depth in Chapter 5.

1.2.3 Fishing societies and status

Renouf (1984) found a high correlation between the institutionalisation of status differences and maritime hunter-gatherers and this is very much in evidence in the Eastern Aleutian communities. Early classics of anthropology engaged with fishing societies and status amongst fishermen (e.g. Firth 1939; Malinowski 1922). Fraser noted that the Malaysian "Good Man," who "exemplif[ies] adult values which parents strive to instill in their children," is a status easier achieved for the boat owner or "steerer" with higher economic status in fishing (Fraser 1966:40). A "low prestige status" associated with meagre earnings was a primary reason many Italian fishermen gave for young people leaving the occupation (Cattarinussi 1973:34-37). Specific to the ethnography of coastal fishing communities, in which this study is situated, the stereotypical image of hardy, weather-beaten sailors exists because there is some basis of truth to it. As will be shown, historically, Aleut society was highly stratified, and individual male identity was based on their success as sea mammal hunters, fisherman, and warriors. Status-seeking activities follow similar criteria today. As fishing boats replaced labrets as social status markers among the Alutiiq (Mishler and Mason 1996:268), fishing boats have likewise emerged as status indicators among the Aleut. Thus, "Men go to sea because of the rewards they receive for doing so," according to Fricke, a maritime sociologist (1973:4).

If we consider "ship-as-community," as Fricke (1973) does, status differences are stark. Technological development, for Fricke, created a division of labour at sea in which an "achieved status system" develops. This is manifested in the quality of living quarters, where "carpeting, a recognized status symbol," is found in the master's large cabin, and his crew are stratified into other accommodations (1973:5). These divisions resonate on shore as well. Fricke stated that, "the division of labour at sea has effectively changed the density of community links because few homogeneous groups are involved in the seafaring occupations which are large enough to retain an identity within the context of shore society" (1973:5). The term "seafarer" or, for my purposes, "fishermen" masks many different skills and status levels.

The identity of people within these fishing cultures, therefore, is often related to their roles as fishermen, or in connection with fishing (see also Acheson 1981). This phenomenon is never truer than in King Cove, where fishermen do not simply form an occupational subgroup of a larger community, rather, they are the community.

My ontological assumptions are thus: Eastern Aleut culture and society is so intimately coupled with a century old commercial fishing socioeconomic system that the two cannot be separated. *Commercial* fishing is so integrated into every aspect of being Aleut—family, politics, education, religion, material culture, diet, and economy—that a major disruption in this system is tantamount to sociocultural disaster. On the surface, fishing is a commercial industry driven by profit margins and the world market. Locally, success or failure in fishing has become synonymous with a

system of status for all Aleuts. In common with many northern peoples, a major facet of Eastern Aleutian culture is the ability to change from within and adapt to external realities. However, threats to commercial fishing threaten cultural stability and the behavioural health of individuals, family and community. In this context, the Eastern Aleut are in a global struggle as they fight to be identified as Aleut, to be recognized as legitimate commercial fishermen, and to combat dehumanisation and peripheralisation by environmental groups and government agencies. I explore these struggles through the lens of identity, emblematic displays of identity, and cultural persistence as defined by the Aleut.

1.3 Research Questions and Theoretical Framework: Identity and Status

Questions of identity have been approached from a diverse set of theoretical perspectives, and current research is too broad to try to encompass the whole, but here I delve into that which has been stimulating for my own thinking about Aleut identity.

Identity in anthropology has often referred to a sense of shared sameness with others (Erikson 1980). Without using the term *identity*, Lévi-Strauss's structuralism is a universal theory of mind, arguing for a "psychic unity" in highly disparate societies (1966, 1969). A tension between "psychic unity" and particularity of the human mind and behaviour has been one of the core debates of anthropology since its inception and postmodernism ushered in a highly relativistic paradigm and a rejection of cross-cultural comparison.[21] More recently, the self as a purely social product became fragmented and multi-faceted; identity lost its singularity, instigated in part by Foucault's ideas that identity is a flexible product of one's cultural circumstances (Foucault 1979b; Sökefeld 1999:417). Identity has been argued as being rooted in both fixed (for the modernists) and fluid (for the postmodernists) psychic realms, found both in oneself and in the shared essential characteristics of one's group (Erikson 1980).

Numerous theorists have grappled with how individuals forge identities in contemporary society (e.g. Giddens 1979, 1984), and how individuals choose membership to various group identities depending on their views and social practices, changing the group identity over time (Cohen 2000). Friedman argues that history makes identity, that people need a history to identify themselves for others, but that they choose meaningful events in the construction of their history in order to construct a relevant contemporary identity (1992:837). Marcus contends that, "Local identity emerges as a compromise between a mix of elements of resistance to incorporation into a larger whole and of elements of accommodation to this larger order" (Marcus 1998:61). Thus, "In the social and cultural sciences, what was once called "identity" in the sense of social, shared sameness is today often discussed with reference to *difference*" (Sökefeld 1999:417-8).

[21] As perpetuated by Levi-Strauss, Julian Steward (1955), Morton Fried (1967), and the early writings of Marshall Sahlins (1972). This argument has been persistent in anthropology since the early debates between Morris Opler and Leslie White over 50 years ago (Harris 1968:637-9; Price 2003).

These definitional efforts have been scarcely substantiated by ethnographic example. But turning to the ethnographic record, I found an uneven ethnography on identity resting on shifting notions of what constitutes culture. Cohen grounded his definition of identity, as "the ways in which a person is, or wishes to be, known by certain others" (1993:195), in reference to culture. For him culture is,

> "the outcome and product of interaction; or to put it another way, to see people as active in the *creation* of culture, rather than passive in receiving it. If we are - in the contemporary jargon - the agents of culture's creation, then it follows that we can shape it to our will, depending on how ingenious or powerful we may be. …Culture, in this view, is the means by which we make meaning, and with which we make the world meaningful to ourselves and ourselves meaningful to the world. Its vehicle is the symbol. …Symbols are inherently meaningless, they are not lexical; they do not have a truth value. They are pragmatic devices which are invested with meaning through social process of one kind or another" (1993:196).

From a perusal of the literature with references to identity, it appears that there are no dominant definitions, theories or rules about identity in anthropology. Erikson wrote that, "The more one writes about this subject, the more the word becomes a term for something as unfathomable as it is all-pervasive" (1968:9). Cohen also postulated that we might be trying to do too much with one term where identity is an all-encompassing gloss for a variety of behaviours and beliefs.

The question here is not which anthropological definition or approach to identity is correct, but which is most useful in our understanding of Aleut social and cultural change. What does it mean to be an Aleut? Many Aleut say that fishing, access to fishing, and eating fish constitutes who they are. Young boys describe themselves as fishermen, both for what they are now as crewmen, as well as what they will be (ideally) as captains. The act of fishing in turbulent waters and unpredictable weather is extremely difficult, and fishermen derive a great deal of status from overcoming these obstacles. Living and working in this harsh environment takes great skill and ingenuity, and surviving the everyday is an empowering validation that Aleuts can continue to live in their homeland.

Coupled with studies of identity is the notion of agency. Sökefeld's (1999) study of identity in northern Pakistan rejects the anthropological notion that the western self, as "autonomous and egocentric", should be an automatic point of departure in reference to non-western concepts of the self. He believes that perpetually pointing out shared elements of identity mistakenly overlooks the individual aspects. In a multi-ethnic Pakistani town where there are "plural and contradicting identities related to social conflict," he found the individual constantly trying to "present oneself as a consistent self," which takes different forms depending upon the circumstances (1999:419). The primacy that anthropology bestows upon culture "reduce[es] the self to a product of culture and often remain[s] blind to individual motivations, aims, and struggles" (Sökefeld 1999:430).

Agency also features in Barth's discussions. Barth's study of group identities among the Pathan in Afghanistan revealed that group boundedness and identity depend less on a large

aggregation of beliefs and practices, and more on its members that select "only certain cultural traits and make these the unambiguous criteria for ascription to the ethnic group" (Barth 1969:119). He argues that, when life's circumstances make these criteria difficult to satisfy, "it is to the advantage of the actors themselves to change their label so as to avoid the costs of failure; and so where there is an alternative identity within reach the effect is a flow of personnel from one identity to another and *no* change in the conventional characteristics of the status" (Barth 1969:133). However, in some cases, if no alternative identities were accessible and diverging from a key criterion was not very costly to the group's coherence, then the "basic contents or characteristics of the identity start being modified" over time by individual members of the group (Barth 1969:134). But what if there are no alternative identities for an individual to subscribe to and diverge from, which are very costly to an individual?

Individual fishermen strive for an impressive catch record. There is a profound sense of pride in filling the fish holds of their boats. The most successful are called "highliners", who often, but not always, have the largest boats, better equipment, a seasoned crew, and more money.[22] Most fishermen boast of their innate ability to fish. They frequently talk of the history of fishing in their families and say that fishing is "in my blood." In the current era of economic uncertainty, they also talk of their lack of interest in, as well as the ability to fulfil, any other type of job, and how devastating it would be to have to leave their village. Part of identity is to have a future. The fisheries are a forward-looking enterprise. Fishermen are always thinking about what is on the horizon: the next opening, the next season, and the next year. The future, I argue, is a way in which identity is renewed. Fishing as "in my blood" implies continuity, where this identity is renewed seasonally as well as generationally.

Identity and status, I will argue, are inextricably linked; however individuals strive for status is indicative of how identity will be measured in that society. This, in turn, indicates what that society considers to be important, such as what they talk about, worry over, and do most of the time. This requires an approach that begins with identifying what Aleuts consider to be central. Within that, local constructions of what it means to be a man or a woman, gender hierarchies, and male/female interactions point to the homogeneity and variation of the significance of the perceived importance. What are the cultural rules and how do individuals operate within them, and within the rules of society at large? What are the economic influences? What behaviours are encouraged/discouraged? A major line of inquiry is the understanding of local definitions of conflict and the extent to which multiple types of conflict are identified and judged differently from the many perspectives. In other words, what do the Aleut consider to be markers of status, who has access to those markers and who

[22] The "skipper effect," in which a captain's personal ability to locate and harvest fish is said to determine the amount caught, has been debated in opposition to technological and ecological variables, such as boat size, crew, effort, among others (Pálsson and Durrenberger 1990; Gatewood 1984; McNabb 1985). Success for Aleut captains is explained by a combination of variables, including luck, which sometimes looks like the "skipper effect" and sometimes does not.

does not, and what are the dynamics surrounding this system? A local-global approach investigating how people interact with their world is critical to understanding these relationships.

1.3.1 Linking Identity and Status in Anthropology

The ethnographic record reveals humans placing a great deal of value on the intangible social resource: status. *Status* refers to one's relative standing among peers and competitors in a social or cultural group. *Status striving* refers to striving for culturally defined success, altering one's status. Discussions of status range from the evolutionary biological (e.g. Barkow 1989; Chagnon 1988; Daly and Wilson 1988; Wilson and Daly 1985; Wrangham and Peterson 1996) to the structural (e.g. Leach 1954) to the symbolic (Goldschmidt 1991) to the post-structural (Ortner and Whitehead 1981). In this study I will demonstrate that biological approaches, structural approaches, and postmodern approaches are invariably linked and one cannot do a complete analysis without recourse to different theoretical scales. This is clear when one looks deeply at the same topics from different perspectives. Here I describe why status is a key aspect of this ethnography.

Goldschmidt believes that competitiveness and status striving have strong cultural components, arguing that all societies have mechanisms of aggrandizement; whether it is the best hunter, most talented orator, the best soldier, or becoming head of department; the underlying mechanism is cross-cultural (1991:240-241). Some societies have "little opportunity for social satisfaction through personal attainment" whereas others "reward those who successfully play the game" (1991:241). In all societies, there are individuals who strive from the highest ideal of what that society considers important, which can result in differential access to success as defined by that society. For example, traditionally on the Northwest Coast of North America, rank and status were associated with a man's ability to lead successful wars and hold feasts (potlatches) (Ames and Maschner 1999; Drucker and Heizer 1967; Rosman and Rubel 1971). Fishing, it will be argued, is a status marker in the identity of the Eastern Aleut, though there are many levels within this. The status, honour, and the prestige of being a fisherman is, in many ways, representative of what it means to be Aleut for men and for women, but skill in fishing does not affect ethnicity. My assumption is that people strive for status within the rules of their culture, but the ways in which people do so is indicative of what constitutes identity in that society.

Evolutionary biology and status

Social anthropologists can turn to modern evolutionary biology and psychology to investigate the underpinnings of status before attempting to conduct contextual and symbolic analyses in modern settings. The reintroduction of evolutionary paradigms to anthropology, which has been stronger in the American school of thought, challenges the Standard Social Science Model (SSSM) that has

formed the basis of cultural anthropology and psychology (Barkow, Cosmides and Tooby 1992). The SSSM maintains that all social rules and codes of behaviour, culture, and the natural world are learned during the early stages of development through observation of kin, culture and environment. Behavioural variation is directly controlled by the variety of stimuli present in the environment.

Work by evolutionary psychologists challenges this model, and is used to argue that an innate psychology sets limits on behavioural variation in a given social situation (Barkow, Cosmides and Tooby 1992; Barrett, Dunbar and Lycett 2002; Daly and Wilson 1988). They recognize that human behaviour is shaped by a long evolutionary history of adaptation and, for example, find that all human societies have means for aggrandizement, competition, cooperation, and social success. They also argue that all humans have innate mechanisms for measuring status and that male-male competition and status striving are modern evolutionary expressions of reproductive competition and fitness (Alexander 1979; Axelrod 1997; Chagnon 1988; Daly and Wilson 1988; Wilson and Daly 1985; Wrangham and Peterson 1996). These innate status striving mechanisms are manifested in a myriad of cultural contexts, that is, the adaptation is built in and the social representation is contextual.

Having status has consistently contributed to reproductive success in many societies, where men of high status have more wives, access to more mates, more children and their children live longer (Daly and Wilson 1988:132). In polygynous societies, status and wealth, or control of more or higher quality resources relative to others, influence reproductive success (Borgerhoff Mulder 1987; Chagnon 1988; Irons 1979; Ortner 1981). In monogamous societies, status striving and cultural success are less related to the amount of offspring but a relationship remains between status and access to sexual partners (Betzig 1997; Buss 1994). In the legendary words of Henry Kissinger, "power is the ultimate aphrodisiac." Thus, in any given cultural context, high status men, as defined by the society in question, tend to do better than low status individuals.

This same approach can be used in understanding kinship relations. Seminal studies in kin relations, kin selection, and altruism (Hamilton 1964; Maynard-Smith 1964; Trivers 1971) allow anthropologists to better understand the underlying themes of postmodern analyses. Kin selection, or inclusive fitness, emerged as an answer to questions of altruism in evolutionary biology (Hamilton 1964). Kin selection is the proliferation of one's own genes and contributes to the rating of the "value" of the relative to Ego, discriminating in favour of blood relatives (Daly and Wilson 1988:10). Daly and Wilson apply the concept of "selection thinking" as a way to understand social motives as products of the evolutionary process (1988:2-5). *Selection thinking* is a mixture of adaptation, inclusive fitness, degrees of relatedness, parental investment, sexual selection, and the differences between male and female reproductive strategies.

Without being overly deterministic, these theories shed new light on behaviour, however, they tend to downplay cultural accounts and social constraints affecting individual choices, taking the

ubiquity of the mind as the context of analysis and not the specific cultural contexts themselves. For my purposes, status is a key feature of the cultural context in which I am working, and thus, these theories inform social motives and choice, particularly with respect to kin.

Structure and status

In similar language to Darwinian anthropologists, but a sharply different framework, Lévi-Strauss analysed cultural customs and beliefs to discover what ordered patterns, or "deep structures," they displayed, revealing the structure of the human mind. He reasoned that behind the surface of individual cultures there must exist natural properties common to us all, found in the tendency for all humans to order and classify their experiences. These "natural properties" include status and prestige, which he discussed in *Tristes Tropiques* (1973). "Personal prestige and the ability to inspire confidence," defined locally as taking care of people in the nomadic period, setting the time and place for the sedentary period, political skill in gaining majority opinion, ingenuity, and generosity, "are the basis of power in Nambikwara society" (1973:310). "The chief must not only do his job well; he must try—and his group expects this—to do better than the other chiefs" (1973:310).[23]

Structuralists shifted their theory to include the external elements of culture, including institutions, or ways of organizing activities, that form meaningful systems. Leach's (1954) structuralist approach to political systems in Burma sought a "basis of social choice", which he found in power and esteem. He argued that political status is determined by clanship links that relate that person to the "principle lineage." Politically and economically weaker headmen of smaller villages claim the same status as large chiefs, indicating that, "Prestige attaching to independent status is commonly valued more highly than economic prosperity" (1954:171). In evaluating property, he argued that the "value of property (e.g. livestock) to the individual is as a prestige symbol rather than an economic good" (1954:173-4). Rich people make large sacrifices, but the feast is shared with the whole village, defining status in terms of prestige symbols.

In Geertz's (1973) classic description of identity in Bali, he argues that the mind is outside the body in social life, and that kinship, the cockfight and all social phenomena in between could be read as "text-analogues," or ways of being in the world. Barkow (1989:162-3) found a "paradox" in Geertz's presentation on status. Men involved in the cockfights and gambling are caught up in "esteem, honor, dignity, respect … and status" (Geertz 1973:433), but Geertz asserts that "no one's status is actually altered by the outcome of a cockfight; it is only, and that momentarily, affirmed or insulted" (1973:433). The men are concerned with their own prestige, "the necessity to affirm it, defend it, celebrate it, justify it, and just plain bask in it (but not, given the strongly ascriptive character of Balinese stratification, to seek it)" (1973:436 cf. Barkow 1989). That phenomenon in

[23] The successful chief is allowed multiple wives.

itself, I argue, is the culturally defined status system. Geertz presents it as a complex system involving art, emotion, play, competition, pride, and temperament, but with specific rules about what is important and what is appropriate conduct.

Geertz argues that practice and behaviour carry meaning and articulate cultural forms, but tends to push the exercises of power aside. The cockfight is many things—blood sacrifice, metaphor, sport, et cetera—but it is primarily status rivalry, reinforcing the hierarchy and organizing society around that, "a story they tell themselves about themselves" (Geertz 1973:448). Matches between individuals that are near status equals are more about status rivalry; matches between individuals of unequal status are less so. Those that are in it for the money, the "status gamblers," are dismissed as not being true cockfighters. A functional explanation, combined with semiotics, sees that status struggles are ritually acted out in a gaming arena in a relatively peaceful manner. Thus, for high status members of the community, the cockfight represents something different than for low status members. In this manner, fishermen fishing an opener alongside one another are in a different relationship with each other than with someone who sets a subsistence net.

As something achieved, status is an important aspect of personal identity. As something to be striven for, status is also part of the structure. The salmon fishery itself has status, but it is the community who gives it status. Post-structuralists, who use tenets of structuralism while adding agency and intentionality, have given us practice theory, in which practice is a socially recognized form of activity requiring adherence to rules. Practice theory, for Ortner, "seeks to explain the relationship(s) that obtain between human action, on the one hand, and some global entity which we call 'the system' on the other" (1984:148). There is no level playing field in practice (Ortner 1984, 1989, 1996). In the Aleutians there are asymmetries and inequalities on land and at sea. The interplay between people who appear to be fully within the fishing franchise as fishing captains and their families and those who participate at different levels, as crew or in support of fishing, experience fishing and life on land quite differently. Inequalities are not just economic where position and power are determined by money and property.

Cultural and symbolic capital: status gained in practice

Cultural symbols are often utilized for consciously designed ends. From monumental architecture distinguishing social class to the use of religion in divining the ruling elite and sanctifying political domination, people control cultural symbols to legitimise representations of themselves and their behaviour (Earle 1997:143-192; Layton 1997:99; Polanyi 1945:53-60). Power and control of resources (which can include manpower, influence, esteem held by others, goods, among many) are both indicators of social position and self-reinforcing rewards for status. For example, the Tlingit elite wore Chilkat blankets and various hats to indicate their prestige; conical hats were viewed as holding

a higher status then beaded or frontal hats (Jonaitis 1991).[24] Leaders also would display their wealth within the lineage house: the more crest objects a lineage owned the more prestigious they were.

For Bourdieu, the process of interacting agents (which can be individuals and institutions) is one in which agents try to distinguish themselves from others and acquire capital that is valuable within a specific arena (Bourdieu 1977, 2000). Capital in this sense is economic, but also cultural, social and symbolic. One's status is determined by the possession of cultural or symbolic capital. Bourdieu argues that symbolic capital in the form of prestige and honour is perhaps the most valuable form of accumulation because it can be converted into other forms of capital. Culture is a source of power where high status individuals produce culture and create symbolic power. Symbolic capital holds greater importance especially in an area where social inequality as a topic of discussion is avoided head-on among kin. Successful ideologies projected to justify positions do not need to be articulated verbally, but through practice. For the Aleut, overt domination can be discouraged, so it takes the form of gentle, symbolic control.

Status amongst Hunter-Gatherers

Status differences in themselves do not imply inequality. Foraging societies are often non-materialistic and egalitarian where hunters' kills are shared, and cooperation is often a distinguishing cultural attribute. Status and authority are usually identified with sex and age. For many of these societies, striving for status is systematically discouraged (Lee 1969, 1988; Peterson 1993; Woodburn 1982). Among the !Kung, a kind of "constructive machismo" between men arises from belittling successes and affecting modesty. "Modesty is bragging and insults are praise. The more somebody insults your meat, the better you know it is" (Lee 1988:266). This is also a culturally sanctioned form of status. Lee describes how hunters distance themselves from the meat they bring home because of the difficulties presented in sharing: distributing meat brings prestige but also the risk that the hunter will do it the wrong way, and thus they share arrows and responsibility in meat distribution and "spread the glory" (Lee 1984:50). This fits with the status model in that the discouragement of aggrandizement is what culturally constitutes status. In other words, they still strive to be the best hunters, but do not boast about it. Even among the most unassuming of hunter-gatherers like the Ache of South America it has been found that the best hunters have more affairs, more children and their children live longer (Hill and Hurtado 1996).

Woodburn's immediate return societies, such as the !Kung, Hadza, Mbuti and Batek, are "assertively egalitarian", requiring sharing and sanctioning individualized behaviour like food storage (1982:431; Endicott 1988; Lee 1979, 1984). Hawkes, in turn, argues that Hadza men hunt large game

[24] The conical hats also increased their bearer's height substantially so he would appear taller than everyone around him.

and generously give away food to enhance their prestige (1993). Hunting large game is a difficult task that leaves the hunters empty-handed on most days. Snaring small game is an easier enterprise and hunters would come home with meat almost daily. But the social rewards for bringing home the big game, be they tangible in the way of choice cuts of meat (Hill and Kaplan 1994) or intangible in the way of increased social status and the adoration of women (Hawkes 1993), are greater than the rewards for sensibly feeding one's family for more days of the year (cf. Ridley 1996:109-114).

Status in Gender

Identity can be gendered, linked to gendered behaviours or symbols (MacCormack and Strathern 1981; Ortner and Whitehead 1981; Strathern 1988; Woodward 1997, 2000). This has implications for the Aleut, where the central activity is a male activity. The dominant female activity nevertheless is in support of the male activity. Ortner and Whitehead (1981) explore the notion of prestige as a cross-cultural feature shaping cultural notions of gender and sexuality. They contend that in the process of "becoming", there are criteria that one must fulfil, which then alter his or her perceptions of self and society. The essays in their volume illustrate these connections. Llewelyn-Davies shows how men transform from the "propertyless to the propertied" by gaining wives and cattle, setting a standard of masculinity, and producing a "commonsense" world where men strive for this standard (1981:5). Collier and Rosaldo found that men are glorified as hunters and "killers" but women are not glorified as mothers and "lifegivers" (1981:6), thus men are defined by status categories that have little to do with women, but women's roles as wife, mother, sister are often centred around men (1981:8). These roles do not form a system of complementarity.

Status is a contested topic in gender studies (Ortner and Whitehead 1981; Sacks 1979), but it is generally accepted that women and men have different status structures, where different forms of masculinity and femininity are locally constructed and culturally exalted. Men in hunter-gatherer societies in which hunting is the major source of male prestige often define themselves by their skill as hunters. For instance, the literal translation of the Yup'ik term for male human (*angun*) means device or machine for hunting (Fienup-Riordan 1983b:34). Of course there are societies in which hunting is a part of subsistence but is not the major source of male prestige, such as the Nuer in Africa (Hutchinson 1996). Around the Pacific Rim, among the Chumash and Tlingit for example, status was traditionally expressed principally through the potlatch, warfare, and things other than subsistence. Today, these groups may have translated this status structure into a fishing economy as well. Their history and modernity are similar to the Aleut. As will be shown, Aleut men define themselves as fishermen, and women define themselves as wives, mothers, aunts, nieces and daughters of fishermen, but these categories are not straightforward and are experienced heterogeneously.

Status plays a strong role in mate preferences. Based on a study of mating and sexuality involving 10,000 people in 37 cultures, Buss concluded that, “The single best predictor of the physical attractiveness of the man a woman actually marries is his occupational status” (1997:192). By this model, women formed relationships with high status men, protecting themselves and enhancing their reproductive potential, enhancing their own status, and ensuring access to nutritional, economic and social resources. Female attraction to men is affected by their high status (control of resources as both an indication and a reward of status) or recognized potential to gain status (Ellis 1992:268-9).

Masculine ideals vary cross-culturally. Aggression has been shown to often play an important role in male status. Jankowski (1991) shows that people join gangs for a variety of reasons involving honour, respect, and access to drugs and women. As a New York gang member remarked, "You see, if you ain't got respect and a reputation, then people be messing with you and taking your women and stuff like that, you know stuff you have to fight over" (Jankowski 1991:143).[25] This is similar to Chagnon's interpretation of the Yanomamö *unokais* (men who have killed), who are socially rewarded and have more wives and offspring, meaning that cultural success can lead to biological success (1992:205).[26] The situation does not always call for dominance displays or aggrandizement. Among the Zuni, Benedict wrote that the “ideal man” is one who does not seek status, does not try to lead, and is a “nice polite man” (Benedict 1934:99 in Wright 1994:260). That there is such thing as an “ideal man” is significant, he just happens to come in a subtler form, striving to be polite.

These examples indicate cross-cultural variation in customary ideals of the masculine self. A widespread phenomena is the struggle of young men to define their roles and achieve status, however it is defined (Brown 1991; Wilson and Daly 1985). It is critical then to define the local manifestation of this in the Aleutian context and the relationships between an individual’s status, their behaviour, and the availability of alternative outlets to locally defined routes to status and prestige. Changes in leadership, politics, economics, technology, ecology, or some combination of these also result in changes in status and opportunities for individuals. Seemingly ‘trivial altercations’ are better understood as consequences of the “ubiquitous competitive struggle among men for status and respect” (Daly and Wilson 1988:146).

Local constructions of female power and hierarchies are equally important, though they tend to be more problematic due to lack of research. Some researchers have found conflicting evidence for what drives women's behaviour among the same population. For example, Friedl (in her reading of Spencer’s 1959 material) argued that Iñupiat women only gain self-esteem from their household skills, their children, and “vicariously from their husbands’ standing in the community” (Friedl

[25] Girl gangs are also violent, but the social rewards are different: they participate in assaults for money, blowing off steam and to impress one another, and are seen to be asserting power in a male domain (Sikes 1998).
[26] Challenges to Chagnon on empirical, ethical and theoretical grounds are many, however I feel that his raw data still support the general model.

1975:45). This has been challenged by Bodenhorn (1989), who, based upon her primary ethnographic material, argues that since wives ritually attract animals, they themselves are regarded as hunters in an interdependent relationship with their husbands, not a dependent one.

Yet male and female status systems are not always complementary (Ortner and Whitehead 1981:6). In the past several decades there have been ongoing discussions about dominance versus complementary roles between men and women. Feminist anthropology of the 1970s and 80s fragmented the category of *woman* as changing depending upon their relative position as wife, mother, sister, mother-in-law, et cetera, and asked whether culture influenced how biology (or reproductive anatomy) is interpreted (Brodkin and Sacks 1983; Leacock 1981; MacCormack and Strathern 1981; Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974). Men are frequently in the public sphere and women in the private sphere, but this does not always privilege one role as dominant over or subservient to another. The "gender-blind" role of *giagia* (big man or big woman) of Melanesia, for example, challenges the perceived universal ideology of male dominance, finding instead that men and women have equal access to prestige and are essentially considered equal (Lepowski 1993:301). Social systems of prestige emphasize personal autonomy and egalitarianism for all adults, men and women, creating an ideology of gender equality.

Women's roles in foraging societies tend to be more crucial to the economic life of the family than the domestic role of women in Western society because the domestic circle is the locus where all food (often hunted by men) is brought and prepared and where all gather to socialize. In fishing societies, especially where fishing is industrialized, there is a strong sexual division of labour (Acheson 1981:298; Nadel-Klein 2003:88-91). However, Nadel-Klein and Davis (1988) show that women's roles and social status in fishing communities is highly variable. Aleut women cannot be reduced to fishermen's wives, but their roles must be seen as complex, and very much tied to fishing.

In these discussions of male and female ideals of status and routes to gaining prestige, the important concept to recognize is the subtext transcending all of these examples, a subtext that recognizes that ideals of status are present in every society, but that there are variations in how these ideals are manifested between and within societies.

The Crux: Status as a limited entry system

Weber (1947, 1948) explored the possible connections between power, prestige, and unequal access to resources. He argued that an understanding of whatever is considered valuable resources within that society (e.g. money, knowledge, land, power) must first be mapped out. He further suggested that social inequality tends to develop when people have unequal access to the culturally defined criteria. People are entitled to different degrees of prestige, depending on criteria such as descent, wealth, ethnicity, education or, perhaps, westernisation. Society ensures the appropriate

behaviour of its members by rules about social stratification, especially through status, role and prestige.

In *Darwin, Sex and Status*, Barkow's model of prestige "involves an ongoing comparison of the self-representation with the representation of others" and the higher ranking of one's representation over others (1989:180). We choose different symbolic "prestige allocation criteria" (our social identity) depending upon where we can excel. The choice of a social identity is important, and often includes specialization so that one can become the best at one thing, and there are multiple paths to high status from which one can choose (1989:188). Choices are limited for the Aleut, who live in a "single social-identity/skill area" where men compete "in terms of a shared set of evaluation criteria" (1989:189). Thus, the quest for social status is itself a limited entry system.

Bourdieu describes this phenomenon succinctly:

> "Every established order tends to produce (to very different degrees and with different means) the naturalization of its own arbitrariness. Of all the mechanisms tending to produce this effect, the most important and the best concealed is undoubtedly the dialectic of the objective chances and the agents' aspirations, out of which arises *the sense of limits*, commonly called *the sense of reality*, i.e. the correspondence between the objective classes and the internalized classes, social structures and mental structures, which is the basis of the most ineradicable adherence to established order (Bourdieu 1977:164).

High status is a limited resource. Variability in one's ability to attain higher status results in inequalities of economics, politics, society and reproduction. Relationships between members of the Aleut community are analysed within this framework.

1.3.2 Integrating status and identity

Anthropologists, therefore, have analysed the degree of variation in the definition, strength, permeability or loss of individual and social group identities in different settings and over time. Identity could be said to be a kaleidoscope, which changes depending on the context. A good deal of identity discussion, from gender (Strathern 1988) to ethnicity (Baumann 1996), has been about agency and practice, mutually constitutive and continually shifting. The languages of indigeneity and culture, however, are often fixed. I propose an unconventional definition of identity that requires process and stasis to be thought of theoretically together. Identity and symbolizing are part of our cognitive development. Culture or identity do not act for the individual, but influence his/her actions. Defining culture or authenticity as unchanging prevents people from shaping their own identity.

The view of culture held by practice theorists as historical and dynamic underpins most work on structure and agency. Meaning comes from the practice itself and the motivations behind it where the underlying rationality of behaviour is conditioned by humanity's concern with social success. Thus, for analytical purposes, a separation of social practice and meaning will ultimately show that they are neither the same nor are they separate. This will emerge in the ethnography presented here.

I argue that identity is manifested in large part in status, and status is manifested in culturally conceived notions of what it means to be a good human. To extend Cohen's definition, identity and status can be expressed symbolically, but only if the symbols are recognized in similar ways by the larger society. Identity has an historical component, to borrow from Friedman (1992), and it is often selected meaningful events of the past that are brought into the present and are used strategically by individuals to maintain or increase their status, such as invoking familial rights. This research asks what does it mean to be Aleut? And more specifically, what does it mean to be a "good" Aleut? And what happens to those individuals who may not meet some or all of the recognized criteria for being a "good" Aleut? Being a "good" Aleut changes with abstract notions of value, such as generosity, bravery, modesty, among many, as well as more concrete public positions, all of which get expressed differently when factors such as age or gender are added. Part of the process of identity construction taking place now is characterized and influenced by conflict and crisis.

1.4 Culture Change and Conflict

I assume that culture is constantly being modified and adapted by individuals. Loss or replacement of 'old ways' or traditional roles has been blamed for so many societal problems worldwide that it would be impossible to cite them all here. However, not all change is threatening and not all conflict is a function of change. 'Flexibility' is a structuring principle of Inuit social organization, and recent research illustrates this flexibility in relation to culture contact, challenging the functionalist notion that contact brings cultural collapse, and instead indicates resilience, creativity and resistant determination of people, not just in the face of contact, but also in the face of the colonial process (Bodenhorn 2000/2001). Flexibility is not part of the social organization for the Aleut, but could be said to characterize their outward dynamics. There is a great deal of conflict in the arctic that may have very little to do with the colonial process (e.g. Burch and Correll 1972). Nonetheless, conflict seems to occur as part of contemporary processes and will be analysed as such. Here I also consider studies reflecting what happens when there is a loss of status and identity.

1.4.1 Conflict in the north

Theories of the causes of social conflict in arctic communities have emphasized the role of alcoholism, unemployment, modernization, and lack of education (Lee 1995; Marenin 1992; Palinkas 1987; Wood 1997). Illarion Merculieff, a Pribilof Aleut (who is not necessarily the spokesperson for all the islanders), has argued that his people emulated Western goal-oriented economic development for a decade with chilling results:

> "Sixty percent of the adult population is now alcoholic; child neglect and child abuse are at historic highs; one-third of the children in school are fetal-alcohol syndrome affected; domestic violence is widespread; most of the children have lost the traditional knowledge,

> values and ethics of stewardship; and the community has lost most of the young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-seven to suicide, murder, alcohol-related accidental death, and violence – all of this over the past decade of strong economic advancement" (1997:137).

These authors make direct links between acculturation and social ills (see also MacLeish 1997 and Merculieff 1994), but they ascribe social categories of analysis that may be less important to the societies they are studying than factors linked to specific systems of status and identity.

Problems in the community arise at certain times, and both problems and solutions are modelled in a variety of ways within King Cove. Critical to understanding how status and identity are manifested in a society is an understanding of the sanctions placed on those who go outside of the boundaries of what is considered socially acceptable behaviour. This is not a study of crime, rather crime is one data set in a larger story, and an undeniable reality.

Arctic research on community social problems have been conducted by sociologists and criminal justice researchers, attempting to explain "Native" crime using a framework that may only be appropriate to white, industrialized society (Lee 1995, 2000; Marenin 1992). Wood (1997), in his study of Canadian Arctic Inuit, found no relationship between violent crime and Western-defined social and economic underdevelopment. Believing underdevelopment to be a consequence of the 'colonization process', he statistically measured employment, income, education, and housing density and found no connection between 'colonization', as he defined it socioeconomically, and violent crime. Nor did he find a relationship between crime and negative effects of external market forces on income, such as the European Economic Community's ban on the importation of sealskins. He also found that a high per capita consumption of alcohol is not a predictor of violent crime; 'dry' villages do not always have less crime. Therefore, what are often considered to be correlates and predictors of crime in mainstream American/Canadian society may not indicate the same things in indigenous villages. Of course, this does not indicate that "culture loss" is an explanation either, but it does raise the issue of searching for culturally specific categories of meaning. Low income, low education levels, and unemployment may not correlate with crime, but other factors might. Testable examples for this study include low subsistence harvests from natural disasters or imposed regulations, changes in the commercial fishery, a native corporation's failed or successful dealings, family difficulties, changes in leadership, among others. These are factors that affect the Aleut every day.

Palinkas (1987) examined problems of psychosocial stress related to integrating modern commercial industries with traditional subsistence practices in the Bristol Bay region of Alaska and argues that social conflict occurs among disenfranchised residents who have been lost in the attempt to merge these two systems. Many individuals who have not been able to participate in either the old or the new economy resort to deviant behaviour. This indicates that there is a surplus of people with nothing to do, and that these traditional practices are so intertwined with their identity that exclusion from them leads to dramatic shifts in behaviour. Young, disenfranchised men who have no

alternatives to social and political success often find themselves in conflicts. This is clear from data on the structure and success in inner-city gangs, where behaviours associated with gang life also provide status for the organisation and its members where other means of gaining status are blocked (Jankowski 1991; Keiser 1979), and it is present in the arctic as well (Palinkas 1987). Violent behaviour, however, does not lead to success in arctic communities (as it often does in the inner-city), although there is some individual perception that is does. Today, when an individual has a choice or opportunity for alternative forms of competition, such as Native arts, hunting, or, in Alaska, village basketball games, many of the same accolades formally given successful warriors are now given to the accomplished artists or sports stars.

In the Canadian Arctic, hockey has become an "essential therapeutic stage for attaining social status and self-esteem" (Collings and Condon 1996:260). Rapid social, economic and political change has contributed to a "prolongation of adolescence" (Collings and Condon 1996:261; Condon 1990). Inuit youth no longer make a rapid transition into adulthood, they argue, instead they spend years in a liminal stage where they neither learn hunting and fishing from their elders nor any education or job training. Hockey has become so popular that it fills this liminality with a tangible identity. The competitive and physical nature of the sport, however, provides a "venue which the frustrations and uncertainties of many young people are expressed and, in some cases, amplified" (Collings and Condon 1996:262). Thus, youth delay their own rites of passage, but create an alternative identity within which to strive for success. Hockey then is a kind of double-edged sword, providing youth with an identity and a place to work out their frustrations, but also an arena for conflict to escalate.[27]

Understanding local constructions of masculinity is important to know when these values are being threatened. Hennigh reported that among Iñupiat, they prefer "a quiet man" and any man who crosses their social boundary was subject to sanctions or expulsion (1972:104-107). Shinkwin and Pete (1983) attribute the rise in domestic violence in the Central Yup'ik area to changes in residence and concomitant shifts in gender relations forced by missionary policy. Traditionally men and women lived in separate dwellings in a weak marital bond: men and boys lived, worked, ate, and slept in the men's house (*qasgiq*); women and girls and very young boys lived in households. They shared dwellings when travelling or in a temporary camp but still maintained sexual separation in their work patterns. These residence patterns changed at the insistence of priests, compelling men to live with their wives in a nuclear family arrangement; this arrangement was common by the 1930s. Altering an important male institution, and decreases in social control by elders, has created new social problems, although use of saunas has continued that are exclusively male.

[27] Other discussion of sports arenas as social centres where relationships get "worked out" are found in Rabinowitz's (1997) discussion of Palestinian/Israeli relations via basketball in *Overlooking Nazareth*. See also Sprott (1997) on basketball and sled dog racing as part of intervillage rivalry in the Iñupiaq village of Noorvik.

"Human language is cluttered with terms that have relative standing at their core" (Barkow 1989:179). The above discussion suggests that notions of identity and status are sensitive to context. This research depends in large part upon the discovery and definition of 'native' Aleut categories of meaning, cultural identity and the social rules of behaviour. Aleut definitions are central to explanations of behaviour but they cannot be read as independent causes. What are the sociocultural norms and what are the mechanisms that influence or coerce people to accept or reject them? Attention to categories of meaning requires an understanding of the day-to-day of the individual, as well as the broader contexts of influence.

1.4.2 Methodological explorations of identity

Different forms of status, identity, and social problems occur among all humans and we have developed an extensive array of social contexts for their manifestation. Several anthropologists have employed various techniques for identifying elements of identity. Baumann's (1996) study of a multi-ethnic London suburb found identity to be a question of context, elucidated in discourse. "Culture," he argues, has different meanings for different people in different settings, and it is used as an "ethnic cornerstone" (1996:9) in political discourse. Identity is reified in the dominant political and descriptive discourse. The dominant discourse for the Aleut was easily identifiable, but the ways in which it was used to make meaning varied depending upon the context and the person.

Hensel (1996) argued for Yup'ik society that ethnicity and identity are constantly constructed through subsistence practices and discourse, and that change in subsistence is a primary factor affecting cultural identity. If identity is reified in the discourse arena as Hensel, among others, believes, that they "make meaning" through the "highest frequency" discourse (1996, 2001:222), then the model for the Aleut is further solidified at the local level. Hensel's discussion of subsistence also highlights a particular concern for Alaska Natives. Food is often a means for negotiating status (Wiessner and Shiefenhövel 1996), and among the Aleut, red and king salmon are prized fish, and confer more status on the fisherman who catches them over chum or pink salmon.

Basso (1996) and Kari and Fall (2003) approach identity through construction of particular localities rendering places meaningful. Many Aleut talk about their connection to the village as a part of their identity, that to leave would be devastating on many levels. Here I also consider the portability of culture in the context of many fishermen being forced to find a life outside of the Aleutians.

In *Looking Both Ways* (2001), editors Crowell, Steffian and Pullar give a forum for the Alutiit to define their identity in their own ways, simultaneously using signs of the past and meaningful symbols in the present. The Alutiit have a complex history, having been termed Koniag, Sugpiat, Aleut, and finally Alutiit, a new term that acknowledges their language, kinship, Russian Orthodoxy,

and Russian heritage. The authors propose a “mosaic of identity”, that Alutiiq identity is a product of 8,000 years of cultural development and 220 years of turbulent historical contact as well as their own strategies of self-determination (Dybbroe 1996:40 cf. Crowell, Steffian and Pullar 2001:95).

Fienup-Riordan notes that Yup’ik “elders passionately believe that if contemporary young people understood and became aware of the relevance of their traditional ways, they would not be confused about their Yup'ik identity. They point out that this understanding can effect positive change among all people. Sharing traditional knowledge is thus seen to be at the heart of contemporary Yup'ik survival and essential to non-Natives' understanding the Yup'ik point of view” (2002).

A sense of “well being” has been argued to be a crucial measure of community health (Reimer 1999) but, as will be shown, conditions that the Aleut describe as constituting “well being” do not always coincide with social harmony. McNabb states that, "possession of higher education, a good salary, and ample savings doesn’t guarantee a rosy future in rural Alaska. Household economic well-being is therefore better explained in terms of political economy and the Native cultural idiom--harvest, sharing, consumption of wild resources--than by factors relating to individual attainment in a Western competitive mode" (1988:121). Household economic and social well being for the Aleut may give a sense of what constitutes stability. How are the Aleut modelling well being?

Briggs’s (1970, 1982, 1985) study of within-household family management and emotional patterning of Canadian Inuit explores these relationships through vignettes about interpersonal interactions. Through intimate living arrangements, she was able to elucidate the ways in which Inuit express and control their emotions, and how they control what was considered “improper” expressions in themselves and others. She chose to illustrate this using those who deviate from the “ideal” and the ways others controlled these “undesirable tendencies” (1970:7).

The evolutionists argue that throughout much of human history, groups were made up of related peoples, and it is only recently in our history (in the last ten thousand years) that unrelated peoples commonly live in complex groups of many unrelated peoples. Maschner (1996) suggests that our evolutionary past has not equipped us for dealing with many unrelated people on a day-to-day basis, which requires that we create a myriad of social and cultural rules in order to get along. Related people also come into conflict, and interact in rule-governed ways. The relationship between scale of society, density, economic resource supply, and the organization of social relations is highly complex.

The methodological exploration of cultural sanctions must tease out gender relations, family relations, and hierarchies because sanctions are unspoken rules that every member of society knows and they are used to control each other's behaviour. These kinds of conflict resolution techniques are found cross-culturally and it is important to identify how they are manifested in Aleut society. The Aleut are heterogeneously influenced by both legal sanctions and local sanctions, some of which are contradictory. The circumstances and extent to which certain individuals are influenced can only be

understood in local context. A focus of this study is developing means by which multiple forms of data are not assumed to be mutually contradictory, where we can evaluate quantitative socioeconomic data on one hand, with the individual lives of men and women on the other.

This is a study of the fishing community of the Eastern Aleut, not what happens aboard fishing vessels. As a woman (not married to a fisherman or the daughter of a fisherman), I only went fishing for leisure between commercial openings. Fishing is heavily gendered at the outset, and I followed that proscription. To be legally aboard during commercial fishing, crew licenses are required for everyone on board. At the same time, a few offers to take me fishing were simultaneously sexual propositions, which I declined. It is understood that women on board are usually tied to the captain or a crewman as family or in a sexual relationship. One opportunity to ride on a tender for a day was thwarted by the captain's wife shouting "no girls on *my* boat!" The boat, of course, was not hers nor owned by her husband who captains it. Rather she was asserting her domain, perceiving my presence, however benign, as a threat to that. Nevertheless, I spent time aboard vessels riding between King Cove and Cold Bay, fishing for fun, travel to the old village of Belkofski, and in the harbour. Women who do not usually fish still understand fishing, though perhaps not in the same way as the Aleut men understand it or in the ways that women who crew might.

1.4.3 The Importance of the Ethnographic Approach: 'deep hanging out'[28]

I developed an inductive strategy because the research depends greatly upon the discovery and definition of local categories of meaning. Evaluating the stated theoretical framework relies on the search for Aleut categories of status and social identity and culturally specific rules of behaviour. Participation was at the level where "social life is *lived*, and in which the social rules and ideologies that influence the conduct of social action are constructed" (Riches 1986:vii), also considering broader influences on behaviour. Ultimately, the goal is to address what might be distinctly Aleut social issues combined with culturally and historically relevant issues of status and identity. Identifying the kinds of interpersonal conflict that are problematic at the local level, as well as how gender differences are manifested, is part of the research goal. Taken together, these data have allowed me to identify a complex set of social, political, and economic conditions where negative behaviours are chosen over accepted alternatives.

Thus, this project had three main phases: the first consisted of village-based fieldwork in the introductory sense of learning the rhythms and concerns of the community; the second was the collection of existing ethnographic/ethnohistoric information, subsistence and commercial data, crime statistics, and social and economic data; and a third was a return to the village for more intensive

[28] Geertz's book review "Deep Hanging Out", *New York Review of Books*, October 22, 1998, p. 70. For the hyphenated version, see Rosaldo (1993),'.. most of the time I was happy swanning around the village, doing what has been aptly described as 'deep hanging-out.'

evaluation. I did not set out to study Aleut social problems, but rather to work with the Aleut and to assess their concerns within and beyond the community. Analysing changes in dependence/ interdependence, balances of power, values, and norms underlying behavioural patterns has brought to light the ways in which people comprehend the erosion and strengthening of these processes.

1.5 Method

My material is based upon 15 months of fieldwork between 2000 and 2003, with the majority of time spent in King Cove, Alaska, and shorter visits to the nearby villages of False Pass, Nelson Lagoon, and Sand Point. Considerable time was also unavoidably spent in Cold Bay, the bleak airport hub that everyone must pass through to get to and from these villages. Though not an Aleut village, it is home to several Aleut, and is the regional headquarters of Fish and Wildlife. I also spent time in Anchorage at the Alaska Court System, the Aleutians East Borough, Eastern Aleutian Tribes, The Aleut Corporation, and the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association offices.

Several kinds of interviews were employed: Life history and general information gathering interviews, formal interviews with a cross section of individuals, families, and professionals, informal visiting with as many people as possible, and 'panel' discussions in the Harbor House. Considerable time was spent in several households and with extended family groups. Structured interviews were conducted with people of all ages, economic status, and reputation in the community, including fishermen and their family members, elders, members of the village corporation, tribal council members, business owners, cannery managers and workers, members of law enforcement, local politicians, or health workers, and some individuals wearing multiple hats. I interviewed boat captains and their wives about their concerns and priorities. I also participated in household and fishing activities as much as possible where it seemed appropriate. Though there was no language barrier, there was an 'expression barrier' that needed to be crossed. I also collected genealogical data on over 3,000 individuals, living and deceased.

Different levels of data, for example, how fishing occurs, who participates, and how different levels of participation occur, have allowed me to learn a great deal about social organization on land and at sea. Reputational rankings assessing the community status of an individual (heterogeneously evaluated for social and political status and economic success) were informally employed in the Harbor House using a variable 'panel of judges.' The same ten to twelve fishermen were the core of the Harbor House assembly, consisting of the Harbormaster and his alternates, elder fishermen, and maintenance crew, all evaluating others' reputations and statuses. Gossip networks of both men and women were also instrumental in evaluating or deciding a person's status (see also Jorion 1976).

Because of the sensitivity of many of the topics discussed, at the request of the local tribal council, no individuals are identified in the writing of this dissertation, except in a few photo captions

with the subject's permission. Pseudonyms and false initials are used where it is necessary to distinguish between individuals. Though tribal council members and community leaders were regularly informed of the project's status, I also decided to forgo a local review process because of the sensitivity of some of the material.

1.5.1 Using Existing Materials

An understanding of the nature of the current problems that Aleuts face calls for an understanding of historical processes, if not necessarily colonial processes. Existing materials evaluated in this study include the ethnographic/ethnohistoric and the subsistence/economic to correlate with the village and crime data. These data supplemented fieldwork, providing a general sense of community, identity, organization, and the village's economic and social circumstances. Archival data have allowed me to explore the contact history and contrast the recent and distant past with the present, making inferences about change through time. All of these data are problematic: they were collected with different research goals in mind, they may pertain to different villages and people, and they were collected sporadically by different researchers; however they are evaluated in order to make certain knowledge claims about economic and social circumstances. Part of the research included a critical evaluation of the limitations of these data and is discussed as the data are presented.

Social and economic data (demography, health, mortality, general crime, welfare, business) have been collected and analysed. The measurement of short-term economic events has allowed for the documentation of changes and correlations of effects with the crime data. The Eastern Aleut economy, and arguably Aleut social life, revolves around the fishing industry. Subsistence and commercial fisheries reports (e.g. Fall *et al* 1993) contain numbers of species harvested for households and the community, demographics, other economic data, and some interview data. Most data available from bureaus, agencies, services and others are lumped by village, region or even the State of Alaska, skewing the data away from the population that I am most interested in. AN/AI (Alaska Native/American Indian) is the standard generic classification.

Changes and stresses within the fishing industry have been linked to increasing rates of crime in Aleut villages (Juettner, personal comm.). Studies of crime cannot be restricted to violations of codified laws. Customary ways of dealing with nonconformity were noted by Malinowski (1926), and do not have to correspond to law. Compliance is often required for both means of "social control", but this is not always an easy fit. I have attempted to sort out both influences and contextualise them for whether they contribute to or account for the behaviours in question. The Aleut have local definitions of crime, but they are also Alaskan and American citizens, in which there are codified descriptions of what constitutes crime. The Aleut are intimately aware of these external conditions and participate directly in the American judicial system. It is thus critical that quantitative data collected as a by-

product of Aleut interaction with the judicial system be used in comparison with local constructions identified during the village-based study. Variable rates of violence, suicide, and crime have been quantitatively established for the Eastern Aleutians. I have allowed the village data to inform the interpretation of the statistical data before adding my own analysis, since I advocate a more culturally specific approach to the analysis. Crime statistics and interview data were gathered from the King Cove Police Department, as well as court records for criminal and civil cases, which included information on divorces/dissolutions, family disputes and other conflicts that were resolved legally.

In Alaska, as in many other parts of the world, problems in law enforcement processes result in higher arrest, conviction, and longer sentencing of some portions of given populations over others (Schafer, Curtis and Atwell 1997). Studies recognizing cultural differences in administering criminal justice are rare (see exceptions Banks 1997; Blurton and Copus 1993; Morrow 1993, 1994). There are subtle discrepancies between inside and outside definitions of, and understandings of, law presenting difficulties in knowing what these crime data represent (e.g. Morrow 1992; Walker 1997). Patterns identified through quantitative analysis of events and actions are held in this light. Native men and women also hold jobs as enforcers of state laws which can present problems of authority with the officers and their families, and the officers are often called upon to perform other social services beyond their job descriptions (Wood 1999b; Wood and Trostle 1997).

Selecting observational techniques in the field, assessing the quality of data, and relating the data to the theoretical principles is particularly difficult with respect to identity, and social and cultural rules of behaviour. This involves seeking patterns of behaviour as defined by the observed. An evaluation of existing records and social statistics supplement this research. Relating the existing data to the theoretical propositions will involve establishing patterns of behaviour from field data to achieve theoretically valid results. A combination of field-grown theory with behavioural theories can elucidate Aleut social categories, establish gendered behavioural patterns, and illuminate social problems faced by the Aleut.

1.6 Organization

In this chapter, I have introduced the theoretical frames through which I shall argue that culturally and socially defined status form the foundations of individual identity. Threats to identity and behavioural responses can only be understood in local context informed by underlying mechanisms of status striving and inherent inequalities. This analysis first demands data that describes aspects of Aleut social and cultural realities and the fabric of social change. Chapter 2 places Aleut historical identity in context and describes the antecedents of social status and hierarchy, historical expressions of identity, how these have changed through time, and what of the past might be relevant today. Four main time periods have been identified—pre-Russian, Russian, Early American, and

Cannery—where each are analysed for what identity meant and means through time and how the past is used by living Aleuts.

Chapter 3 places the Aleut at sea, framing subsistence fishing and the commercial fishing franchise, and dissecting the industry in the context of Aleut identity. This chapter elucidates the nature of fishing, how participation and sharing is determined, relevant changes in technology, organization, leadership, the economy and community involvement, building a 'limited entry ethnography'. Chapter 4 analyses age and gender constructions, focusing on kin relations and building a story of Aleut identity and status from the bottom up. The sequence in which Chapters 3 and 4 appear might seem more logical if they were reversed to follow the standard anthropological order in which household and village dynamics come before the chapter on fishing. However, I found that during the writing process the social organization cannot fully be described without first understanding the connection to fishing, the work at sea, and on land with regards to the sea. I cannot talk about families without continually referring to fisheries dynamics.

Chapter 5 examines Aleut identity from the top down, with emphasis on the interaction between the global perspective and the local reality, linking the people of a seemingly isolated area to regional, national and global concerns. The global economy consumes fish, while aquaculture floods the market with farmed salmon. Disregard by state, federal, and non-governmental researchers (anthropologists included) has given way to an assault by environmentalists and fisheries bureaucracy. Chapter 6 analyses the effects of disenfranchisement from the social and cultural ideals and presents crime data in context. Concluding in Chapter 7, I shall summarize the themes and contributions. Ultimately, this is a story of the historical and modern Aleut through the lens of status and identity. The lens is itself the commercial fishing industry.

CHAPTER 2. IDENTITY, STATUS and the structure of TRADITIONAL ALEUTIAN SOCIETY in ETHNOHISTORY

2.1 'Historical' Identity

For Marshall Sahlins, "culture is precisely the organization of the current situation in terms of a past" (1985:155). There is a growing sense among Eastern Aleuts that they must recapture their historical identity in order to combat contemporary political, economic and social trends. This identity is emerging as a valuable position for debate in disputes over indigenous rights and commercial fisheries, and undoubtedly history will be revised by present circumstances. What might be defined as "traditional" is beginning to be used as an ideological resource in negotiating access to socioeconomic resources, but concepts of "the traditional" may be quite biased. Fienup-Riordan noted for southwest Alaska, "Current testimony by the Yupiit themselves on their history is also often biased—an ideal view framing their past in an effort to affect the present" (1990a:123). A historical identity is still developing in the Eastern Aleutians, and may emerge to reflect strategies of other Alaska Natives, who seem to "know" their history and traditions.

Historical processes are critical to an examination of social concerns among the Eastern Aleut where history and tradition are imagined in different ways. In keeping with Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), I am not proposing linear continuity or discovering historical facts, but rather a relevant reconstruction of aspects of Aleutian history that contribute to an appreciation of the present, giving context to what the Aleut implicitly "know". I have asked specific questions of historical material that I believe relate directly to contemporary circumstances: What constituted rank, identity and status? How did those structures change through time? How is present-day Aleutian society linked to pre-Russian, Russian and early American periods of authority? How did Eastern Aleutian society become intertwined with a commercial economy?

This chapter explores the history of rank, status and identity through ethnohistorical documentation in order to identify traditional avenues for success and to ask how they have changed through recent Aleut history. Four main time periods—Pre-Russian, Russian, American, and Cannery—are used to document changing relationships between identity in the economic, social and political world of the Aleut. These time periods also form a type of inverted pyramid in which the discussions of Prehistory and the Russian era are pan-Aleutian, the American Period discussion is oriented towards the Eastern Aleutians, and the discussion of the Cannery Period is specific to the Alaska Peninsula. As I hone in on the specific region of study, historical works become harder to find. In the following sections, I review the history of exploration, a vast literature resulting from that era, and build an ethnohistorical construct of pre-Russian Period Aleut social and cultural complexity, status, individual roles and community expectations, tracing significant aspects of continuity and change through the turbulent histories of Russian and American authority, and ending with the

modern Aleut society intertwined with a commercial economy. I shall argue that although the particular economic foci shifted, identity associated with status and marine harvesting remained constant. Changing status structures through prehistory, colonization, and presently on the global stage indicate the adaptive resilience of the Aleut.

2.2 Through Russian Spy Glasses and into Aleutian History: Incestuous Sourcing and Historiographical Issues

I begin with a well established timeline of explorers, hunters, military personnel, missionaries, and diseases, bringing us rapidly from Russian contact to American control. Early waves of mid-18th century Russian explorers were officially commissioned to search out new lands and economic opportunities. Their arrival to the Aleutian Islands in 1741 swiftly transformed these expeditions into hot pursuits of sea mammal skins, creating a lucrative fur trade. The Russian government established sovereignty through dispatching government representatives and conscripting indigenous peoples as hunters. The Russian-American mercantile company was established in 1799, which developed into a monopoly. At the beginning of the 19th century, Orthodox missionaries began arriving to some settlements and commercial posts, and the church was rapidly established as the organizing, moral force. American and British merchants also travelled to Alaska and traded from their ships, but Russians were the first to build permanent settlements throughout the territory. In 1818, the Russian Navy assumed authority in Alaska and banned foreign ships from Alaska's waters. Nevertheless, in 1835, the Americans and British obtained trading rights with them. By the 1840s, however, seals and sea otters were depleting and the Russian-America Company was losing its *raison d'être*. At home, Russia was embroiled in the Crimean War (1854-56), and a decade later sold the territory of Alaska (and its people) to the United States.[29]

This fairly uncontentious timeline becomes more muddled with reference to the Aleut. Given the following summary of historiographical issues, it is not surprising that our understanding of traditional Aleut life is fragmentary and incomplete. To understand contextual problems, the observers of the observed must become the subjects of analyses (e.g. Berkhofer 1978; Sahlins 1995; Vansina 1985). Who were these explorers and what were their missions? Most voyages were officially sponsored and oriented towards acquiring wealth in furs. Cruikshank warns that explorers' impressions are "valuable to historians but…usually tell us more about Victorian values than about the indigenous peoples described. Yet these very observations became authorizing statements, the foundation on which policy decisions were made by colonial institutions" (1998:5). The literature on geography, climate, and natural resources is more trustworthy, but with regards to people, fact and fancy are mixed in indeterminable ways. Where possible, I have included factors that influenced the

[29] Famously known as "Seward's Folley". The purchasing price for this allegedly barren land was $7.2 million.

accuracy of accounts, such religious, racial, or economic prejudices, and their authors' personal ambitions. Though the available material is of uneven value for anthropological interpretation, prior uses of ethnohistoric data on indigenous patterns of warfare in the Aleutians and elsewhere are testament to the quality of data available and their usefulness in anthropological analyses.[30]

In 1741, two vessels of Bering's Second Kamchatka Expedition,[31] commissioned by the Tsar to determine the relationship between Asia and America, sailed from Kamchatka (e.g. Frost 1992). The *St. Peter*, commanded by Bering, landed on the Shumagin Islands where crewmembers Müller, Waxell, and Steller described the first encounter with Aleuts (Steller 1743/1988; Waxell 1743/1952). The *St. Paul*, commanded by Chirikov, arrived near Adak Island and was approached by Aleuts in *baidarkas* (kayaks). These voyages were marked by scurvy and death (Ford 1966). Steller, a naturalist and physician, presented careful writings on nature, and describing the Aleuts' appearance and material culture as similar to the Kamchadals, trying to place them in the world order as he knew it (1743/1988). Explorers at this time, however, mostly took note of an abundance of fur-bearing sea mammals. News of these events (and samples of sea otter, fox and fur seal skins) spread quickly back across Siberia. The Tsar wished to secure rights to these new lands and commissioned additional voyages. A flood of hunters ensued for decades, [32] and the journals for this time describe bloody encounters with the Aleut. In 1764, St. Petersburg financed a secret hydrographic expedition led by Krenitsyn and Levashev, resulting in an accurate map of over 30 islands and sketches of the Aleut (Glushankov 1973). A second secret government expedition of Billings and Sarychev (1785-1793) bound for Bering Strait again resulted in depictions of the Aleut (Black 1984; Merck 1980; Sauer 1802/1972; see also Bergsland 1998). This first wave of 18th century voyages consisted of individual entrepreneurs relentlessly expanding into the region to find new areas to exploit. These were not all Russians: Captain Cook's third voyage (1776-1780) stopped briefly in the Aleutians while in search of the Northwest Passage. Though not a complete list of early voyages to the region, their journals produced much of the early ethnohistoric information that survives today.

Many published reports for these early expeditions are abridgements or translations of translations, further alienating the story. The majority of ships' logs and journals have been lost to

[30] E.g. Burch 1974, 1998a; Fienup-Riordan 1990b; Maschner and Reedy-Maschner 1998; O'Leary 1995, 2002.
[31] The first expedition under these same orders found Bering passing through the strait that bears his name, landing on St. Lawrence Island, but he never sighted the American continent.
[32] I will briefly outline the major voyages. 1743-1747, Basov, Sergeant of Okhotsk Port Command, went in search of sea otters "like Jason in search of the Golden Fleece" (Berkh 1823/1974:2). 1745-1746, a detachment wintered over on Agattu and Attu and encountered Aleuts. 1747-1764, merchant Andreian Tolstykh spent time in the Andreanof Islands (named after him) but his notes from his last voyage were lost in a shipwreck. Testimonials by Tolstykh and his companions Vesiutinskii and Lazarev were recorded and eventually presented to Catherine II. 1752, merchants Bashmakov and Serebrennikov recorded wildlife and Aleut life on Adak Island. 1759-62, Glotov, Solov'ev and tribute collector Ponomarev happened upon the Fox Islands and "established friendly relations" according to Liapinova (1996:25), but most accounts describe how they brutally killed Aleuts and burned their villages (Black 1977; Golovin 1983:107).

fires in Russian depositories (Black 1984). Some memoranda were housed in the Bol'sheretsk office in Kamchatka (Liapunova 1996), and it is from these sources that many Aleutian treatises were written. Most, however, are from secondary sources and consist thereafter of people citing each other. A typical paper trail, for example, finds Berkh (1823/1974) citing Davydov (1977), Cook, Coxe, among others, which was then used by Polonskii, who gave no references in his still unpublished 1850s-60s works, which were then heavily (but selectively) cited by Makarova (Black 1984:9-12; Makarova 1975). Coxe (1803) published material based on Müller's journals (Müller never actually visited the islands or saw an Aleut) and journals from the Krenitsyn-Levashev expedition in English. Pallas, who incorrectly posited a single ethnic group throughout the Aleutian and Kodiak Islands, edited and translated Coxe's English translations of Russian documents into German (1802/1803; Masterson and Brower 1948). Black aptly calls Pallas a "synthesizer" (1984:7). Waxell's narrative of Bering's second expedition was translated into English from a Danish version of the German original (Waxell 1952/1743). Both Jochelson (1933), who spent several months in the Aleutians and produced primary data on the early 20th century Aleut (see also Bergsland and Dirks 1990), and Bancroft (1886), who did no primary research, published excerpts from Tolstykh, Korovin, Stæhlin (1774), Coxe, Pallas, Berkh, and others, adding their own interpretations. In addition to this incestuous circle of references and translations, a mysterious man identified only as J.L.S. (1776) published a manuscript in German summarizing the first Russian voyages between 1745 and 1776 and produced a remarkably accurate map. Coxe published excerpts from J.L.S.'s manuscript without identifying him.

Soon after the initial voyages, Catherine II, who ascended the throne in 1762, ordered explorers to record indigenous peoples' food, clothing, customs, population, faith, if they make war and trade with other groups, and if they are taxable subjects of another authority (Berkh 1823/1974:26-28). Early visitors made wild estimates about Aleut society simply by eyeing the shorelines (e.g. Shelikhov 1981). Natives were portrayed as "treacherous Aleuts" and "bloodthirsty savages" against "brave Russians" (Berkh 1823/1974:33, 41), whereas Golovin describes "lawless Russian *promyshlenniks* [fur hunters] exploited the meekness and naiveté of the Aleuts for evil purposes" (1983:107). Voyages continued in the Russian America period (1799-1867). Russian-American Company records, housed in the U.S. National Archives, mostly contain data on economic activities and ships' logs, but the occasional ethnographic description seeped in.[33] The journals of merchants and *promyshlenniki* during some seventy voyages describe many encounters with both sides showing hospitality but also bloody feuds (O'Leary 2002).

[33] Between 1803 and 1806, Captains Kruzenshtern and Lisianskii (1814) collected Aleut artefacts while Langsdorff (1813-14), a naturalist on this voyage, made ethnographic descriptions. Between 1817 and 1819, Golovin set sail (1979, 1983). Artists on the voyages of Litke and Staniukovich made collections and detailed drawings of Aleut life from 1826-1829 (Litke 1987). Khlebnikov (1994), a Russian-American Company employee, made an attempt to reconstruct the history of Aleut society in 1818-1832.

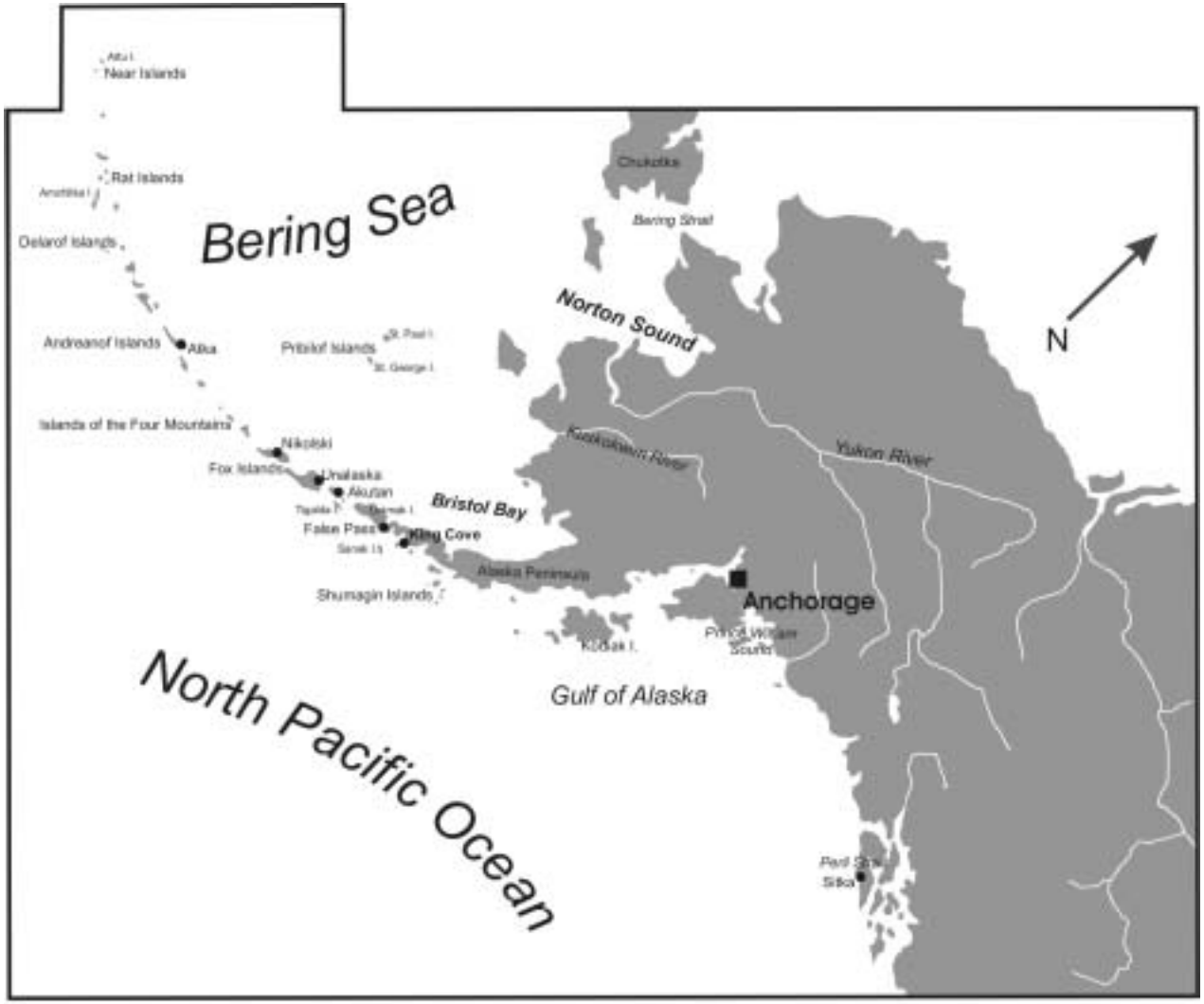

Figure 2.1. Map of Ethnohistoric Place Names

At the beginning of the 19th century, after Russian sovereignty was established by the waving hand of imperial decree and economic self-interest became the only catalyst for expansion, there was a blurred line between official and commercial activities. Russian fur hunters baptised the Aleut *en masse* to make them imperial citizens. Government officials and missionaries sent reports on the conditions in Russian-Aleut settlements, pressuring Tsar Alexander I to issue a ukase in 1821 for protection of the Native people, entitling them to an education and a pension, for example (Porter 1890). Aleut men were forcefully relocated to the Pribilof Islands to harvest fur seals (Elliot 1880, 1886; D.K. Jones 1980; Veltre and McCartney 2002). Russian depredation of fur seals is legendary and, only 20 years after their discovery, erstwhile millions declined and faced extinction.

Between 1824 and 1834, Orthodox Priest Ioann Veniaminov, "a self-taught ethnographer, linguist, and biologist" (Liapunova 1996:31), lived and carried out religious duties on Unalaska all the while concerning himself with Aleut origins, language and culture. In *Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska District*, he criticized explorers' accounts because of brief visits, ignorance of the language, and emphasis on economic exploits (1840/1984:113). Despite its 1840 date (published in English in 1984), *Notes* remains the most comprehensive ethnographic description of Aleut life to date, based on continuous interaction. Knowledge of language and customs was critical to communicate the gospel, but moral obligation to save their souls turned into mutual esteem and affection. When the Russian monk Makarii arrived on Unalaska in 1795, most Aleuts had already been baptized by the *promyshlenniki* (see also Netsvetov 1980 on Atka). Subsequently, Veniaminov arrived to find an already Orthodox society. He created an alphabet, translated the Bible and Gospels into the Aleut language, and taught writing in the church schools. Veniaminov is still revered: "he gave much more than he received. In return, he knows our ancestors' gratitude and respect. We feel the same about him today" (Alice Petrivelli, then President of the Aleut Foundation, in Foreword to Veniaminov 1993).

These early sources, while flawed in many ways, provide the bridge between prehistory and the present. They are the lenses through which archaeological data are interpreted and social information is derived, and through which modern social discourse is evaluated.[34] Field researchers asking about old ways occasionally find informants quoting Veniaminov and his contemporaries back to them, as I occasionally did. This, I believe, could indicate a separation of the notion of "history" from the notion of "tradition" in the ways the past is imagined among the Aleut, that "history" is assumed to be factual references about the past, and "tradition" is the evolving practice of everyday living. There is a disconnect from historical *facts*; one Aleut woman said, after she bought a copy of Venaminov's *Notes* and had read other accounts of 20th century events, "We didn't know any of this. Our parents never talked about it." By most accounts, the present is comparatively serene relative to

[34] It remains that a number of primary sources have yet to be translated or published. Aleut research which has usually been historically oriented and founded in ethnohistory (e.g. Lantis 1970, 1984; Townsend 1980, 1983).

social disruption in history, and the Aleut recognize that many problems they face today are related to historical processes. The past is not something to overcome, but something to understand. I am reaching into history for specific kinds of information and deriving social information from sparse records that holds relevance for the present, evaluating the extent to which historical legacies are inscribed on the landscape.

2.3 Pre-Russian Period (Prehistory to A.D. 1741) Social Complexity and Identity

Having outlined the major sources and the difficulties in using them, I move from this contact history back in time to construct a pre-Russian Aleutian society in terms of social complexity. Aleutian archaeologists debate over origins, settlement timelines, population, warfare, contacts with other groups, and social organization.[35] Details of non-material culture, such as social organization, marriage patterns, navigation, knowledge of anatomy and medicinal plants, basket weaving, among others, have all been investigated, with Veniaminof as the main ethnohistoric source.[36] Solid attempts have been made to reconstruct sociopolitical organization (Black 1984; Lantis 1970; Townsend 1980), and though I draw upon their work, my reconstruction of the sociopolitical is made here in the context of identity, rank and status.

Tremendous time depth for humanity can be found throughout the chain, and the modern village of Nikolski (pop. 19 in 1999) on Umnak Island claims continuous occupation for nearly 10,000 years (Hall 1999:28). Archaeological research indicates that at one time the Aleutians supported some of the largest sedentary hunter-gatherer villages on earth (Maschner 1999a, 2000; Maschner *et al* 1997). The presence of prehistoric international contacts has been assessed using material evidence of trade and a record of shipwrecks from Japan (Black 1984:40; Hoffman 1999; J.L.S. 1776; Maschner 1999a), arguing against previous notions that Aleutian society was isolated and homogenous (Laughlin 1980); a vast interaction sphere along the North Pacific includes present-day Japan, China, Korea, the Gulf of Alaska, and the Northwest Coast of North America.

Ancestors of the modern-day Aleut arrived in the Aleutian region thousands of years ago as sedentary hunter-gatherers with an almost exclusively marine orientation. The archaeological record shows that whales,[37] sea lions, fur seals, sea otters, and walrus; fish such as salmon, halibut, codfish, and herring; intertidal resources in the way of sea urchins, clams, and mussels; and birds, eggs and edible plants were and are found in abundance and supplied a broad diet (Hoffman 1999; Maschner 1998, 1999a; McCartney 1984). A variety of harvesting techniques included the use of seafaring

[35] E.g. Bank 1958; Dumond 1987; Dumond and Bland 1995; Hoffman 1999; Laughlin 1963, 1980; Maschner *et al* 1997; Maschner and Reedy-Maschner 1998; McCartney 1974, 1984.
[36] E.g. Berreman 1956, 1964; Black 1984; Jones 1976; Lantis 1970, 1984; Marsh 1954; Marsh and Laughlin 1956; Milan 1974; Ransom 1946; Robert-Lamblin 1982b; Rubel 1961.
[37] Whaling was done by smearing aconitum poison from monkshood root on lances, which had ownership marks (Collins, Clark and Walker 1945:29).

baidarkas, harpoons, bows and arrows, spears, clubs, weirs, nets and fish hooks (Collins, Clark and Walker 1945:24). While many fish and bird species were available on a seasonal basis only, many marine mammals and groundfish were available year round. This abundant environment has strong implications for the political economy in that the same resources were available everywhere, and conflict and trade were never about gaining access to food.

2.3.1 Identity, rank and power

Veniaminov reconstructed a ranked society prior to Russian contact based upon his work with the Aleut: the class of "honorable ones" was comprised of the chief **(***tukux*, in Russian *toĭon*), his relatives and his children; the "common people" were other Aleuts and freed slaves; the lowest class was composed of slaves (1840/1984:240). Ascendancy to power could have had some regional differences, since explorers described several means of attaining the rank of chief. Mousalimas, a theologian who has written on Russian Orthodoxy in the Aleutians (1990, 1995), found a division in the succession of chiefs: succession in eastern villages was through "customary lineage chiefs" while western village chiefs were found within a "hereditary kin group" (Introduction to Veniaminov 1993:xxii). The ethnohistorian Townsend, in her reading of Veniaminov, argued that the Near Island villages were the least complex politically and the eastern Fox Island villages were the most complex (1983:122) (See Figure 2.1 for island groupings). She concluded that slavery was an *institution*, not merely the incidental capture of war prisoners (1983:121). Slaves were disenfranchised individuals, prisoners and orphans. The nobility had the power to punish their human property with death, barter with or sell them, or free them. Slaves were required to care for and defend their owners. Kind owners who supported their slaves and their families also accrued prestige (1983:122).

The number of relatives one could claim played a strong role in his or her rank. Citing Krenitzin and Levashev's early encounters in the Fox Islands in the 1760s, Coxe wrote,

> "In each village there is a sort of chief called Tookoo; he decides differences by arbitration, and the neighbors enforce the sentence. When he embarks at sea he is exempt from working, and has a servant called Kale, for the purposes of rowing the canoe: this is the only mark of his dignity; at other times he labors like the rest. The office [of chief] is not hereditary; but it is generally conferred on him who is most remarkable for his personal qualities; or who possesses a great influence by the number of his friends. Hence it frequently happens, that the person who has the largest family is chosen" (Coxe 1787:278, c.f. Lantis 1970:250).

Renowned warriors and skilled hunters were also eligible for chieftainship if they had a significant following, meaning a large number of relatives and slaves (Lantis 1970:242-3; Townsend 1983:122). Veniaminov found hereditary chieftaincy in the Unalaska District, though he also wrote that, "He who has large family ties through marriage is so powerful that no one will dare to offend him" (Veniaminov 1840:II:76, c.f. Lantis 1970:250).

The mid-20th century archaeologist Hrdlicka surmised from the same explorers' journals that the "real authority" in a village was a council of elders, followed by the shaman (1945:25). Veniaminov also deduced a modest authority, describing a leader who looked after the "common welfare" but exerted little power over his subordinates, which were typically his kin (1840/1984:241). However, he also describes a paramount chief who was chosen from among all village chiefs in the polity, and who commanded wars, decided punishments, and received shares of the booty and of precious material goods like driftwood or carcasses for construction (1840/1984:242), in addition to social benefits. Failure as a leader in a war expedition or an inability to live up to the prestige of his ancestors could result in a demotion of rank (Lantis 1970:243). High-ranking individuals had to consult the paramount chief before they could initiate a raid that had the potential to increase their status, thus the chief could control social mobility (Townsend 1983:123).

Even greater political differentiation could be found between villages within an island group.[38] Politically, warfare was perhaps the surest expression of individual and group identity. Wars occurred between Aleut villages and against the Alutiit of Kodiak and the Yupiit of southwest Alaska (Golder 1963b; Maschner and Reedy-Maschner 1998; Snigaroff 1979). Young boys were trained in the skills of navigation, hunting and warfare from an early age. A nobleman already renowned for his skill in war and knowledge of the enemy could assemble a group of warriors (Lantis 1970:263). Warriors took great care in maintaining their honour and that of their kinsmen. They would mark their bodies in certain ways to indicate their achievements in war (Veniaminov 1840/1984:213). Townsend argues that indigenous warfare was so widespread that it helped facilitate Russian subjugation (1983).

2.3.2 Social processes, male/female relations and status

The kinship system in Aleut society is difficult to determine because of sociopolitical heterogeneity throughout the islands and circumstances of contact. It is possible that there were multiple descent systems based on archaeological data of residence patterns (Maschner and Hoffman 2003). Veniaminov's writings indicate that prior to Russian contact Eastern Aleut households were composed of single families and corporate kin groups inhabiting *barabaras*, or semi-subterranean dwellings with roof entrances, common central rooms, and side rooms believed to cordon off family units (1840/1984). Inheritance of position and property was through the male line (Black 1984:46). He also indicates that cross-cousin marriage was preferable (c.f. Lantis 1970:205-213; Liapunova 1996:145-146) but parallel cousin marriage was a form of incest. There were no marriage ceremonies, though the birth of a child often signalled a union; occasionally children were betrothed (Chamberlain 1951). My review of the kinship terminology compiled by Bergsland (1994, 1997) found that Aleut

[38] Social and cultural differences coincided with linguistic boundaries. Linguistic differences were the bases of prejudice; folklore about survivors of raids only learning or remembering the "baby talk" of their local language are in evidence (Bergsland 1959:124-126; Black 1984:43-44; Khlebnikov 1994:173; Netsvetov 1980).

kinship resembled the Iroquois system where they separated parallel and cross-cousins. Mother's sister and father's brother were called 'my other mother and father' and terms for parallel cousins were the same as for brother and sister with suffixes (Bergsland 1994). After Russian contact, Aleut kinship terms changed to reflect their Russian counterparts.

Marriage is often about forming alliances, not just between two individuals. Intermarriage between villages was often with other nobility. Women appeared to have had status differentials that depended upon kin organization and family resources. The abduction of wives from other villages was also practiced. A "strong man" could take a woman from another man at will, often instigating a war (Tolstykh in Jochelson 1933:12). He likewise had the authority to demote a current wife to slave status (1933:12), which likely depended upon the relative position of her family. Famed warriors could take concubines from their captives. Polygamy and polyandry were equally common, and seem not to have been linked to particular social conditions. Few men had more than two wives, but a minority of men that Veniaminov encountered had more than six wives (1840:77-78). Women with two husbands, the second often called the "helper", were admired for being able to take care of both.

Most ethnohistoric writings agree that men's and women's roles in Aleutian society were sharply defined, but these roles were not so rigid and mutually interdependent that survival was contingent on both the activities of men and women as in other arctic societies (see Robert-Lamblin 1982b:198). There is some mention of women having special powers from puberty through her reproductive life that affected men's success in hunting and were to be feared by men: women were not allowed to go on hunting expeditions, no sexual intercourse was allowed before hunting, women were not taught certain songs and stories, and they had to be careful when sewing skins for a kayak lest their hair get caught in the seams and bring bad luck (1982b:200). Menopausal women lost these powers and became exempt from these taboos. Menstruating women had particularly strong powers that could both harm or heal. These powers were still considered to be important in the 1920s and 1930s. Elders I spoke with from Belkofski village remarked that the ritual obligations of a woman at puberty, during menses, or during pregnancy were still being observed at that time. Robert-Lamblin believed that women's status was as important as her husband's in maintaining the group's "equilibrium", but "the fact remains that the predominant role and prestige went to the Aleut hunter as supplier of meat, the food held in highest esteem, and skins necessary for clothing" (1982b:201).

2.3.3 Men's societies and nomadic Aleuts

Though kin were indispensable, Rubel identified fraternities, with men 'depending on' each other in unspecified but significant ways throughout their lifetimes. Institutionalised non-kin partnerships existed where a man could expand his social network and ensure sources of economic

and social assistance (Rubel 1961:61). A version of these types of relationships continues today in the context of captain-crew relations and sharing networks, elucidated in the following chapters.

Competition for status between Aleut men is found in numerous texts. Choris[39] wrote about verbal duels between rivals where each man was challenged to listen to his competitor without expressing anger (Lantis 1984:177; VanStone 1960:154). Demonstrations of hardiness in the environment could also have been articulations of social standing.

> "They pass with bare feet over high rocky mountains, sometimes covered with snow, and when the feet or another part of the body are hurt or cut by a sharp rock, they hold the wound by the hand and another man sews it with a bone needle…The patient himself sits smiling and holds the wound by his hand, as if not feeling pain, and thus demonstrates his strength and valor" (Tolstykh in Jochelson 1933:11).

Young boys bathed in the icy sea, "by that means they are rendered bold, and become fortunate in fishing [hunting]" (J.L.S., Coxe in Lantis 1970:190). It is unclear whether feats such as these are listed by the Russians as demonstrating "strength and valor" because they themselves were impressed, and they were not necessarily meant to make an impression on fellow Aleuts.

Legendary in ethnohistoric writings, "outside men"[40] appear as disenfranchised, wayward young men (and possibly women). On the Aleutian chain, they are believed to have been bands of young Aleuts who refused to submit to Russian subjugators (Hudson 1998). These bands are alleged to have attacked young Aleuts and coerced them into joining their nomadic gangs.

> "All of the Aleuts are unanimous in affirming that on the Alaska Peninsula there live Aleuts who have fled from this island chain or from Kodiak Island, and that they travel along the entire chain in secret. However, they do not do anything greatly offensive, except for removing foxes from traps and, when they can (which is rarely), taking young men off with their group. For this last reason they are feared by all inhabitants. My records show three males and one female to be missing, and the inhabitants believe that these people are among the nomadic Aleuts" (Veniaminov 1993:82).

One Aleut man of Tigalda claimed to have fatally shot one of these nomadic Aleuts in self-defence, to which Veniaminov gave him penance (1993:176). The priest explains again, "Along this chain and along the Alaska Peninsula, some nomadic Aleuts wander. They are both local Aleuts and Kodiak Aleuts. They ran off in former times, and they attack young Aleuts and try to lead them off to join the nomads as comrades" (1993:184). The fear of villagers losing their young people to such gangs persists in Unalaska (Hudson 1998:78), and although Alaska Peninsula villagers also fear the loss of their youth, these gangs were never implicated in our conversations.

[39] Louis Choris (1795-1828) was on the voyage with Otto Von Kotzebue between 1815 and 1817.
[40] Versions of these "outside men" can be found in many societies as enemy bushmen (e.g. E. Basso 1978).

2.3.4 Symbols of status and identity

Aleut material cultural is distinctive. Variously shaped and adorned bentwood headgear indicated the status and valiant activities of the wearer, be they apprenticing hunters, warriors, and or whalers. These "symbols of power and identity" (Black 1991:15) are best illustrated with a description of a whale hunt: a lone hunter, often toting whale hunting charms made from human body parts (Lantis 1940:367), would go to sea and, upon striking a whale, would return home, seclude himself and fast and torture himself until the whale was found dead. Such was the distinctive individualism of the whale hunt that whalers often became chiefs and whalers' hats became chiefs' hats (Black 1991:80).[41] In the Eastern Aleutians, the right to wear such hats was reserved for chiefs and nobility, and one hat could cost the buyer one to three slaves (Black 1982:136). Successes, rank and allegiance were advertised on the headgear with artistry and amulets (Black 1982: 134-150; 1991). Veniaminov wrote that the Aleuts most "prized" articles were baidarkas that had been ornamented, decorated bentwood visors, quality spears, and adorned parkas (Lantis 1970:272). Wives of "prominent men" wore parkas made of sea otter fur (Tolstykh in Jochelson 1933:11). "Great men" were mummified wearing their hunting visors; likewise their skin boats were "killed" and they were interred within them in caves (Lantis 1970:216, 222). Thus, ranked collectivities reveal themselves in the material culture. As I argue in sections to follow, fishing boats replaced the bentwood headgear as symbols of identity and power.

2.3.5 Rank, status and political order

Chiefs and nobles exercised complete control over their subordinates. Great offences—murder, slander, theft, treason—were punished with death by spear, sometimes after a trial before the chief and other nobility (Lantis 1970:255). Murder was often excluded from this and handled by the victim's relatives, instigating a feud. Criminals remained proud and boasted of their crimes. "'It was not necessary to keep the culprit under guard or bind him on the way to his execution, because every criminal endeavored to display the greatest possible coolness and fearlessness at this death,'" Lantis quoting Veniaminov (1970:256). Lantis added,

> "Many of these fearless criminals received admiration and honor by means of songs (Veniaminov 2:169), which explains the motivation of their behavior. Not only was the criminal (or rather his memory) not infrequently accorded respect but also, according to Golder, the man who executed the sentence was greatly honored by being chosen for the deed. The higher the rating of the man whom he had to execute, the greater was his own honor (1907:136)" (Lantis 1970:256).

Lesser offences by commoners were handled by the chief and usually resulted in humiliation of the offender. Slaves, on the other hand, suffered severe punishments, from body parts cut off to

[41] In the high arctic, whaling was/is a cooperative effort, yet still heroic for all participants and a route to status for the captain (Burch 1998a, 1998b).

beatings, often to death (Veniaminov 1984:243). The institution of slavery poses an interesting question for the transition to the Russian era, where Aleut men are considered to have been "enslaved" as fur hunters, and indigenous slavery was outlawed (Lantis 1984:177).

Informal control exercised village-wide was done primarily by shaming. Offences included disrespect and neglect of parents and elders, selfishness, gossip, showing inhospitality to a visitor, complaining about the weather, and polluting a body of water thereby driving away fish and game (Lantis 1970:258-262; Veniaminov 1984:215). It was also shameful to fear death, beg for mercy, die without killing an enemy, steal, weaken during a long voyage, betray a secret, boast of someone's misfortune, and display public affection. Women were shamed for not knowing how to sew, dance, care for their family, or for being affectionate in public (1984:215).

Men also controlled women and children by invoking spirits (Lantis 1984:177). Veniaminov wrote about men using dramatic performance for terrifying and maintaining control over women and children. This was called *kúgàn agalik*, "the appearance of the devils'.

> "When it was thought necessary to impress the women and girls, certain of the men left the village on a pretended hunt. At night, after they had been gone a few days, the men at home made believe some calamity was about to overtake the community, and, by pretending great fear, made the women remain in the huts. While they were thus frightened, strange noises were heard, and the 'devils' arrived, against whom the men made the show of a valiant defence. After the 'devils' had been driven away, it was found that one of the villagers was missing, and a woman, previously agreed upon, was carried out as a ransom for him. By and by both were brought back, the man apparently dead. He was gradually revived by being beaten with inflated bladders, addressed with invocations, etc., and was given by his relatives to the woman who had saved him. The lost hunters then came in and expressed surprise at what had occurred." (Chamberlain 1951:305; Golder 1963a:140-142).

It is more than likely that women were savvy about this scheme, but it is significant that men found such a dramatic show to be necessary every so often, and that the women played along and helped them boost their own alleged status in the community.

Individual male ability in hunting, participation in a successful hunting party, or military expedition was the means by which a man could improve his social standing. The hallmarks of identity for women were also based upon knowledge and ability, though linked to men's status. Rank and power were advertised through body adornment and negotiated through other symbolic representations of status. This history of rank, status and social dynamics, though fragmentary, indicates great social and cultural complexity, with some regional variation.

2.4 Russian Period (A.D. 1741-1867): Reorganization

We have seen that, at the time of Russian contact, the Aleut were geographically, socially, and linguistically diverse. Political units of unequal size and strength were identified in island

groupings.[42] Population estimates for the Aleut range between 8,000 and 20,000 at the time of contact, numbers that rapidly reduced to perhaps 2,000 through conflict and disease (Fortuine 1992; Lantis 1970:174; O'Leary 2002; Veniaminov 1840/1984:246). There is some evidence that the Aleut system of rank was already under stress at the time of Russian contact due to intervillage warfare (Townsend 1983:129), which faded as Russian control became more pervasive. The Russian-American Company allowed for some protections to the Aleut people in their charter, though the lawlessness among fur hunting crews continued.

Although the Russians acutely impacted the Aleut for decades, they were allowed some expression of their pre-Russian life, including an altered chief system and use of the Native language (Lantis 1984:177). Russians established their own system of first, second, and third chiefs over the traditional pattern and defined their authority, though the positions remained somewhat hereditary (Lantis 1984:176). Russians used Aleut chiefs to exert control over other Aleuts such that the chiefs often became company clerks. For Nikolski, Berreman's informants reported that Russians selected these chiefs from the pool of elders and bribed them for control; the first chiefs were the only ones with any significant authority, and they were remembered in 1950s Nikolski as true leaders (Berreman 1953:133). Second and third chiefs assisted him and acted as his informants. For example,

> "It was said by informants that a man who is chief has been watched all of his life by the older members of the village, who observe his behavior, habits, abilities, and attitudes so that they may judge his suitability for the office. Prospective chiefs are generally given careful training from boyhood on so that they will be fit for the office. …His training in the ways of white men is not being neglected, however, because it is realized that a successful leader must now be proficient in both" (Berreman 1953:133-134).

Thus, leadership positions began to require skills in both Native and non-Native ways.

2.4.1 Diaspora and Disruption

Aleuts moved frequently during the Russian period, and many small villages were consolidated into larger ones for easier control over them (Jochelson 1925:119). Families were broken up when the Russian-America Company employed many Native heads of households. Chiefs and nobility were at a greater disadvantage because Russians sought them out for recruitment (Lantis 1970:252-3). Aleut men were transported to new hunting territory and established settlements in areas previously uninhabited or at great distances. Four hundred Aleut men were sent to the Pribilofs alone beginning in 1788. Hundreds more were taken to Southeast Alaska to hunt seals, so many that there came to be too few in the Aleutians to hunt for their families (Lantis 1984:163). As many as 800

[42] A map of the ethnonyms of dialect areas as described by Aleuts living on Unalaska indicates at least ten distinct groups, though the local names of those in the far east and west are unknown since, for example, it is unlikely that Shumagin villagers called themselves *Qawaqngin*, 'Those Beyond the Easterners' (Black 1984:x).

Aleut men were part of the attack on Fort Sitka in 1802[43] and 200 died from eating poisoned mussels in Peril Strait, Southeast Alaska (Lantis 1984:165). Some Attuans were moved east to Unalaska, while other Attuans and Atkans were moved west to the Commander Islands and subsequently cut off from relatives after the purchase of Alaska in 1867.[44] Some Aleuts were even taken as far as Fort Ross in northern California (and later visited by Veniaminov in the 1830s).

In the Eastern Aleutians, parties of hunters (20 to 40 men, and a few women maintaining their camps) moved from their mainland villages to sea otter hunting grounds, most famously Sanak Island (Fassett 1890/1960). Belkofski village, from which many residents of King Cove claim ancestry and prior residence, was established in 1823 when the Russian American Company relocated most of Sanak's population there to hunt sea otters and walrus (Black and Taksami 1999:80-85). The surnames of Belkofski's chiefs and the regional paramount chiefs (1999:86-87) read like the modern list of elite families in the region (as do, as we shall see, Scandinavians of Sanak), which has social implications for the composition of present-day King Cove.

2.4.2 Aleut status expressed through fur seal and sea otter hunting

During the Russian Period, sea otter hunting was a cooperative task between men, a consequence of Russian intervention. They surrounded the otter, hurled spears until it died, and skinned it on the water, careful to retain the spears and arrowheads in the skin (Fassett 1890/1960). The sea otter furs were brought back to be inspected by someone at the company trading post and the skin's ownership was determined by the embedded points with ownership marks on them; the owner of the point closest to the tail received the skin.[45] Thus, a cooperative task was still a pathway to status through individual success during the kill. The Orthodox Church influenced these activities as well. In 1890, Fassett observed that the Russian leader "reminds the hunters of their duty to the church, and with the unanimous consent of the entire party some skin, usually a small one, is donated to that institution, all the rest of the successful hunters uniting to reimburse the donor to the value of his skin, less his prorate" (1890/1960:134-135). "An otter hunter is a man of importance in the community in which he lives, and socially without a peer. Any tool, weapon or implement not in the possession of his own family, which he may wish to use, is to be obtained by the very simple process of going to the

[43] The Tlingit had attacked and taken over these Russian headquarters for two years. Baranof, as Governor of Alaska, built up a force to retake Fort Sitka. It is unclear how many of his men were Aleut versus Alutiiq.
[44] Aleuts still live on the Commanders today and face severe economic and social problems, but have no representation in the regional legislature (Krivoshapkin 1996; Lebedeva 1993).
[45] Boas (1899) examined property marks on Iñupiat hunting weapons of whale and walrus and concluded that they were most likely identity markers for the individual hunter to claim his kill. In the whale hunt, meat was divided between those whose marks were found on the weapon that killed the whale and the people of the village who discovered the beached animal. If there were multiple harpoon points in the animal, then the owner of the point closest to the head received the meat. Marks could be either individual or communal, and ornamental variation between villages was greater than within them. See also Worl (1980) on current practices.

place where it is to be had and helping himself to it, using it as long as he may require" (Fassett 1890/1960:135). Women also played a role in the hunt: an unfaithful wife of a sea otter hunter was thought to be the cause of a man's inability to successfully kill an otter (Ransom 1946:620).

2.4.3 Shifting status relations

Though it is clear that men derived a great deal of high status from the sea otter hunt, the activity removed men from their villages, they lost control of their homes and families, and suffered the seizures of their wives and daughters by the Russians. After long discussions of her female ancestors being Aleut and her male ancestors being Russian and Scandinavian, one Aleut woman in King Cove asked, "Where did all the Aleut men go?" Smallpox and other diseases took tremendous tolls, but, as mentioned, losing 200 Aleut men to paralytic shellfish poisoning must have been devastating (Lantis 1984:165). Women had long been responsible for testing the shellfish by touching one to their tongue and waiting if it went numb before eating them. In the absence of women, the men did not know that the shellfish were not safe to eat.[46]

In addition to this essential test of intertidal resources, girls were trained to sew clothing, embroider, weave, clean and prepare fish and game, and collect edible plants; young boys were trained to "endure everything possible" through baidarka and baidara travel, survival skills, and hunting and military skills (Veniaminov 1984:191-2).

Cross-cousin marriage, polygamy and polyandry were suppressed in the 19th century and were eventually replaced by marriages arranged by the village chief or priest, sometimes with people from distant villages. Several marriages occurred between the same families, for example, two sisters of one village might marry two brothers of another[47] (Robert-Lamblin 1982a:114). Reasons listed for a man divorcing his wife are sterility or infidelity (Veniaminov 1984). Church-arranged marriages continued through the twentieth century, as reported by former residents of Belkofski village. In the Russian Period, nuclear family households became the norm. Today, restrictions on marriage and mate choice are less rigid. Non-Aleut husbands and wives from Anchorage or outside of Alaska are found in all villages. Marriage patterns for the modern era are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

2.4.4 The Conversion Process

The Russian Orthodox Church established the Unalaska Parish in the 1830s, which included Belkofski and Sanak, and through Veniaminov, permission was granted to build chapels in the villages (Black and Taksami 1999:80; Pierce 1978). Belkofski and surrounding villages later became a separate parish (1999:87). By many accounts Orthodoxy was a welcomed, yet imposing church

[46] Clams are now sent to Anchorage for testing each year.
[47] This is still common. In King Cove, for example, four brothers of one family are married to four sisters from another.

bringing decadence and ceremony. Mousalimas links Russian Orthodoxy with politics, arguing that chiefs were empowered by the church since authority was increased through skill and knowledge of geography (Introduction to Veniaminov 1993:xxii-xxiv). Almost all chiefs were given Russian surnames, most had travelled to Kamchatka on religious expeditions, and all were masters of hunting. In the context of a sermon he delivered, Veniaminov wrote in his journal, "The main moral lesson is that we, in imitation of Jesus Christ, should obey without a grumble any superior that has been placed over us—no matter what he is like—and should fulfill his legitimate commands" (Veniaminov 1993:23), an argument used to legitimise Russian control over the Aleut and, in some measure, to legitimise chiefly control.

The Russian Orthodox Church became the moral compass, adding their own list of prohibitions, particularly sexual transgressions (which came to be practiced in concealment rather than expunged), to those of the Aleut that already included murder, theft, infidelity, quarrelling and a variety of taboos. "During my ten years' stay in Unalashka not a single case of murder has happened among the Aleutians. Not an attempt to kill, nor fight, nor even a considerable dispute, although I often saw them drunk. It is a remarkable thing, almost unparalleled, that …there has not occurred a single capital crime! This is the case with the Aleutians since the introduction of Christianity" (Veniaminov in Dall 1870:392). He gives thanks to Russian Orthodoxy for their congeniality, but also "fear of punishment by the Russians, small numbers of people; but mainly their nature. Even children do not fight, and there is no profanity or special invectives in their language (1870:392)".

2.4.5 Reorganization

The 1840s marked a decline in Russian interest in the Aleutians, a decline of sea otters, and an Aleut population ravaged and decimated with smallpox (Lantis 1970:177; Sarafin 1977). Early uprisings did not quell the Russian onslaught, and the Aleut realized they could not keep them at bay (O'Leary 2002). It was only when the Russians put themselves in check were the Aleut saved from certain genocide. Conscription of men into the sea otter hunt, and subsequent removal from their villages and families, was initially devastating, but there is evidence that these men adapted to the roles and eventually derived prestige from success in the hunts. Lantis wrote, "Unwillingly and unwittingly, the Aleuts began to develop a new culture" (1970:284-5), a Russian-Aleut Creole culture, but their new society "was no substitute for the inner fire that had gone out of them" (1970:291). As we shall see, this bleak assessment might have better illustrated the decades following American purchase.

2.5 Early American Period (A.D. 1867-1950)

The Aleut had made great strides in adapting under Russian rule, having transformed into ships' captains, merchants, and fur hunters for the Russian-America Company and fully integrated into a market economy (Black *et al* 1999:14-16). In 1867 Alaska was sold to the United States. Russians were given three years to return home or else receive automatic citizenship. The treaty excluded Native peoples and made them wards, not citizens, of the U.S. government. Just as the Russians were interested in Aleuts as a labour force, so were the Americans.

After the purchase of Alaska, the territory fell under U.S. military jurisdiction with its own civil and judicial system under the Organic Act of 1884. The U.S. was at war with the Plains Indians, and considered all Native Americans to be in need of subduing (Berger 1992; Berkhofer 1978). They demoted Aleut ships' captains and merchants to fur trade labourers. Churches (still mainly Russian Orthodox, but also Methodist) provided social and educational services (Black *et al* 1999:16). Influxes of non-Native people seeking gold and other riches began in the late 19th century. Immigrants from Scandinavia and other European nations had also come to the region, particularly Sanak Island, at the turn of the 20th century, to partake in the sea otter hunt and later in the commercial cod fisheries (Shields 2001). They intermarried locally and it is thought that their presence as fishermen shaped the local lifestyle concerning their present commercial orientation (Bjerkli 1986; Black *et al* 1999:17).

Social mobility for the Aleut was extremely difficult during the early American Period. The Alaska Commercial Company (ACC) had taken over trading posts, and the limitless hunts for skins resulted in a brief but intense period of prosperity for Aleut hunters (Black *et al* 1999:17). The Belkofski district was considered to be one of the richest districts for hunting sea otters, producing 700 skins annually prior to 1888, but dramatically decreased in the years following (Hooper 1897:8). Described as "the principal means of support" for Aleuts for a century and a half of Russian rule, it was thought that "suffering and even starvation" would befall these people should the animal become extinct (1897:9). Their dependency was probably overstated, but clearly the reorganization had lasting effects. The Americans revised the statutes regulating sea otter hunting parties for 1898 to allow them to be killed only from baidarkas or open canoes (1897:15). By 1891, sea otters were approaching extinction and fur prices crashed. In 1911, sea otter hunting was banned by international treaty and fur seal hunting became the sole right of the U.S. government, still employing Aleut harvesters. The Alaska Commercial Company closed its trading posts throughout the region, including the one in Belkofski. Consequently, trapping, bear hunting and guiding, fox farming, cattle farming, and commercial fishing grew in their importance, and Aleut men began to focus their attention on these activities. Thus, the underlying motivations for striving for certain ideals remained the same; it was the ways in which those ideals were manifested that changed.

2.5.1 Leadership, government, and men and women

The title of chief and the various levels of chieftaincy are no longer used in Aleut villages, though during fieldwork, Aleksei Yatchmeneff of Unalaska was remembered as "the last chief" and is the ancestor of many Eastern Aleutian families. There have been claims to a type of chieftaincy. Orthodox Priest Dmitrii Khotovitskii of Belkofski is remembered as a "benevolent dictator" (Black *et al* 1999:94), a man who arranged marriages, ordered children to attend school, and ruled from the pulpit. Today, he is remembered with respect, humour and dread. This type of community control was short-lived, and no one since has attempted to fill his shoes.

Internal self-government among Alaska Natives was initially rejected by the federal government, but the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) recognized self-government and encouraged them to manage their own affairs, though the act based tribal institutions on non-Native forms and did not include jurisdiction over criminal or civil matters. The 1936 amendment to the IRA (known as the Alaska Reorganization Act) federally recognized most tribes in Alaska as distinct entities with their own leadership structures. Village councils formed after the passage of the act as local governing entities and as liaisons for communication with the federal government. The councils consist of elected positions, exercising community authority now shared with village government and village corporations.

2.5.2 World War II: Forced relocation

In 1942, the threat of the Japanese landing in the Aleutians prompted evacuation of those who were at least one-eighth Aleut (Kohlhoff 1995). All Aleuts west of Unimak Island (save for Attu Islanders, who were taken to Otaru prison camp in Japan) were taken to southeast Alaska and housed in abandoned canneries for the duration of the war. There, they endured horrendous conditions with no sanitation, no privacy, army rations as food, and few medical supplies. Aleuts suffered tremendous population losses, particularly elders and small children. Not everyone returned to their villages after the war and several became permanently abandoned; those that did return found that the American servicemen, not the Japanese, had ravaged their homes (Kohlhoff 1995; Madden 1992). Indicative of the U.S. Government's priorities, many Aleuts were allowed to return to the Pribilofs before the other evacuees in order to resume the fur seal hunt.

In King Cove, Aleuts avoided forceful relocation, but a military camp was installed there with the cannery being used as a front for the camp to receive supplies (T. Dobson, 6/00). Many King Cove elders remember this time when the military placed them under martial law, took over buildings, forced them to board up their windows, and buzzed their houses with planes "just for fun" (M. Samuelson 7/02). Several Aleut men from Peninsula villages, including King Cove, joined the military as Army Transport captains or Rescue Squadron. Though King Cove experienced the war in

a different way, all Aleuts acknowledge relocation as a defining moment in their history, one from which people are still in recovery. Valuable traditional knowledge, language and leadership died with the elders. For King Cove, several men gained status as officers in the military, but consider the overall impact to their relatives in other villages to have been atrocious.

The military presence is still strong in the Aleutians (see also Osherenko and Young 1989), affecting several western islands. Nuclear testing on Amchitka Island in the 1970s (Miller and Buske 1996) is still discussed, and one elder from King Cove remembers being "total panic scared." Several Aleut men were hired as part of the cleanup of Amchitka, including those from King Cove. Local people blame high cancer rates throughout the chain on these tests, among other reasons.

2.5.3 Late Twentieth Century damages

The latter part of the twentieth century saw devastating consequences of welfare policy towards Native peoples. Ray Hudson reported on how a state social worker arrived in Unalaska in 1967 and, in 15 months, she "emptied the town of its children" (1998:120). In the 1960s, Dorothy Jones argued that nearly all of Unalaska's children were neglected by their community and their "poor and demoralized" families, and witnessed 19 of 85 children younger than 16 removed from the village (1969b:300). The National Indian Child Welfare Act (NICWA) of 1978, which seeks to keep Native children with Native families through community-based, culturally appropriate programs, was passed as a response to these policies of removal.

Berreman, writing in an era where technological advancements were seen as threatening to "pure" peoples, blames so much of what he saw as negative in Aleut villages on a single advancement in everyday use by the 1920s: the dory (1954). He held the baidarka-to-dory transition responsible for the intensification of subordinate roles of women, decrease in marriage, loss of independence, breakdowns in cooperation, decline of the use of offshore fishing grounds, socialization to goals associated with money, loss of training children for necessary skills, and breakdowns in multi-generational communication. In addition, "The position of the village chief himself, traditionally a respected leader of village affairs, is threatened. His authority is challenged by young people who have been successful in the new economy, and who have won the approval of the powerful white men in the village" (Berreman 1954:106). This is a rather simplistic view of culture change. Not only was the dory ever considered a white invention in opposition to the traditional, it is now standard equipment on even larger fishing boats and indispensable for salmon fishing. Berreman does not take historical factors of rank and commercialisation into consideration, and misdiagnoses problems in terms of white influence. It is remarkable how successful the Aleut have become, since welfare policies grew out of these types of depictions.

2.5.4 New political structures

In 1959, Alaska became a state. Alaska's Constitution contained a comprehensive fish and game code, granting the state complete control of its natural resources (Case 1984). The Alaska Statehood Act also allowed the state to select 104 million acres of public lands (out of 362 million) and they predictably chose the best property, including land Native Alaskans considered to be theirs (Burch 1984:657). Large portions of the Aleutian Islands became the Aleutian Islands National Wildlife Refuge in 1913 (the Alaska Maritime National Wildlife Refuge since 1980) and portions of the Alaska Peninsula became Izembek National Wildlife Refuge in the 1940s. Statewide, oil and mineral exploration and military projects, during all of which Natives were never consulted, prompted the creation of the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) in 1966. AFN's primary agenda was to participate effectively in land disputes, resulting in the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971.

Government recognition and citizenship are recent to Aleuts. Full U.S. citizenship did not come until the passage of the Fur Seal Act by Congress in 1966, seven years after statehood (Merculieff 1997). In 1970, only three Aleut communities were incorporated as cities under Alaskan law, although federal schools, training of Aleut teachers, and public health care facilities had surfaced erratically in many villages (Lantis 1984:180-1). Several local women were sent to college on grants to become teachers with the stipulation that they return, and they did. Schools built in King Cove are not considered foreign intrusions but, in fact, are considered important by the whole community, employing a number of local Aleut teachers and administered by the Aleutians East Borough School District,[48] in which the school board is made up of local Aleuts, elected by the communities.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) is the federal bureaucratic arm concerning Native Americans and is based on Federal Indian Law. Alaska Natives are subject to these laws, which affect education, health systems, social welfare and the economy (Case 1984). ANCSA sparked the passage of federal laws that transferred authority for many social services to the state as well as regional and village non-profit corporations. By treaty and other obligations, the BIA still has service relationships with about 500 Alaska Native villages.

With the Americanisation of Alaska, Aleuts once again redefined their society. Sea otter hunting continued briefly, but with the loss of this hunt, the Aleut also loss positions as hunting leaders and merchants who were educated and trained under Russian rule. Where Russians chased the sea otter, Americans were attracted to the fur seal, and quickly assumed control over the Pribilof sealing operation and the Aleut labour force. In the Eastern Aleutians, commercial fishing was expanding, and local residents were gaining fishing and processing skills as part of a growing economy. As fur trapping markets declined, commercial fishing became the primary occupation.

[48] In the Molly Hootch case of 1975, Native students sued the Alaska State-Operated School System, compelling the state to provide secondary schools in rural Native communities (Case 1984:203-4). The State Legislature established Regional Educational Attendance Areas, which the Aleutians East Borough now administers.

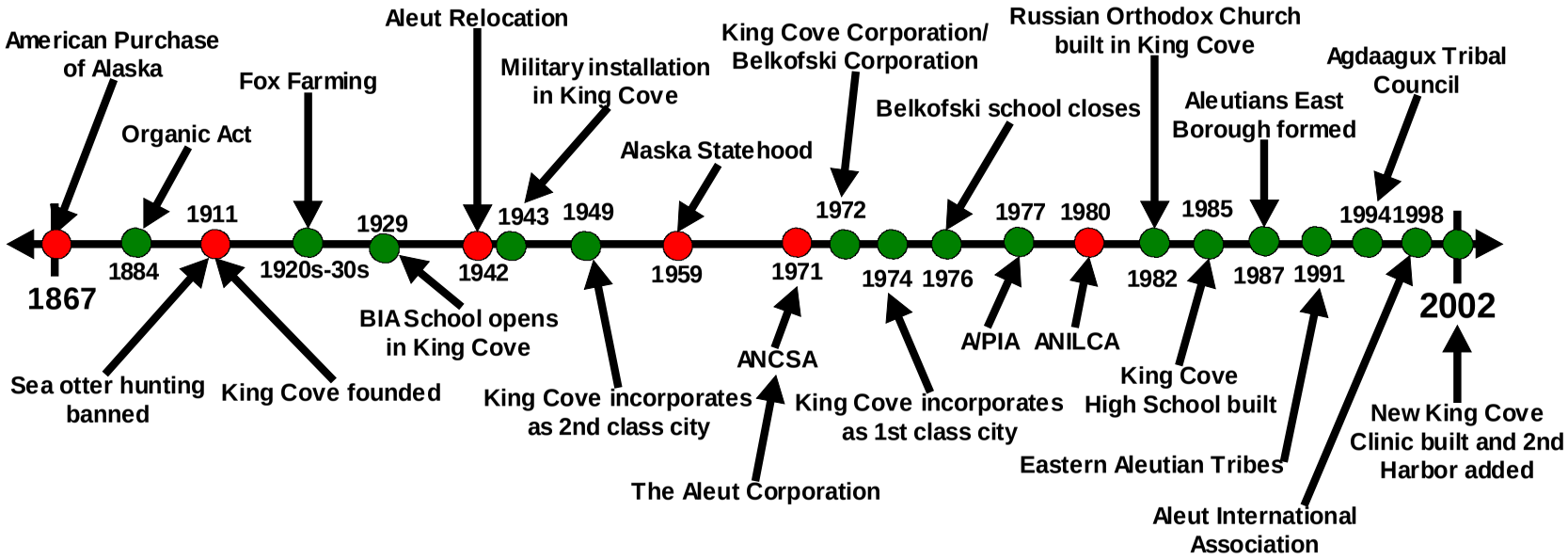

Figure 2.2. Political Timeline

2.6 The Cannery Period

By the twentieth century, the Aleut had a good deal of experience with a monetary economy and commercial enterprise. The cannery period, overlapping with many events discussed above, began almost instantaneously after American purchase. The region was ripe for commercial development of marine resources in whaling and fishing. American companies built codfish salteries and salmon canneries in the 1880s on the Alaska Peninsula and Shumagin Islands (Shields 2001). Akutan and Unalaska likewise became commercial centres. In the early days of salmon fishing, canneries owned fish traps and dories, and hired their own labour or Aleut labour to move the fish from the traps to the plants. By the 1950s, many Aleuts could afford to own their own boats and were becoming relatively independent businessmen.[49]

The building of salteries and canneries triggered the building of new villages around them and the eventual abandonment of those villages without commercial companies. The cod industry began apace in the 1860s with shore stations (Shields 2001). Ships from Bellingham, Seattle and San Francisco sailed to the cod banks, and men fished from dories using hand lines. Fish were processed aboard the ships and at the shore stations, where the salt cod was stored in warehouses, and then the ships returned to homeport to sell on the market (Shields 2001:20-21). Immigrant Europeans and Scandinavians, whose nations had cod industries as well, came to fish for cod and married locally. Aleut fishermen worked in the cod industry as well, though Scandinavians dominated it. Salmon, herring and trout were also salted in smaller quantities. Cod fishing slowed during World War I and stocks increased once again. Soon afterwards, large schooner ships had fished it out by the mid-1930s. The presence of cod and an industry for them has gone through major cycles since that time. The Aleut are currently experiencing a cod industry, fishing with long-lining gear and pots. Jacka (1999:226) attributes the shift from Aleut labour to Aleut fishermen's independence from fishing companies to Scandinavian influence and the Aleut emulating their entrepreneurial model (see also Mishler and Mason 1996:267 on the "Scandinavian effect" among the Alutiiq creating a new class of fishermen and a work ethic). These Scandinavian fishermen are now ancestors of many living Aleuts, and they take pride in this heritage.[50] Jacka argues that shifting from baidarkas to dories requiring crews to operate "caused a shift from an individual-centered hunting and fishing effort to one that was more communal" (Jacka 1999:227). I revisit this idea in Chapters 3 and 4 where I show that individualized aspects of fishing are still very much a part of the process even with crews.

[49] This was supported by military pensions in addition to fisheries employment.
[50] One man had a record shop in King Cove several decades ago where orders were placed from Unalaska to Nelson Lagoon for Scandinavian music by Stan Bierstad and Yumpalong Yanson, singing fishermen's songs with such names as "Who Threw the Halibut on the Poop Deck?".

Figure 2.3. Photo of a fish trap in operation, requiring at least "two people for honesty." Photo provided by Tommy Dobson.

The salmon industry that developed in the late 1800s is the reason for the size and location of present-day Aleut villages. King Cove was established around a Pacific American Fisheries cannery in 1911 from several nearby villages and dwindling cod stations. Belkofski had been a village for a long time, and people were more entrenched there trapping and fishing, and thus were slow to leave. The last Belkofski family moved to King Cove in the 1980s. Initially, King Cove's cannery depended on company-owned salmon traps. A few privately owned boats began to fish for the cannery, although fish traps prevented local fishermen from earning a living because the traps were owned by the cannery, requiring little labour to operate. The cannery employed a small fleet of fishermen, both outsiders and Aleuts, to fish other areas where there were no traps. Aleut men chose to be fishermen instead of work in the cannery where there was a steadier income. The cannery leased boats to Aleut fishermen (and paid them with a percentage of their catch) or financed boat purchases. Those who could not afford the larger boats still made a living setnetting or beach seining from small skiffs. Outside fishermen tended to have larger, more efficient boats. When fish traps were outlawed in 1959 following a territory-wide fisheries crisis,[51] the cannery became dependent on the growing Aleut fleet.

[51] Fish traps were located in the path of migrating salmon and corralled them into a pot in the centre of the trap, then brailed out of the pot and onto a tendering vessel. The state built requirements for maintaining adequate escapement into Alaska's constitution.

Figure 2.4. Early 21st Century King Cove and the cannery, with "dolphins," pilings driven into the water to which boats could tie up to. Photo provided by Tommy Dobson.

	King Cove	Belkofski	Sanak	Pauloff Harbor	False Pass	Morzhovoi
1880	--	268	N/A	N/A	--	100
1890	--	185	132	N/A	--	68
1900	--	147	N/A	N/A	--	N/A
1910	--	N/A	N/A	N/A	--	N/A
1920	N/A	129	N/A	62	N/A	60
1930	N/A	123	N/A	52	59	22
1940	135	140	39	61	88	17
1950	162	119	N/A	68	42	0
1960	290	57	N/A	77	41	0
1970	283	59	N/A	39	62	0
1980	460	10	N/A	0	70	0
1990	451	0	N/A	0	69	0
2000	792	0	0	0	73	0

Table 2.1. Villages' Populations. Sanak and Pauloff Harbor began as codfish stations. King Cove grew with the abandonment of Belkofski, Sanak, Pauloff Harbor, and smaller fishing stations such as Thin Point. False Pass arose around two canneries with the abandonment of Ikatan and Morzhovoi, but also included immigrants from Sanak Island (U.S. Census 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000; Braund *et al* 1986:3-8). Most people from Sanak Island moved to Unga and Sand Point in the Shumagins. European immigration and intermarriage seems not to have had a measurable effect on village size.

Canneries diversified into herring packing and crab processing, responding to species abundance and meeting the interests of the global consumer while increasing the number of non-Aleuts coming to the region. Canneries hired from such places as the Philippines, China and Mexico while fishermen came from other parts of America. From the 1940s to the 1970s, local Aleut women were the main cannery workers. As their fishing husbands became more prosperous and their identity

as fishermen was at stake, their spouses gave up work at the cannery, and were replaced by foreign workers, most of which remain Filipino. Many of these Filipino workers have been coming to King Cove for decades, with several generations employed at the cannery.

Pacific American Fisheries in King Cove had been the main salmon cannery for the region, requiring fishermen to sell their catch to them. Other large boats operating as processors came to the region as buyers, but PAF would penalize fishermen who sold to them. Just as sea otter hunters were paid in cash or credit in the Russian and American periods, with canneries came grocery and supply stores from which the cannery required their employees to make purchases, paying them in credit, or with punch-cards indicating the amount of money they were worth. Over time, the village has struggled to become more independent from the cannery's patronage, a process that is still very much alive. Local Aleut fishermen, who were becoming community leaders, made attempts to incorporate King Cove as a second class city, but the cannery blocked it for fear that they would be responsible for much of the tax burden, and threatened everything from lowering prices paid to fishermen to relocating from King Cove (Black and Jacka 1999:106; Jones 1976). The village successfully petitioned again in 1949 and incorporated in December of that year. The ability to tax allowed leaders to start infrastructure projects supplemented with government grants. Tensions between the village and cannery have waxed and waned over the years. The village eventually compelled the cannery to allow fishermen and workers to shop at the local Aleut-owned store instead of tying them to the company store. Peter Pan Seafoods still extends credit and cash advances on fishing prospects, and supplies fuel, boat repair, and some gear storage. More recently, the cannery has threatened to withhold fuel and other amenities if fishermen strike in protest of low fish prices.

Requiring fish to be caught in boats made the canneries dependant upon a fleet of fishermen, local and non-local. A new harbour and Harbor House were constructed in the late 1970s. The King Cove fleet continued to expand despite low salmon runs in the 1960s and early 70s. Fishermen also entered the King crab fishery in the late 1940s, a fishery that boomed for three decades and has fluctuated since. A few King Cove fishermen started to buy their own crab boats in the 1970s, or crew on larger Bering Sea boats.

An obstacle to local fishermen came from a fishermen's union in Seattle, who made a deal with the cannery for them to hire a certain number of Seattle fishermen before they could hire locals. King Cove fishermen attempted to expand their power by joining the Alaska Fishermen's Union in the 1960s, but left the union when they felt their needs were not being met and joined the United Marketing Association in Kodiak instead. With this membership, they were able to influence the price of fish through striking. They soon left this union and joined the local Sand Point-based Peninsula Marketing Association (PMA) in the 1970s, a non-profit corporation representing interests of the Peninsula's commercial fishermen, reflecting the importance of fishing and the fishermen's political

motivations. Today, there are several organizations in addition to PMA: the Alaska Peninsula Coastal Fisherman's Association (APCFA); Gulf of Alaska Coastal Communities Coalition (GOAC3); and Concerned Area M Fishermen (CAMF), which is a member of the United Fishermen of Alaska (UFA). I will revisit some of their legal activities in the following chapters.

In 1973, much of the cannery was destroyed by fire. Considered an outdated facility, the more modern replacement doubled the size of the former facility. By 1979, the new Peter Pan Seafoods, Inc. was the largest and most diverse cannery in Alaska, moving into processing groundfish and multiple species of crab, and adding freezing capacity and more canning lines. Peter Pan was briefly owned by the Bristol Bay Native Corporation who sold it to the Japanese Nichiro Corporation. Up to the point of the cannery's sale, they owned their own fleet of fishing and tendering vessels.[52]

Peter Pan Seafoods had few competitors until Trident Seafoods was established in Sand Point in the 1980s and Bering Pacific Seafoods in False Pass in 2001. New competition forced Peter Pan to change policies towards fishermen to keep them loyal.

Following statehood, it became apparent that local fishermen had smaller, older, less efficient fishing boats than non-residents. The proposed solution to outside advantage (as well as overfishing) was the Limit Entry Permit Plan of 1973, examined in detail in the following chapters. Limited Entry created exclusive access rights to salmon fishing through the allocation of permits, thus the rights to fish were owned by permitted fishermen. In 1976, the United States banned foreign boats from its shore to protect interests at home through the Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act (P.L. 94-265). This act stretched the previous boundary of 3 miles from Alaska's shore to 200 miles as an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). The American fleets swelled both in numbers of boats and in industrial power. Engine-powered vessels replaced all others, and became equipped with refrigeration and freezing systems and sonar. Closing and quotas soon followed these advancements, concomitant with harvest intensification. Government loans were extended to fishermen to finance vessels and permits. In 1996, the U.S. Congress enacted the Sustainable Fisheries Act (P.L. 104-297) aimed at identifying and protecting habitats, but it has been poorly implemented.

[52] Antitrust laws following the 1890 Sherman Antitrust Act now prevent this kind of monopoly. The processors can own their own boats but cannot own quotas, so they contract with fishermen and privately owned tenders in quota or permit fisheries. Processor-owned vessels can, however, fish for species not regulated by permit or quota.

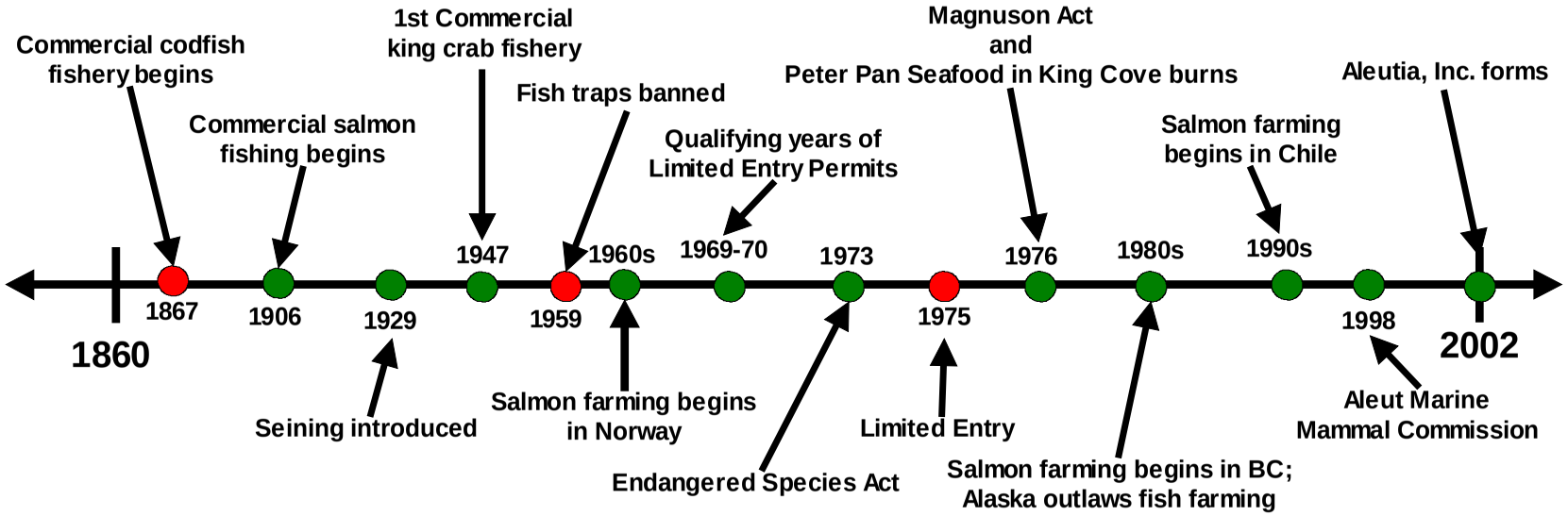

Figure 2.5. Fisheries Timeline

2.6.1 "Jesus was a Gillnetter"[53]

I spotted an aluminium-hulled boat coming into the bay, a sight less common in King Cove than in other Alaskan fisheries, and asked a friend about it. The boat belonged to Russian fishermen, "Old Believers" of Russian Orthodoxy, coming to fish for salmon from their home in Prince William Sound. "They [the Russian fishermen] don't fish on Sundays. It's against their religion. You know what? I'm Russian Orthodox too and it ain't against my religion," he said. No matter how strong claims of faith are, religious activities never interfere with fishing, unless for a funeral service.

The Russian Orthodox Church is one of the few institutions that spanned the Russian and American periods, indicating a continuity of religious identity (Smith and Petrivelli 1994). Jones had written that because King Cove had an Orthodox cemetery but no church, "the failure to establish a Russian Orthodox church conforms to the pattern of New Harbor's [King Cove's] early settlers in shedding visible signs of traditional culture (traditional culture refers to Russian-Aleut culture)" (1976:5). However, a church was built in King Cove in the 1980s next to the existing cemetery and iconostas were moved there from Belkofski. It is a small, drafty church in need of repairs, but icons of the Saint of Alaska and Saint Innocent have their special places. Most villagers displays icons in their homes, but few attend services unless they are funerals. Women hold reader services irregularly.[54]

Figure 2.6. Russian Orthodox Church in King Cove.

[53] Bumper sticker on a King Cove pickup truck.

[54] Though no elders speak Russian, they sing Russian songs (without instrumental music, as is customary); all ceremonies are in English. For funerals, a priest flies in for the service, and often stays an extra day to give communion. Babies are baptized and given Russian names: these are often Russian equivalent of their given names, for example, Ekaterina for Kathleen. The Alaskan Russian Orthodox Church follows the old Julian calendar, which celebrates Christmas a few weeks later than the common Gregorian calendar. In King Cove, they celebrate both holidays.

The Slavic Gospel Association built a non-denominational chapel in King Cove in 1958, taken over by Arctic Mission in the 1980s. They offer Sunday services and Sunday school, and have a steady congregation, most of them women, even though many state that their primary religious affiliation is with the Russian Orthodox Church. During the first part of fieldwork, the chapel was ministered by a Baptist moonlighting as a mental health counsellor for Eastern Aleutian Tribes, posing "a serious conflict of interest" for one Russian Orthodox woman. Though I interviewed the minister at his office at the clinic focusing on mental health, he spent a good part of the interview discussing his views on spirituality, the "emptiness" of Russian Orthodoxy, and his insistence that someone with mental health or substance abuse problems could not be rehabilitated unless they appealed to a higher power. He stated,

> "Culture is tied into fishing and hunting but also Russian Orthodoxy. People claim it as an excuse for spirituality. They don't grasp what it is about. … There is no real personal grasp, and yet it gets wrapped up in the culture. After age twelve, kids stop coming. A woman came here and tried to develop a resurgence in the culture through the church and basically no one liked her. They made her uncomfortable, and only a few people were interested. If you separate culture from Russian Orthodoxy, people get upset, and yet they do nothing. Months go by without services and they don't care. It's mostly females in Russian Orthodoxy."

He argued that there is no structure in the church, and that people only attend church when they "need" it, when things are going poorly. "There is prayer for a good season," he said, "until they get one."[55] In some parts of coastal Alaska where Russian Orthodoxy also dominates, priests will conduct a blessing of the fleet. This is not practiced in King Cove, though many captains carry icons on board. Religious practices surrounding their fisheries seem to be more private than a community ceremony. The structure of the church seems to have been moulded by Aleut people to reflect their local realities and needs in relation to fishing, regardless of outsiders' perceptions.

2.6.2 Fishing Identity

Since its founding, King Cove has always revolved around its commercial fishing industry. At present, most King Cove Aleuts' concept of history rarely extends farther back before commercial fishing. An open-ended question such as "what was it like out here in the old days?" yielded such answers as "those old diesels [boat engines] were hard to keep going" or "we used to navigate *without* radar in the fog, rain, you name it." These statements are in large part because King Cove did not exist before commercial fishing. Fishing in the Aleutians went from bone hooks on woven kelp lines to traps in salmon streams to beach seines operated by entire villages to massive boats operated by small family-based crews, and became the dominant source of male prestige. Socialization of young men

[55] He was later asked to resign for undisclosed reasons.

evolved from the training of youth to be "kayak hunters" and throw harpoons with power and accuracy from baidarkas in sea mammal hunting to running a boat and organizing crew. The rise of commercial fishing redefined Aleut culture and status once again. The social structure that arose out of commercial sea otter hunting and trade in furs evolved into a social structure that could not be separated from commercial fishing. Community leaders are likewise leaders in fishing, and they are almost exclusively from the largest, most prominent families.

2.7 Renewing an Historical Identity

I have tried to resist the temptation to tell a steady, linear story at the risk of eclipsing much of the complex nature of political, social and economic relations. In much of Alaska were waves of foreign intrusions punctuated by "breathing space" that lasted a generation or longer. This was not the case in the Aleutians. Once contact was made, there ensued relentless waves of people that did not stop well into the 20th century. Each of these shifting mosaics of people has different implications for the political economy and social relations. Russian and American intentions towards the Aleut (and other Native Americans) seem to have vacillated between paternalism and isolationism, or a kind of self-determination, in complex and uneven ways. Recent memory among most Aleut emphasises the damages as well as the benefits of those contacts, meaning, to paraphrase many Aleuts' assessments of history, "things weren't always rosy, but they made us who we are today, and that's okay."

Occupation in the Aleutians has continuously been made possible by an almost exclusively marine orientation. Prior to Russian contact, Aleut life and identity were based on hunting and warfare. Throughout Russian occupation, this identity was modified towards select fur-bearing species driven by monetary economies of distant nations. This was rapidly undermined by overexploitation, as was the American emphasis on a limited number of species. The last century of Eastern Aleutian existence finds an identity based upon commercial fishing and political skill. Aleuts went from supporting the industry to being its primary players. This identity invites re-engagement with language regarding the category of 'indigenous'.

Through the shifts in government, the roles of men went through transformations, although the core skills were still valued. For Akutan village in the 1950s, Spaulding found that, "Ability, skill, and success in hunting, more than anything else, were the ideals for which men strove" (Spaulding 1955:114). In Nikolski, Berreman described a similar status system, but that a man's prestige formerly gained from baidarka building skills was replaced by the "prestige of possession of a good dory, obtained with money," often those individuals who had travelled outside the village and had gained greater access to money and material goods (Berreman 1953:106). Berreman wrote,

> "Every individual has an opportunity to achieve prestige. Ability, skill, and success in performing any task is an ideal that is striven for and the attainment of which always brings recognition and respect. Rarely, however, is this striven for at the expense of others. Skill or

> ability benefits the whole community. In determining the most skillful or successful, however, the nearest approach to conventional competition is found. In the fox hunting days, men used to have fox trapping contests to see who could trap the most in a given length of time. … Today the old men still remember who was the most skillful or quickest at these jobs. … People are well aware of who is the ablest dory handler, the most reliable weather predictor, who knows the most about sea lion hunting, seining, the church, matters pertaining to the store, who makes nice baskets, dolls, gloves, and good smoked salmon, who are the able mechanics, who is the fastest at sheep shearing, who can sing well in choir, who are the most dexterous ringers of the church bells, and those adept at curing the ill." (1953:129-130).

Thus, the underlying motivations for striving for certain ideals remained the same; it was the ways in which those ideals were manifested that changed. This 1950s description also characterises social dynamics in modern villages, where men achieve individual recognition for skills past and present.

The Aleut are a product of cosmopolitanism in which their historic identity has been about incorporating others, not about boundary maintenance. The Eastern Aleut are concerned with heritage and take pride in it, but for the most part do not spend time trying to grapple with their roots. Many have Russian surnames like Shellikoff (from Shelikhov) and Tcheripanoff (from Cherepanov) that connect them with particular figures. They too consult Veniaminov to construct their past and quote anthropologists like Laughlin (1980) when describing their culture (www.aleutcorp.com). Many have visited my husband's archaeological excavations of ancient Aleut villages just as eager to learn about the past as we were. Some Aleut cultural heritage programs are surfacing. The Alaska Native Heritage Center in Anchorage features an Aleut exhibit, but it is blurred with Alutiiq. For example, the reconstruction of an Aleut *barabara* was built as half-Aleut (with a roof entrance) and half-Alutiiq (with a tunnel entrance) in order to satisfy "all Aleuts." In 1999, the Museum of the Aleutians opened in Unalaska, funded by its city government, and the same year, the Smithsonian Institution opened a permanent exhibit dedicated solely to Aleut culture and developed in collaboration with Aleuts.

State and federal institutions and acts of Congress over land claims created new structural relations. The way Aleuts perceive and negotiate their relations with government is constantly changing today. Aleuts have not used history as a tool of oppression turned back against the oppressor, except when they negotiated reparations for losses due to wartime relocation. Even in these claims, Aleuts did not invoke culture loss but simply asked that reparations be made for damaged or stolen personal property, church property, loss of lands, and human life (Kirtland 1981; Kohlhoff 1995; Petrivelli 1991). Because many elders died in the removals, some of the government money went to train new leaders "to carry out the traditions of Aleut culture that were tested so severely by the relocation experience" (An Aleut man quoted in Kohlhoff 1995:187). One Aleut woman wrote that she did not believe the stories her mother told her about the Navy burning their village at first because she did not hear about it in school (Petrivelli 1997:10). Remembering and establishing the story in the collective American consciousness is most important to Aleuts who survived the removals (1997:10). Russian, European, and American documents are usually endorsed as Aleutian history.

Native historiography is particularly important to balance this story. Aleuts, by and large, do not challenge the dominant historical model but ask whose voices have been included and whose have been left out.

In an era of rapid social and technological change, and increasing political and economic dependency, the research focus must shift from rehashing old histories looking for ancient social phenomena to focusing on contemporary, unbounded Aleut society, life histories, and affairs grounded in everyday life in order to understand social constructions of the past. But we must also recognize that many of the most deeply structured roles resurface under changing political systems, such as the relationship between status, identity and the sea, which has transcended many of the problems faced in the last 250 years. The Aleut thrive on a landscape and at sea where hardy, seafaring explorers could barely survive when shipwrecked. The current Aleut position is that the political system must allow for structures to be developed that preserve significant local control over marine resources because, like the past, their status and identity hinges on their access to the sea.

CHAPTER 3. ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE PELAGIC ZONE

3.1 The Fishing Nexus

The sociopolitical structures that developed alongside the commercial fishing industry as outlined in the previous chapter suggest that fishing, whether for home use or commercial sale, embodies both practice and knowledge. Chapters 3 and 4 explore the overall importance of the fishing franchise to King Cove and flesh out these structures, illuminating the development of fishing, the socioeconomic organization that is intimately tied to the practice of fishing, and introduce political structures and the current political climate surrounding the fisheries. Here I describe how the Aleut act out both subsistence and commercial economies, how the boundary between these two systems is blurred because the pursuit of both is part of the cultural identity, and how status is negotiated in the integration of these pursuits. A theoretical link between individual, particularly male, disenfranchisement and negative social phenomena has been introduced in the first chapter, but a measure of disenfranchisement must first begin with what constitutes the franchise, and thus precedes analysis of aspects of social organization taken up in Chapter 4. The first half of this chapter considers how status and social identity are embedded within fishing as a set of relations that are inextricably intermixed, and the second half traces the ways in which Aleut fishing intersects with the global economy, all while concerning differential issues of access. Aleuts are not simply participating in commercial fishing, they are managing businesses, and it is this franchise that makes them vulnerable. By and large, the Aleut are fishing for nutritional reasons *and* social reasons.

The Eastern Aleut combine two economic forms in unique ways, both heavily regulated in separate bureaucratic systems, in which they weave together subsistence and commercial strategies in an ongoing creation of social relations. It is through these everyday activities and expressions that they create cultural systems but are also shaped by them (Bourdieu 1977, 2000; Giddens 1979; Ortner 1984; Sahlins 1976, 1985). Bourdieu's *habitus*, then, is the evolving practice of creating culture through doing, a symbolic house in which individuals structure appropriate behaviour setting the parameters of identity. The technologies, activities, discourses, memories, and institutions responsible for shaping the experiences of the Aleut influence choices and practices, and yield a kind of social life. In the Eastern Aleutians, the structure, or in my own word, the franchise *is* the practice of fishing where identity construction, maintenance and transformation are interwoven processes. Meaning simultaneously arises from the practice of fishing as well as motivates it. As will be shown, fishing-as-practice embodies a "commonsense world endowed with the *objectivity* secured by consensus on the meaning (*sens*) of practices and the world" (Bourdieu 1977:80). This is similar to Geertz's "cultural systems," where symbols and practices are employed together and mutually reinforcing. In his essay, "Common Sense as a Cultural System," he lays out the things that "everyone knows", our

presuppositions and conclusions about our world (1983:79), which creates an "authoritative story" more potent than any dogma or philosophy (1983:84).

Within the fishing franchise, external structures also enable and constrain Aleuts' activities and relationships. Access to boats, permits, labour, and revenue are limited by the Limited Entry permit plan, which will be analysed in depth, but Limited Entry also affects access to other resources, both social and political. The interplay between people who appear to be fully within the fishing franchise as captains and their families, and those who participate at different levels as crew or in support of fishing, experience fishing and life on land quite differently. The next two chapters deal with the scope and the variability of this franchise. Here I give the distribution before the production, in order to ground the reader in on-land dynamics and the demands variably placed upon individuals. Only after this is elucidated does the 'business' of fishing accurately correspond to local realities.

In 21st century anthropology, culture is understood to be at once created and experienced. This view originated in part through Geertz's (1973, 1980) work in Bali where he found symbolic meaning conveyed through shared public ceremonial events. These events are usually cyclic, prescribed in form and participation, and facilitated by a "state" of some scale. The ceremonies themselves embody history, mythology, society and culture. Meaning, then, is publicly available in symbolic systems, not locked away in the peoples' minds, and can be read as texts through semiotic interpretations by the ethnologist. In this sense, fishing is in the public realm of the Aleut, proscribed and repetitious. There are profoundly ritualised aspects of fishing expressed in repetition and meaning. Full participation in the commercial aspects is restricted to a select number of individuals, leaving others in a position of continual negotiation for membership. The material objects necessary for fishing indicate social position for the holders, and are difficult to gain access to. In contrast to the Balinese, where the "state" gave a forum for these ceremonies in which history and society were acted out in dramatic form, the Eastern Aleut are struggling to perform and experience their culture on an oceanic stage with appropriate props, a belief system manifested in material form, but controlled in large part by a "state."

3.2 Political Structures

To simply go from Monday to Friday, the Aleut have to negotiate multiple levels of government and 'governmentality' (Foucault 1979a, 1979b), especially with regard to economic activities. Alaska's bureaucracy is such that the state and federal governments regulate similar things in different ways, carving up the ocean and the land, with regards to subsistence and commercial harvesting. Alaskan Natives can make claims vis-à-vis the federal body, which recognizes individual tribes, that they cannot make vis-à-vis the state, which recognizes Native corporations (Case 1984). *Subsistence* itself is a loaded term with different meanings in different contexts, and it has a particular yet varied usage in Alaska. Alaska's official definition, defined in the 1980 Alaska National Interest

Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) as "the customary and traditional uses by rural Alaska residents of wild, renewable resources for direct personal or family consumption" (Sec. 801), is at odds with much of the way Native Alaskans variably embody and practice subsistence. Iñupiat and Yupiit receive food through a set of social relations, and often the people are in social relationships with the animals themselves, encompassing an ideology of sharing as a moral imperative (e.g. Bodenhorn 1988, 1989; Chance 1990; Fienup-Riordan 1983a, 1983b). The Aleut, on the other hand, create social relationships through wild species in both commercial and subsistence harvesting, sharing, and are part of a vast industry as commercial entrepreneurs. Sharing, then, is the enactment of morality, but still considered a choice; it is morally loaded, but less of an ideology.

At the institutional level regarding commercial and subsistence harvesting, I have broken down state and federal political structures into relevant regulatory divisions. The state regulators fall within the Alaska Department of Fish & Game (ADF&G) in which a Board of Fisheries and a Board of Game set seasons, harvest limits, methods and means for subsistence take, commercial, sport and guided hunts and fisheries on federal and state-owned lands and waters. These are 7-member councils appointed by Alaska's Governor and confirmed by the legislature who meets several times a year to hear public comment and consider reports. These boards set policy and direction and the Department of Fish & Game bases management upon those decisions. Fish & Game is divided into several divisions, but the Division of Commercial Fisheries and the Division of Subsistence are the most important in this fisheries discussion. Subsistence fisheries are actually managed by the Division of Commercial Fisheries, whereas the Division of Subsistence is the research branch of Fish & Game who collect and analyse data on the use of wild resources (www.adfg.state.ak.us). The Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission (CFEC) oversees Limited Entry permits (discussed below), permit transfers, crewmember licenses, and vessel registration for the state. The nearest full-time Fish & Game office to King Cove is several hundred miles away in Kodiak, however there is an office staffed in Cold Bay during the summer. This is the only district in the state in which a fisheries manager does not reside permanently.

Federal regulators fall within the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS), the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service and the U.S. Coast Guard. NMFS is a division of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) of the U.S. Department of Commerce. Their Alaska regional office is home to the North Pacific Fisheries Management Council (NPFMC) that oversees management of fisheries under federal jurisdiction. Their primary responsibility is managing groundfish harvesting through the Sustainable Fisheries Division. Input into their management comes from so-called 'user groups' (fishermen), consumers, and environmentalists (www.fakr.noaa.gov). The Sustainable Fisheries Act of 1996 (P.L. 104-297) mandated management and conservation by NMFS to prevent overfishing and protect fish habitat. NMFS also holds an Office of Protected

Species, which oversees compliance with the Endangered Species Act (ESA) and the Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA), among others. An Enforcement Division of NMFS makes vehicle, vessel and air patrols and inspections, and enforces all federal and state acts. They also deal with harassment of NMFS observers, who are sometimes placed aboard vessels to ensure compliance with various acts and regulations. The nearest NMFS enforcement officers to King Cove are in Kodiak and Dutch Harbor. The U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service maintains an Office of Subsistence Management for the Alaska Region and a Federal Subsistence Board. This board receives management input from Regional Advisory Councils (RAC). King Cove is a member of the Kodiak-Aleutians Regional Advisory Council. In addition, all fishing boats must be registered with the U.S. Coast Guard[56] (in addition to Fish & Game), which has division of Search & Rescue, Aids to Navigations, and Enforcement. They conduct "safety and law enforcement boardings" to inspect for life saving equipment, vessel safety, or if they suspect illegal activities.

This skeletal list of institutions is far from exhaustive; for every agency there is a division, and for every division there is a program. Those listed tend to be the most relevant to the people of King Cove. These institutions are predominantly *felt* at all times through regulation but only *seen* at particular times during harvest seasons. There are no permanent agency representatives living in King Cove, which affects how the institutions are regarded and the extent to which people follow or knowingly disregard the regulations.

The state and federal governments make legal distinctions between commercial and subsistence harvests where the Aleut do not draw boundaries. The state provides for a subsistence priority, then for sport or commercial uses based upon resource availability on their lands and waters (40% of Alaska's public lands). The Federal Subsistence Board does not consider any uses other than subsistence on their lands and waters (60% of Alaska's public lands). The state recognizes the role of commercial fishing as it relates to subsistence in that cash income supports subsistence, and the people and equipment are often the same. The Aleut tend to prefer state management because there is at least some acknowledgement of the importance of mixed economies in rural communities, but it does not allow for protection of Alaska Natives who define themselves as commercial fishermen. Today, the structural relations surrounding commercial and subsistence harvesting are complicated and constantly changing.[57] As will be discussed in Chapter 5, the Aleut struggle to be seen as legitimate commercial fishermen as well as an indigenous society.

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[56] Alaska is the only coastal state in which the Coast Guard requires boat registration because the state does not have a separate boating safety program.

[57] The current federal subsistence fisheries management plan, which became effective on October 1, 1999, expands federal management of subsistence fisheries to Alaskan rivers and lakes within and adjacent to federal public lands. The plan is in response to the 1990 "*Katie John*" legal case and was implemented to comply with the rural subsistence priority established by ANILCA on federal waters. Created by President Carter in 1980, ANILCA locked up 104 million acres as federal public lands. It also established a rural subsistence priority,

Municipal and regional organizations often work together to protect and strengthen their position in the commercial fisheries. Whether the King Cove Corporation, the Agdaagux Tribal Council, the city, or the Aleutians East Borough, all political decisions are structured primarily around the fisheries for protection of individual fishermen, the King Cove fleet, and the village tied to fishing.

Foucault's image of power includes structural elements, in which those in power control communication and thus knowledge, truth, meaning and morality are created (1977, 1979a). Discursive formations, or regimes of knowledge, surround every one of us in our own culture and time, and elements occasionally rise to dominance through privileged ideas of what is "normal". "Free will" conforms to what the discourse allows. Change arises when "counter-discursive" elements begin receiving attention, often linked to the dominant discourse but requiring a means of communication and self-representation. The Alaska Board of Fisheries, for example, controls the flow of knowledge in relation to the fisheries, and thus creates a set of rules that the Eastern Aleut must live by, but have little control over. Transgressions of behaviour are not simply at the level of ideology, but are within larger power structures. Powerful social institutions are analysed for the credibility they have acquired to legitimise control. The franchise thus demands an understanding of the role of government and regulatory power structures, which direct policies that influence decision-making processes within the village. Enforcement of these policies can be antagonistic; if fishermen do not own or influence the decision-making processes, they may not comply with the rules.

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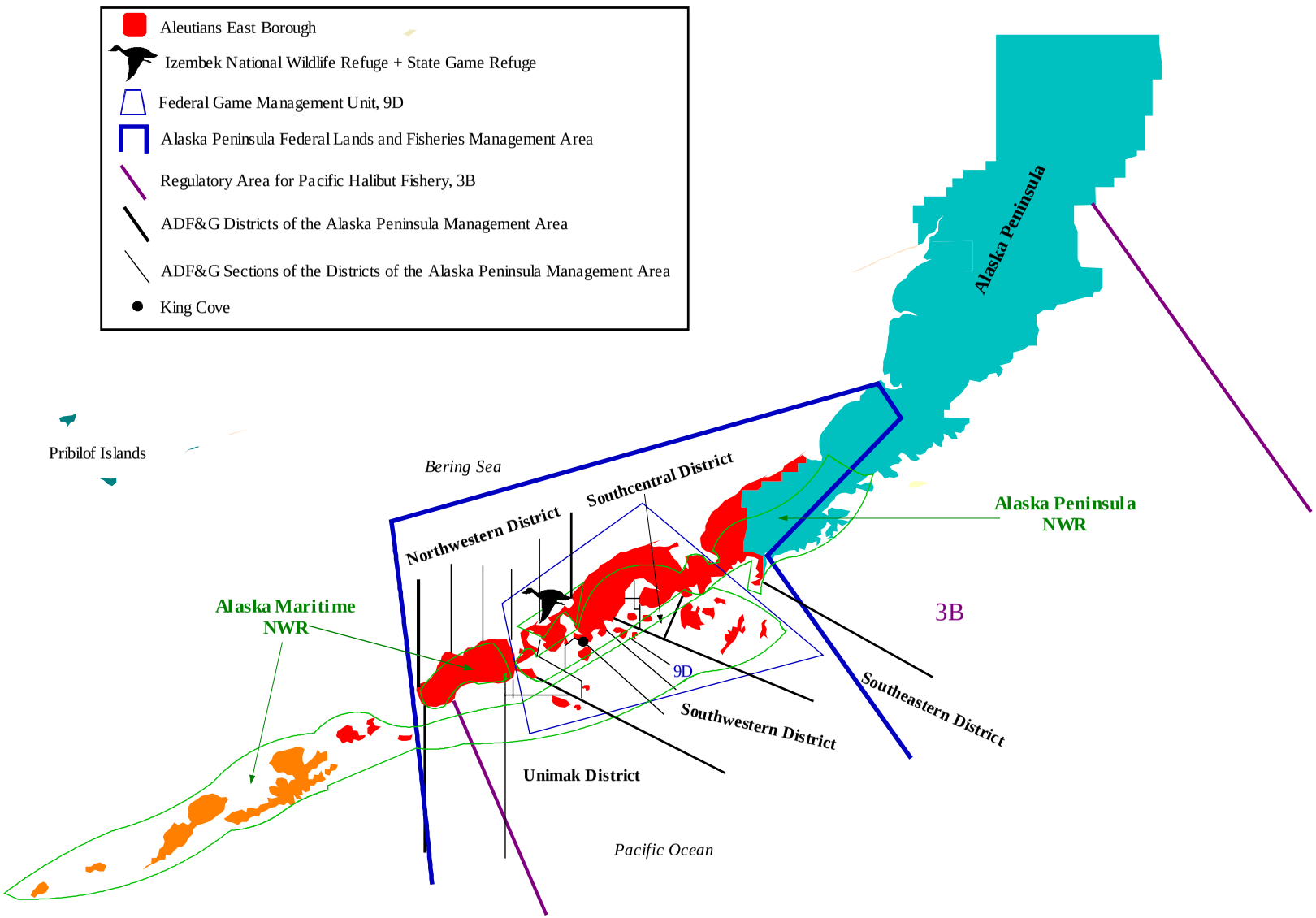
regardless of ethnicity. This priority was not added to Alaska's constitution because many felt that it discriminates against urban Alaskans. The state made the decision not to appeal the *Katie John* case in the U.S. Supreme Court in 2001. A rural priority as a Constitutional Amendment is supported, and *subsistence is a priority over all other uses.*


Aleutians East Borough
Izembek National Wildlife Refuge + State Game Refuge
Federal Game Management Unit, 9D
Alaska Peninsula Federal Lands and Fisheries Management Area
Regulatory Area for Pacific Halibut Fishery, 3B
ADF&G Districts of the Alaska Peninsula Management Area
ADF&G Sections of the Districts of the Alaska Peninsula Management Area
King Cove
Alaska Peninsula
Pribilof Islands
Bering Sea
Northwestern District
Southcentral District
Alaska Peninsula NWR
Alaska Maritime NWR
3B
9D
Southwestern District
Southeastern District
Unimak District
Pacific Ocean

The reader might find the preceding map (Figure 3.1) to be an indecipherable jumble of boundaries. That is exactly what it is. Separating each boundary onto their own map would certainly be easier to digest, but this is how the Aleut must read the map. Every time a fisherman takes his boat out, he must know all boundaries and regulations of lands and waters, in addition to fishing openings, fuel, food, gear maintenance, communications, care of his crew, other vessel traffic, tides, wind and weather forecasts, price of fish, cannery standards, just to name a few. This map is but a portion of the information a fisherman must have in his head at any one time. To include how the lands are carved up between state and federal bodies, Native corporations, village corporations, and private ownership would make this map totally unreadable. Within the Aleutians East Borough, eight village corporations plus the Aleut Corporation own lands. There are also surface conflicts between corporations and conflicts with the state over coal-oil-gas under conveyed allotments to the Aleut Corporation. I also did not include all the bays and lagoons closed to commercial fishing, salmon streams closed to fishing within 200 to 1000 yards in salt water, and seasonally closed bays.

3.2.1 Limited Entry

Out of the above political structures there developed in 1973 a state law, and subsequent federal laws, that limit participation in fishing. This law has influenced all subsequent practices and relationships for Alaskan fishermen generally, and Aleuts in particular. The law follows the "tragedy of the commons" economic model of common property resources in which "Each man is locked into a system that compels him to increase his (share) without limit—in a world that is limited. Ruin is the destruction toward which all men rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons" (Hardin 1968:1244). In this model, fishermen are "individualistic profit maximizers," harvesting at a rate exceeding the renewable rate of the resource. The fishermen and local community cannot and will not create institutions to protect the resources, and hence, exploitation can be only be curbed by instituting private property or government control (Acheson 1989:357-8; Berkes 1985). This model, however, does not account for actual practices or motivations, and was criticized by Acheson, among many, who argued that the lack of rules in fishing was not the problem, since customary rules surrounding fishing common resources are well documented (e.g. Acheson 1981:280-1, 1989:358-363; Cordell 1989; Langdon 1989), and the Aleutians are no exception (Jacka 1999). The problem for Acheson is overcapitalisation (1989). The fishermen do not bear the costs of producing fish, only catching them, and there are too many fishermen fishing. The logic of capitalism demands that fishermen make boat and insurance payments, and meet other obligations within a short window of time. Fisheries economists believe overfishing happens because

all the incentives are there for it to happen (Iudicello *et al* 1999), and establishing more property rights is the proposed solution through licensing, quotas, boundaries and taxes.

The Limited Entry Permit plan of 1973 (Alaska Statute 16.43), is one such "property right" restricting the number of fishermen and fishing operations, intended to prevent overfishing. The plan was also a response to the trend that most non-residents had better equipment than residents and were taking over the salmon fisheries. I do not wish to debate the intrinsic worth of the plan, which in all likelihood has saved the salmon fisheries from being overfished during "open" access, but rather to describe the local ramifications of Limited Entry. Limited Entry allocated a certain number of fishing permits that were distributed based on a points system of prior participation in commercial fishing and economic dependence. The original permits were issued for free, putting instant capital in the hands of fishermen, which many then used as collateral for boat loans. The plan was an attempt to give power to local fishermen, the idea that they would have a sense of ownership and control in the industry. While this is true for those Aleut fishermen who were fortunate to receive permits, this has also resulted in the exclusion of many Aleut fishermen and a stratification within the communities into those with access to all three, some or none of the salmon fisheries.

Limited Entry put a large number of fishermen who could not demonstrate a record of commercial fishing as well as all future generations at a great disadvantage. Those who did not initially fish in the 1970s cannot easily gain entry today. Likewise if they were crabbing then, they were excluded from receiving salmon permits. When the plan was implemented in 1975, salmon fishing had been in a slump in previous years, and many long time fishermen had taken land jobs for those few years before the plan went into effect. These turned out to be the qualifying years of 1969-1972 (Braund *et al* 1986:6-17; Petterson 1983). Long time fishermen could not use their prior record of fishing and were excluded. Only 39 King Cove fishermen received salmon permits (Braund *et al* 1986 recorded 9 individuals who failed to qualify), but some received permits for set gillnetting, drift gillnetting, *and* purse seining because of their fishing history. One Aleut elder referred to this system as a "cartel", because those with money and a proven fishing record received permits. Many had fished and could not document it or they worked as crew (including sons of permitted fishermen) and were ineligible for permits of their own.

Permits are issued to individuals, not corporations, and can be loaned to relatives, inherited or sold. A fisherman may not own more than one permit per gear type per fishing area. Aleutian salmon permits have sold recently for tens of thousands to hundreds of thousand dollars (discussed below). Some Alaskan fishermen have sold permits to outsiders in economic hard times, but transfer of permits to non-residents is under criticism by residents who do not want to lose control of their fisheries (Langdon 1980). Transfer of permits out of Alaskans' hands is a concern for the Aleut as well, but an analysis of actual persons receiving permits to follow shows that this was non-random.

Federal plans modelled after Limited Entry include Individual Fishing Quota (IFQ), introduced in 1995 in which quota shares are bought and sold, and Community Development Quota (CDQ) programs developed in the 1990s in which quotas are allotted to fishermen or communities (n=65) in poorer parts of Alaska, particularly with regards to groundfish. Thus state laws and share plans have been created to protect Alaska's seafood industry, but a variety of factors continue to work against the fishermen. This will be elaborated in later sections.

3.2.2 The Fishing Industry

At the level of industry, Alaska's fishermen produce 50 percent of America's seafood (Brown and Thomas 1996:601). A 1913 fisheries business tax (the oldest tax in the state) coupled with the fisheries resource landing tax make the fishing industry crucial to state revenue (second only to the oil industry). Although seafood harvesting and processing employs 20,000 people, more people than any other Alaska industry, it has been an extremely volatile source of employment (Knapp 2000:20).

Alaska's fishing industry exports to Japan, Canada and the United Kingdom, with smaller markets in Taiwan, China and Korea (www.dced.state.ak.us). Japan is the largest importer of Alaska seafood, and the depressed yen affects its value. Farmed fish from Chile and Norway are also flooding the market, replacing significant sectors of the wild salmon industry. Fish farmers are looking to branch into other species to achieve the same success as they have had with salmon (The Economist 2003; Knapp 2000:22).

The fishing industry is full of incongruities. As described above, it is largely self-regulated; fisheries management councils are set by people with fisheries interests who will not make decisions against themselves. Fish farms are flooding the markets, driving down the price of wild salmon; but salmon are carnivorous fish, and fish farms still depend upon fishmeal produced from wild salmon to feed their fish. Hooked fish are more valued, but the industry has increasingly converted towards netting large schools of fish that are handled roughly. The canneries set the prices they will pay per pound of fish depending upon the species in response to market value.

3.3 Indigenous Commercial Economies

Alaska's popular media, non-governmental organizations, the state legislature, as well as many Alaska Native representatives continuously link subsistence as synonymous with tradition. Some portrayals of commercialisation are presented as Native Alaskans responding to unwelcome economic intrusions, with their success being measured in how much of the traditional have been maintained while incorporating new socioeconomic systems (e.g. Jacka 1999:214; Wolfe 1984:160). However, most Alaska Natives have commercialised aspects of their subsistence economy in foods and crafts as skin sewers, ivory carvers, weavers, or commercial fishermen, while retaining goods for

their own use. There has also been a default mode assumption that progress moves from subsistence to commercial. Many Aleutian anthropologists have conflated shifts in practices with causes and consequences regarding social life. The classic picture of Aleutian fisheries posits that in the span of a few generations, fishermen went from cooperatively harvesting subsistence resources out of skin boats to family-based harvesting of cash resources conducted out of boats costing hundreds of thousands of dollars and with that, the loss of control over the resources and reduced participation in traditional activities to the detriment of all (Berreman 1954:103; Jacka 1999; Jones 1969b, 1976). These anthropologists considered the processing plants off limits as well, though many Aleut men and women had long careers in canneries. "In contrast to the traditional emphasis on skill, daring, mastery, and fortitude, work in the processing plants does not offer challenge, prestige, self-respect, or even a living wage…irregular, unskilled, demeaning factory work fosters family disorganization. To a once vigorous, active, productive people, industrial jobs of this sort mean boredom and idleness, insufficient income and disorderly lives" (Jones 1969b:298). For the Alutiit of Kodiak, wage labour and welfare have been lumped as equally negative substitutes for subsistence, and responsible for health concerns and social ills (Mulcahy 2001:12).

For the Eastern Aleut, however, I propose an "indigenous commercial economy" through which knowledge and practice are reproduced and revised, avoiding an imaginary balance of traditions past and corruption by state-level systems in the present. There has been a great deal of work on economies in the arctic where people engage in commercial whaling, fishing, trapping, guiding, among many, and yet they define themselves by subsistence (Bodenhorn 1989; Burch 1998b; Condon, Collings and Wenzel 1995; Fienup-Riordan 2000; Langdon 1986; Wheeler 1998; Wolfe and Walker 1987; Wolfe *et al* 1984).[58] Subsistence fishing and hunting are crucial cultural markers for the Aleut, but they are defining themselves as commercial fishermen, contending that commercial development has been the "saving grace" of their communities and the sole reason that they still exist today.

The village of King Cove owes its beginnings to a commercial cannery and has grown as a commercial fishing town with all residents tied directly or indirectly to fishing and/or seafood processing. Despite cycles of productivity and decline, the sea has provided a relatively stable economy for the Aleut in harvesting salmon, crab and groundfish. I argue that the industrialization of the Aleutians was not so much an inclusion of its Native people in labour and a progressive industry as it was a concomitant shift in focus regarding the labour market. Aleuts have participated in a monetary economy for much longer than other Native Alaskans. They adapted to commodity exchange under the influence of different political systems and, through an evolving relationship with

[58] Wolfe and Walker's (1987) survey of subsistence harvests in Alaska, which considers developmental impacts to subsistence productivity, does not include a single Aleut village.

state and federal management, have achieved an important relationship to an industry which they merge with subsistence provisioning and enact social relations.

3.3.1 Commercial Developments

As described in Chapter 2, waves of outsiders have come to the Aleutians chasing particular species: the Russians in pursuit of sea otter and fur seal skins, Scandinavians interested in cod and whales, and Americans in pursuit of fur seals, salmon and crab. I place the Aleut squarely at the heart of these developments engaging in a wage economy. Though large-scale commercialisation of most fisheries occurred under American rule in the 1860s with technological inventions in preservation and transportation, I argue that *commercial* industries are traditional in the Aleutians.

Industries over time have included fishing for salmon, codfish, halibut, pollock, herring, roe, fish liver and guts for vitamins, salmon "leather" for purses and shoes, fish meal, whaling, sea otter hunting, fur seal hunting, trapping and fox farming. Aleuts provided major ports of call for whalers in the 19th century, "leased" islands for fox trapping in the 1920s and 1930s, participated in government sealing operations, and managed salmon traps and lucrative herring and crab industries (McGowan 1999a; Lantis 1984:182). Sheep, pig and cattle industries stretched from the Shumagins to Umnak Island between the 19th century and the 1970s (Black *et al* 1999). Wild horses and cattle remain on Sanak and are harvested annually by Aleuts. Aleuts hunted whales for the Russian-America Company and worked as hunters and processors in the commercial whaling station at Akutan from 1911-1942 (Black 1987; McGowan 1999b) and gold was mined on Unga Island and sulphur and guano were mined on Akun under Russian rule (Black *et al* 1999:18; Taksami 1999). Even bears were hunted, skinned, fleshed and salted, and shipped to New York in 55-gallon drums to be mounted and sold in the 1930s and 1940s (A. Samuelson, personal comm.).

The Eastern Aleut measure their success in new ways, not in how much of their historical traditions are still in practice. One Aleut leader stated, “Commercial fishing has become our subsistence. It's the only thing we have. And it's slowly being taken away from us, all of it is. Not slowly, it's being taken away from us fast.” His definition is at odds with the official meaning of subsistence and other Native definitions throughout the state. He believes that commercial fishing has grown in its importance such that subsistence is not enough to sustain his village economically, socially, or culturally. Indeed, a disentanglement of the two systems in practice would be difficult, but here I will temporarily disentangle them for description and discussion.

3.3.2 Subsistence: ‘when the tide is out, the table is set’ vs. ‘whatever they let us’

The nutrient rich Bering Sea and North Pacific abound in numerous species of fish, sea mammals, sea birds, shellfish, and other marine species, while the land supports relatively few, but

valued, terrestrial plants and animals. Environmental changes with respect to the Aleutian Low weather pattern continuously change the distribution and abundance of various species. Modern commercialisation of wild fish has changed the nature of subsistence acquisition and distribution.

"Eating Native foods is the biggest thing we've held on to," according to one Aleut woman. Subsistence is cited as the constant in a turbulent history, and is an important cultural marker. When I asked one woman, "What does it mean to be Aleut?", she simply described her grandson riding his tricycle in the driveway with a strip of *ucela*, dried salmon, hanging over the handlebars as a snack. Unless prompted by the anthropologist, people do not generally talk about subsistence on an abstract level, they simply "do" subsistence by harvesting, storing, eating and appreciating.

Every King Cove household, Native and non-Native, uses wild foods, though quantity and variety varies from house to house. Per capita harvest of wild foods was 256 pounds in 1992, more than half being salmon, but just for Native households the average was 325 pounds per person (Fall *et al* 1993:90-108). The average household uses 15.6 different kinds of wild resources (Fall *et al* 1993:90). They collect bidarkis (the local name for black katy chitons, so named because they resemble *baidarkas*, the skin boats), petrushki (wild parsley), pushki (wild celery, or cow parsnip), small octopus or cuttlefish, seagull eggs, fiddleheads (an edible fern), blueberries, salmonberries, moss berries, and low bush cranberries. They can, jar, freeze, dry, and smoke all types of salmon. They harvest halibut, cod, trout, and several species of crab. They scavenge *ulla*, or whale meat, from beached whales and hunt caribou, geese, and ptarmigan (see Appendix A. Table A).

Periodically, a few men hunt a seal and divide it up to whoever wants the meat, often to close family but also to those in the community known to like the meat and use the oil. Seal livers are preferred, and seal oil (*chadu)* is desired for dipping *ucela* (dried salmon) or pushki. Though sea lions are protected, it is still legal to subsistence hunt them. Most do not, however, because the legality of the hunt is difficult to negotiate due to the protection of sea lions under the Endangered Species Act.

King Cove residents prefer to eat salmon, crab, caribou and certain waterfowl over most other species and certainly over store-bought foods. However, at any time of the year, families are just as likely to have lasagne or fried chicken for dinner as they are salmon or caribou, except perhaps during the first harvests in each season. At the 2002 annual dinner honouring village elders and celebrating Orthodox Easter, the main course was turkey ordered from Seattle, with a sweet Easter bread (*kulich*) baking and decorating contest happening on the side. Subsistence foods were still served in abundance, just not as the main course. In this manner, there are no strict rules that demand adherence to local foods, even on special occasions, yet wild foods, as they are available in a seasonal schedule

(see Figure 3.2), are preferred, shared, and their flavours and textures are mused over at mealtimes.[59] Status is conferred on the producers of these foods.

In an area where one might predict less of a preference for Native foods, I found the strongest enthusiasm: children and teenagers sink their teeth into *chumela*, raw fish heads, eyeballs, and brains, like they are candy. They fight over crab legs and salmon strips. They scour the beaches for bidarkis and slurp them out of their shells. They look forward to eating *chisu*, also called "spawn", which is salmon caviar mixed with diced onion, salt and pepper. And they love testing the dietary limitations of this non-local white woman.

Despite the apparent wealth of food available, there is both a sense of abundance and scarcity in the ways people talk. On most occasions, an insistence that there is always plenty to eat and share dominates the discussion. "When the tide is out, the table is set," was echoed many times, often while people were "snacking off the beach." On other occasions, usually in the context of interviews about how much food households receive each year and from where, there is a sense that needs are being unfairly constrained. In response to a question about the different types of gear he employed and the different species he fished for, one fisherman shook his head and said, "whatever they let us." This was in part a response to the frustration with changing regulations and the fact that they are limited at all in how much they can catch, especially when other parts of Native Alaska are not subjected to the same restrictions (see Chapter 5).

3.3.3 Kinship, the Division of Labour and Sharing Networks

Individual economic activities, collective hunting and fishing expeditions, and loosely systematized distributions of wild foods work in concert to ensure that most households are provided for while maintaining individualized aspects of harvesting. A sexual division of labour falls within the larger prestige structures such that women are not seen in terms of men, but seen in terms of how they are "organized into the base that supports the larger (male) prestige system" (Ortner and Whitehead 1981:19). More detailed analyses of how each gender and age group experience the fishing franchise follows in Chapter 4, however, a general sense of kinship and village demography is required here for the discussion of social organizations surrounding fishing practice.

Kinship in its variety is always founded on biological connections with cultural dimensions that may or may not coincide with biology. Kinship has dominated a greater part of anthropologists' energies and is controversial as an analytical category (e.g. Schweitzer 2000), but is acknowledged as providing social continuity binding successive and contemporary generations through marriage and alliance. Among most arctic societies, kinship is rejected as being biologically prescribed yet it

[59] A celebrated meal served by friends in King Cove that my husband and I rave about, which has been recreated several times over since, is a steaming pile of King crab legs and a bottle of Johnny Walker Black, and that's it.

remains a critical foundation of social organization and relations (e.g. Bodenhorn 1989, 2000; summary discussion in Nuttall 2000:35-39). Several arctic anthropologists have been included in the kinship structure of the societies they study (Briggs 1970; Fienup-Riordan 1983b), which may be due to the people needing to classify the anthropologist in their world (Chagnon 1992:139). Where Inuit/ Iñupiaq/Yup'ik kinship allows for some improvisation, Aleut kinship is a permanent, biologically prescribed state that mirrors mainstream America and much of the western world, made plain during the collection of genealogies, in the discourse, and in the enactment of social relationships.

Genealogical inquiry found that every Aleut member of King Cove (and most non-Aleuts through marriage[60]) fits on the same chart, sharing either an ancestor or descendant (preliminary inclusions of False Pass, Nelson Lagoon and Sand Point residents indicate that they too fit on this one chart).[61] Households are most often coincident with nuclear families. Because of the small overall Aleut population, most people feel that everyone must be related in some way. Occasionally people deny relatedness, though this does not mean the relationship ceases; these denials are temporary, often due to tensions and are later joked about when tensions ease. Strained relationships are apparent in the discourse; for example, "There are a couple of kids here running around with my name on 'em."

Aleut kinship terms are no longer used. Modern kinship terms are English terms and reflect the same bilateral kin recognition found in the western majority. Cousin, aunt and uncle are umbrella terms used for a variety of implicit relationships, with "Auntie" and "Uncle" earning special respect, usually used in reference to genealogical relationships, but also terms for elders. Children are not "adopted out" to other Native families as in Inuit societies, but they can be "borrowed" or "taken". "Adopted out" in King Cove means sent to a non-Native family outside of the village with no more ties to their relatives, which is remembered painfully for some. One man raised his nephew as his own: "They weren't taking care of him when he was a baby so I just took him."

Though King Cove's genealogy is one lengthy, continuous chart, to call the community 'one big family' is misleading. Aleuts are related, and they often act upon that relatedness, but not always. While at sea, boat captains override kinship, and everyone on the boat defers to the captain as the ultimate authority, no matter the relationship. Uncles defer to nephews, cousins defer to each other, and grandfathers defer to grandsons while maintaining the appropriate respectful behaviour expected on land. This is not unique to the Aleut; boat captains are found to have the ultimate authority in any seafaring situation, but in a tight-knit community of closely related kin, the phenomenon is distinctive. Kinship plays a strong role in the social organization of the production of fish as a commodity and in subsistence distribution, and fishermen strive to meet family obligations in providing foods while remaining competitive. Provisional obligations between women are usually non-competitive

[60] This excludes a few non-Native teachers, clinicians, cannery managers and labour.
[61] I used Family Tree Maker Version 9.0. Several women and a few men poured over the genealogy with me, which I would then update on the computer, print out, and take right back to them and to others for editing.

evidenced in the continuous cooperative activities, sharing, childcare, and visiting between households.

All Aleuts participate in subsistence, also called “home pack.” A sexual division of labour, though not set in stone, often excludes women from the acquisition of fish and game and from the primary butchering of waterfowl and game. Most subsistence hunting parties for terrestrial foods, such as geese or caribou, are groups of two or three men. Frequently, groups of teenage boys and young men head out of town on 4-wheelers in full camouflage with guns strapped to their backs. Women do most of the processing and storing of fish and waterfowl. In good weather, families will head to Belkofski Bay or to the outer islands in skiffs to collect foods. Wives often accompany their husbands fishing in order to collect along the beaches, but men will also collect the beaches during fishing downtime in the absence of women. Collecting is not considered “women’s work” but is usually performed by women. On several occasions when I asked where certain foods came from, often as I was sinking my teeth into caribou or geese, I got an answer that suggested it was poached. "It's local, that's all I can tell you," said one man. Thus, some might not be too concerned with legal seasons. The usual schedule of seasonal harvests is illustrated in Figure 3.2, but is subject to yearly changes depending on regulations or species availability. On the whole, this illustrates an *expectation* of what is to come, which can result in surprises and disappointments.

Though both men and women might fish with rod and reel at Ram’s Creek, which has a pink salmon run in July and August, or they might fish for a multitude of non-salmon species off the docks, most fish for subsistence use are taken from commercial catches using commercial gear by the captains and crew. This is in part because sockeye and king salmon are preferred over pinks and chums in taste and usage, and are usually stored in greater quantities, but can only be caught at sea. Fishermen seldom turn prized king salmon in to the cannery because the price is often too low to make it worth their while ($.25/pound in 2002) and they would rather eat them. The fishermen bag the salmon while out on their boats and send them back to town with the tenders, the large boats that move fish and supplies from the fishing grounds to the cannery, who leave them in metal containers on the fish dock. The tendermen will call or radio those who the fish are intended for, usually a fisherman’s immediate family, and someone will pick them up and take them home or deliver them (see Figure 3.3).

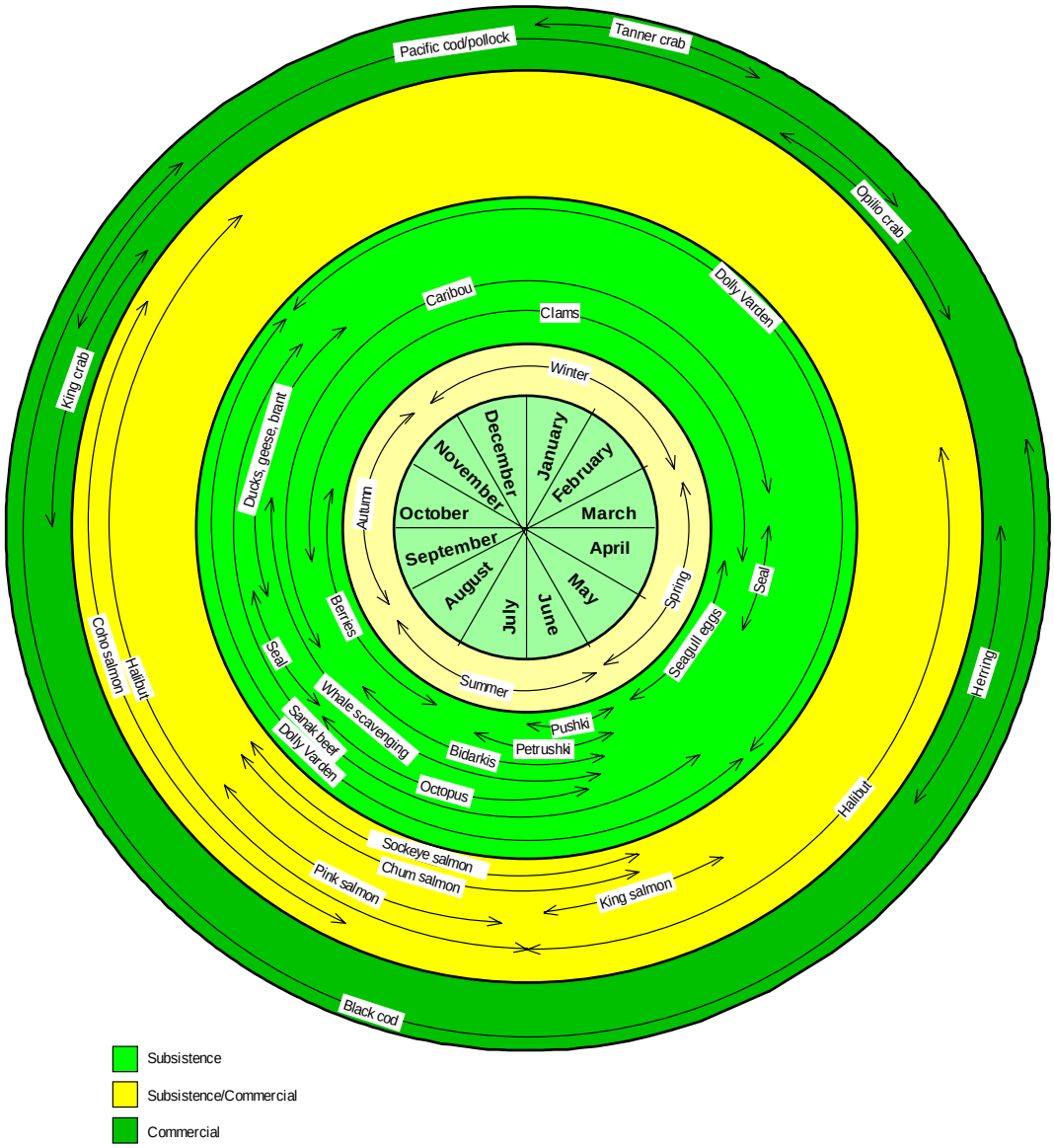


Figure 3.2. Annual cycle of harvesting in King Cove. Harvesting times are approximate and subject to yearly fluctuations in species abundance and regulatory changes. The Tanner crab fishery is usually in January but there has only been one short season in 2001 in the past decade. Crab, cod and herring are also eaten, but there is not a designated subsistence fishery for these species.

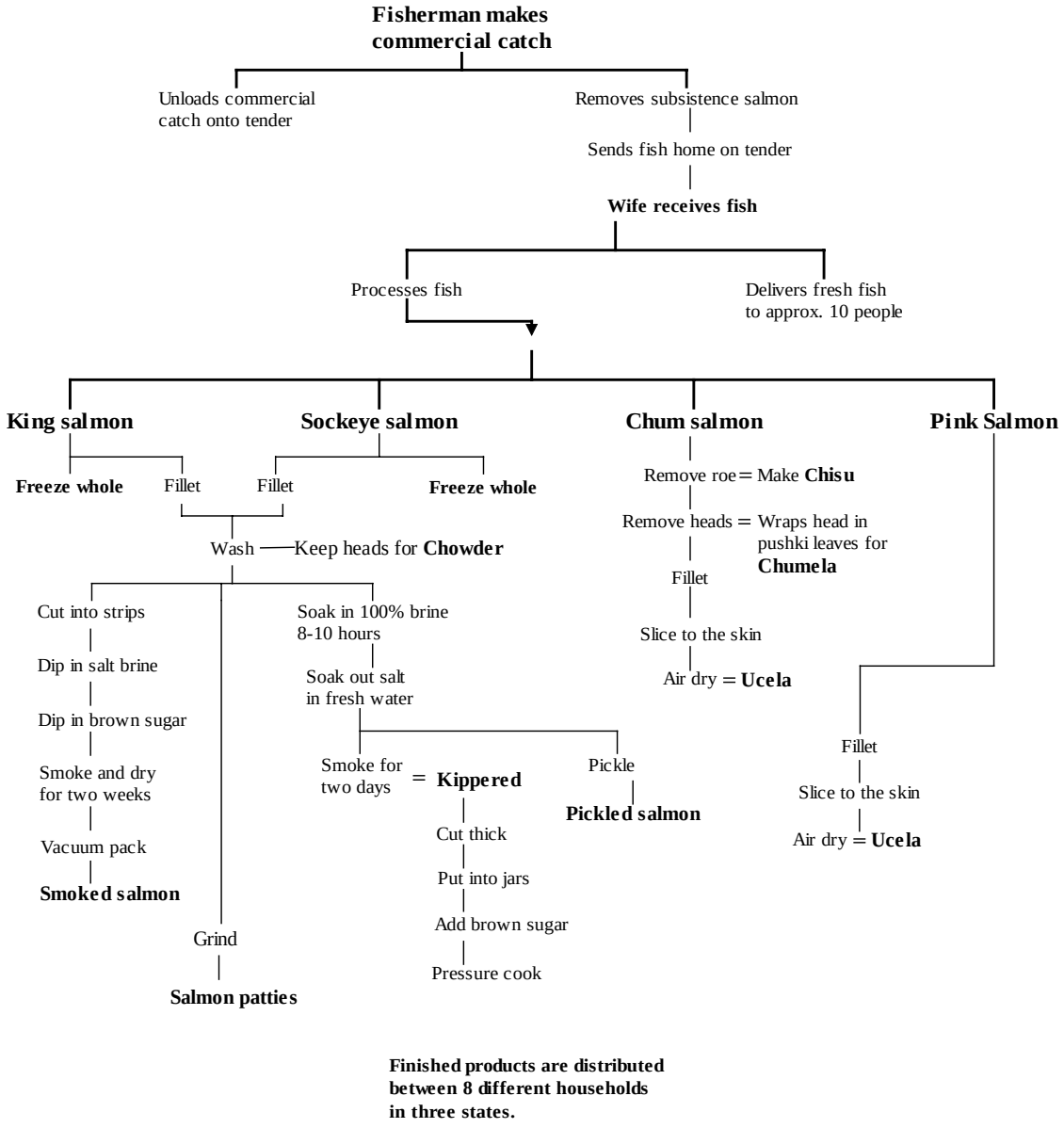


Figure 3.3. Example of salmon from catch to stomach, and subsequent distribution, from a single fisherman. This model is not representative of every fisherman's catch, but tends to reflect the activities of the relatively wealthy. As a mixed stock fishery, chums, sockeyes, and kings are often caught together and can all be brought or sent home from one fishing opener. Pink salmon run later in July and August, and are usually caught separately from the other species.

Figure 3.3 is but one example of salmon processing and distribution from one fisherman, and appears differently depending upon who is fishing, with whom one fishes, and the season. The decisions people make regarding the proportion of fish to remove from the commercial catch are based upon knowledge of past distribution, assessment of current needs and numbers of people they

distribute to, their wife's or mother's knowledge of who should get fish and how much, and the price of fish offered by the cannery. The lower the price paid, the more fish people bring home.

Limited Entry limits the number of boat and permit owners, and can greatly affect an individual's ability to provide subsistence resources to his household or to other households that depend on him. The proportion of people who own their own boats and/or permits, work as crew, or engage in wage labour outside of fishing will be discussed in Section 3.6. For discussion here, economic status, age, or other circumstances exclude some households from being able to fish, but extended family or friends often include them in their own activities or share a portion of their catches. There were 39 King Cove men issued permits in 1975 compared to 53 permitted salmon fishermen in 2002, but fewer total permits. There are 170 households and therefore approximately one permit for every 3.2 households village-wide. The average household size is 2.9 and average family size is 3.53 persons (Census 2000). This is a fairly good ratio assuming all permits are fished (which is becoming more difficult, as we shall see). Men provide most of the fish, but women are central to provisioning households. They will tell their husbands, for example, "we need twenty more reds for Uncle and Auntie, five more for Junior, and fifteen more for us." They know what is needed, keep track of sharing, and therefore are crucial to men's status.

Elders rely on their fishing relatives to stock their freezers; often it is their sons or grandsons who may have received their permit from the elder. Some elders have no reliable assistance because they were outside or on the fringes of the fishing industry, and now so are their children. For some individuals that are not guaranteed fish, relatives and friends will give them a portion of their own because they "have too much to deal with" or they "don't feel well enough to jar all this fish." In one case, an elderly couple who cannot fish and who has only daughters that live in Anchorage was expecting their nephew to send fish back in for them. On some occasions, as they were waiting, they were touting how they always have enough fish to last them all winter, and other occasions, they seemed less certain: "He [our nephew] better come through for us." Figure 3.4 illustrates an example of the demands placed upon this young crewman in genealogical terms. Crewmen do not automatically have the right to take fish, but must negotiate the right to do so with the captains.

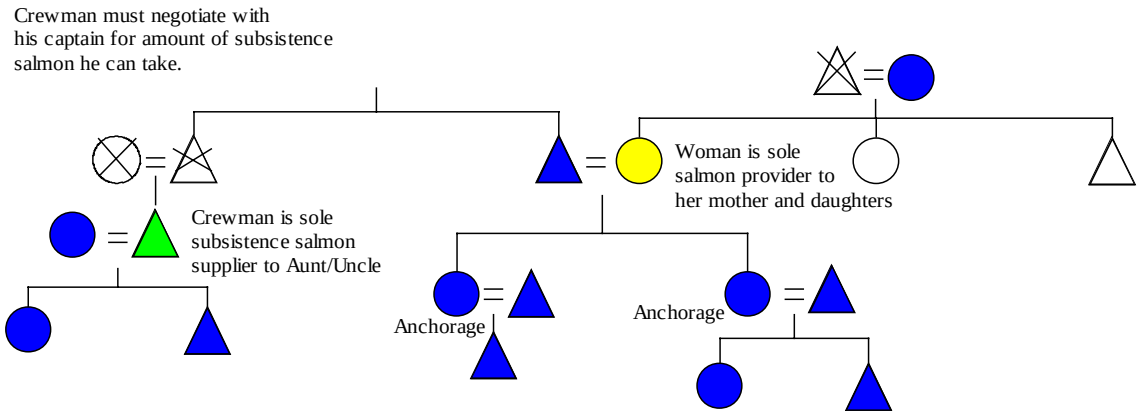


Figure 3.4. Example of one crewman who must supply two main households, including his own, from his negotiations with his captain. His aunt must then supply four households, including hers, from whatever her nephew can bring her. In this case, none of the other households receive salmon from anywhere else. Quantities vary from year to year.

This crewman's parents are both deceased. His father had initially received two salmon permits during Limited Entry and had owned a boat, but all have been sold over the years under circumstances undisclosed to me. His aunt, who shares the burden of supplying her household, plus those of her mother and daughters, uses a broad range of species beyond salmon in the sharing, broader than perhaps in wealthier homes where salmon is guaranteed in abundance. Her nephew is the sole *guaranteed* source of salmon, and sometimes other foods such as bidarkis are also shared with them from a variety of sources, but this is inconsistent. These other species are often caught and collected by both her (often after a long day's work) and her husband, who has not been employed as a crewman for several years. She holds a full-time job at a local store, pays the bills, and keeps food on the table when subsistence foods are not easily obtained. Their nephew has recently been in trouble with the law, but was released from jail to fish because he is required to support his children.

Sharing, then, is only partially institutionalised in that surpluses are generally shared with family members first, but portions of fish might go to several different households from one fisherman or crewman. For example, one crewman brought back a dozen chum salmon for his wife, who gave the heads to her aunt. She, in turn, gave five of those heads to her friend across the street. From the same catch, he also gave me two King salmon and I gave the roe and heads to my neighbour, who made salmon head chowder and split it with four households, mine included. Thus, I was easily incorporated into sharing where expectations abound but there is also room for improvisation. Bringing fish is also a material affirmation of status. Returning from the boat with abundance to share earns prestige for the fishermen where sharing can also approximate showing off. Sharing, however, is expected between some family members and internalised in practice, creating a sense of satisfaction for the providers and receivers. Without an ideology dictating sharing imperatives, we might expect sharing store-bought foods to mean the same things, and they do not.

Food is also shared with family and friends outside of King Cove; families might send seagull eggs or smoked salmon to people in Anchorage with someone on a plane going out. There is less sharing between villages because the same resources are available to each community. However, one woman sent a "home pack" with her sister to deliver on the ferry to her mother, who is in an assisted living home in Dutch Harbor, filled with salmon, bidarkis, "pogies" (greenling), *chadu*, pushki, and sculpin fillets. Her mother has no one there to gather wild foods for her.

3.3.4 Subsistence costs and subsistence harvests

Subsistence harvesting almost entirely requires commercial gear to be affordable and accessible. Capital investments in subsistence have become more intensive, requiring the purchase of skiffs, firearms, and often four-wheelers in addition to maintaining commercial boats (see Table 3.1). Fishing for subsistence is more costly if done as a separate boat trip, and taking fish from commercial catches saves time and money. Fishermen also collect bidarkis, scavenge whale meat, hunt birds, dig clams, and gather a range of foods while out on their boats between fishing openings. The federal regulation handbook specifies that subsistence-only harvests of salmon cannot be done within 24 hours before and within 12 hours following commercial fishing openings and within a 50-mile radius of the area open to commercial fishing, yet it also states that federally-qualified subsistence users who are commercial fishermen can retain subsistence fish from commercial catches (Federal Subsistence Board 2001:5, 28). State and federal subsistence regulations both require permits for different areas, but their provisions do not apply to each other (Implications of this are elaborated further in Chapter 5). Those who do not fish commercially must wait for appropriate times to subsistence fish. Non-permitted, non-crewing fishermen will set their subsistence nets close to the village.

Regular or repeated usage	**Estimated average cost (U.S. $)**[62]
Rifle or shotgun	350 to 600
4-wheeler (optional)	5,000
Boat (range from 29' to 58')	35,000 to 475,000
Skiff with outboard motor	6,500
Outdoor clothing/boots	400
Radios	600 each
Seasonal or yearly expenses	
Fuel	500
Ammunition	200 to 400
Subsistence permit	Given by the State or Federal Subsistence Board to those eligible
Hunting license	Variable

Table 3.1. Partial list of cost estimates of subsistence activities, 2002. Does not include other costs for maintaining the boats. All of these objects have to be shipped, significantly increasing the costs. See Table 3.3 for commercial costs.

[62] Again, the exchange rate at the time of fieldwork averaged approximately US$1.70 per UK£1.

In the early 1990s, subsistence harvests for all of King Cove were found to constitute approximately 60% of the total meat, fish, and fowl consumption and 25% of the total diet (Fall *et al* 1993).[63] The per capita harvest of 256 pounds of wild foods in 1992 is slightly higher than the average annual consumption of 222 pounds of store-bought meats in the continental U.S. (Fall *et al* 1993:111). Local prices for non-subsistence meats are high, but when factoring in time, effort, and equipment costs for subsistence hunting and fishing, store-bought meats might actually cost less. Braund *et al* examined subsistence harvest equivalents, or replacement values in dollars in 1984 and found that the estimated replacement costs to be $5,914 per household, and $762,945 for the village, or 14% of the total gross income (1986:5-5; 7-54). Though an interesting comparison, giving subsistence foods a cash value is problematic for several reasons: not only is it difficult to quantify, but people do not treat it as income, never mind that you cannot buy fuel or travel to Anchorage with subsistence foods. Then again, throughout most of the arctic, as soon as people get access to money, they turn it into subsistence through the purchase of hunting equipment (Bodenhorn 1989:58; Goldsmith 1979; Rasing 1994:171). For the Aleut, cash in itself is not always turned into subsistence, except indirectly through boat improvements, the focus, I believe, being on improving potential commercial exploits. Without fully knowing the nature of the fishing season to come, men and women will pour their resources into preparations for it. Successes and disappointment of the actual seasons are in some ways written off as "that's just the nature of the business," but this also creates an environment of frustration, to be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Subsistence permits are issued to all subsistence fishermen by Fish & Game who then must record numbers of fish taken on the permits and return them. The permits, however, do not generally include salmon retained by commercial fishermen and the number of permits issued does not indicate every subsistence harvester. More is taken from commercial harvest than by using other subsistence techniques. Of the 54 subsistence salmon permits issued in 1998 in King Cove, 44 were "successful" and returned to Fish & Game, indicating 146.8 fish harvested per permit (Northern Economics 2000:Ch.4:6). A 1992 subsistence survey in King Cove estimated that King Cove's commercial fishermen harvested 37.7 percent of the total wild resources retained for subsistence, and of these harvests, 73% was salmon, 21% were other fish, and 6% were marine invertebrates (Fall *et al* 1993:47-48; Northern Economics 2000:Ch.4:5). These estimates are probably low as well, since they only include species removed from commercial catches and do not include all the other species collected as a by-product of commercial fishing. Commercial removal was responsible for contributing at least 25 different kinds of resources for subsistence use (Fall *et al* 1993:47).

[63] Unlike that found in most Native American societies, the Aleut do not appear to have a problem with obesity, owed in part, they say, to the physical demands of fishing and processing, and diet.

Fish & Game's Division of Commercial Fisheries' Annual Salmon Management Reports (ASMR) do not include the primary way that these households get salmon: from commercial catches,[64] and hence, I argue, underestimate the connection between the two acquisition systems. Information from the Community Profile Database of Fish & Game's Subsistence Division is likely to be more accurate because it is based upon household survey data that most likely included "home pack" estimates. Comparing data from these two Divisions' reports, as Northern Economics did in their study for the Borough, "it is estimated that the amount of homepack or unreported subsistence harvests is probably as least as much as the amount of reported harvest made with subsistence permits" (2000:Ch.4:1). For 1992, the Subsistence Division estimated that 17,136 salmon were harvested for home use in King Cove in 1992 (Fall *et al* 1993:50), compared with ASMR's 5,856 salmon harvested for home use for the same year.

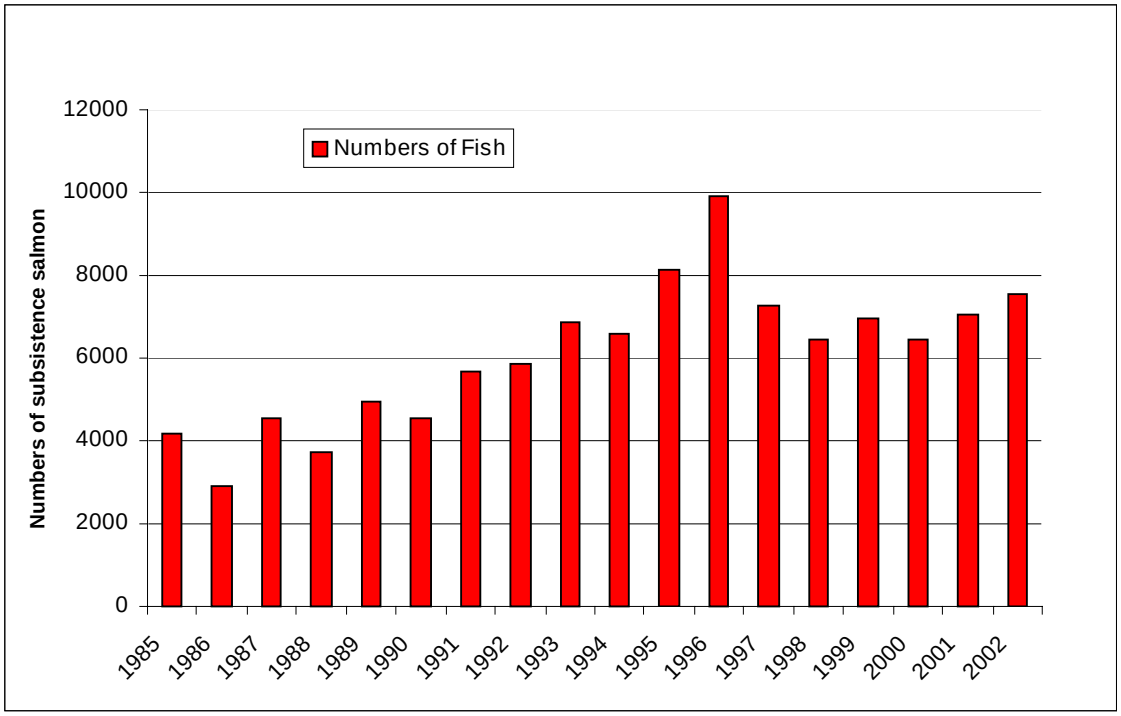


Figure 3.5. Subsistence salmon harvests (numbers of fish) in King Cove per year, 1985-2002. Source: Annual Salmon Management Reports (ASMR), Fish & Game, Kodiak. (See also Appendix A, Table B).

These reporting differences were noted by Langdon (1982:175) and Fish & Game (Fall *et al* 1993:58-62), however when the Subsistence Division only compares the salmon caught using "subsistence methods," (estimated at 7,036 ± 1,773) such as nets or rod/reel, with that collected from the subsistence permits, then the average catch per person was quite similar for each database,

[64] Fish & Game reports do not show this gap statistically, but officials know this exists. How this influences their policymaking, I cannot say.

although the number of salmon estimated during household surveys was slightly higher than reported on the permits because not every subsistence harvester obtained a permit. Thus, the Aleut are only recording subsistence salmon on their permits that were collected under what the state defines as "subsistence methods." Figure 3.5 only provides the ASMR data because the Subsistence Division does not conduct annual surveys; their most recent for King Cove was in 1992. These data show that it is insufficient to summarize statistics from subsistence permits in order to understand the extent of subsistence use or its relationship to commercial fishing.

3.3.5 Subsistence and Commercial economies as inseparable

Subsistence and commercial integration is continually practiced, and no overt distinctions are made between them. No one, for example, delineates where commercial activities end and subsistence begins, and vice versa, unless when asked about them as separate entities. There is every indication that subsistence uses would be severely curtailed in the absence of commercial fishing, which would have major social ramifications. As an elder stated, "Kids might eat less [fish] if there were no commercial fishing. Now, with choices, we still do the subsistence." Supplying fish to households, sharing raw fish and finished products, affirms roles and responsibilities between friends and relatives. The statuses of fisherman, crewman, and producer of fish products are negotiated in the mix.

In many ways, Peter Pan Seafoods helps facilitate the distribution of subsistence fish in King Cove by providing manpower and dock space to transport, unload and temporarily store the fish. Tenders under contract with Peter Pan haul subsistence fish between individual fishing boats and the cannery dock in King Cove. As described above, the tendermen will radio someone for whom the fish is intended and he or she will pick it up at the dock and deliver some to others and/or take it home to process for their own use. This is done "as a favour to the fishermen," according to a plant manager. The fish is not always intended for a specific household, and the distributors will take the initiative and deliver fish to elders or those they deem in need.

3.4 Fishermen and the Cannery: Strained Symbiosis

Most fish for commercial sale are delivered to Peter Pan Seafoods in King Cove. Fishermen and the cannery have a symbiotic relationship: neither one could exist without the other. The cannery pays for boat repairs, parts, and other equipment, and determines the price per pound of fish to pay the permit holders. Fishermen supply the cannery with seafood, sometimes called "product" at the point of delivery. Neither entity fully admits this symbiosis: the fishermen talk of selling their fish to other buyers and the cannery managers talk of buying their own boats and hiring outsiders to run them.[65]

[65] This is not just "talk." Peter Pan Seafoods has explored the possibility of expanding a cannery-owned fleet, however another cannery in a nearby Aleut village has been dubbed "the evil empire" for doing just that.

Peter Pan Seafoods is the third cannery for King Cove (same facility, different ownership), now owned by the Japanese Nichiro Corporation. Their facility operates around the clock during peak seasons, processing black cod, crab, salmon, halibut, Pacific cod, and pollock, producing canned and frozen fish, oil, milt, roe, fishmeal, ikura, sujiko and surimi.[66] As many as 500 non-residents are brought in to work in the cannery as needed; 90 percent are Filipino, and the other 10 percent are Latinos, U.S. students, Chinese, and Eastern Europeans, among others. As introduced in Chapter 2, local Aleuts, mostly women, gave up wage employment at the cannery when the actual practice of fishing became stable for their husbands. Few local people work in the cannery today.

The standard complaint of cannery managers was that Aleut workers only stayed on the job long enough to make enough money to last the year until the following season. Though in the past some cannery managers tried to indenture Aleuts to the company or to the company store in order to keep them on the job throughout the year, Aleuts have typically worked only as much as was needed for the year. In response to the wavering work behaviours of local people, Peter Pan Seafoods implemented a rule that if you have ever quit or been fired, you can never work for them again.

The cannery complex is almost a small village within King Cove, with their own utilities, commissary, library, laundromat, cafeteria, dormitories accommodating hundreds of people, and a security guard. Few cannery workers are seen around King Cove, except in the bar or the grocery store. The village used to have a problem with pollution and stench in the waters of the bay where the cannery was dumping waste but, with pressure from village leaders, they installed a fishmeal plant to make a type of fertilizer and fish food with the waste from other types of processing. Peter Pan now sets the standard for harvesting on all boats, since they cannot sell the product unless certain standards are met at every stage between catching and selling.[67] They made refrigeration systems for preservation, or Refrigerated Sea Water (RSW) circulation systems, mandatory on all boats in 2002 and will not accept 'watermarked'[68] fish. The processing itself is a closed activity, performed by non-local workers. It is the harvesting, rather than the processing, that keeps the village alive.

3.5 Fishing Vessels and the Harbor House

There is a massive body of shared knowledge regarding fishing boats and details about them. Fishing boats have personalities and legacies and Aleut fishermen remember every boat they ever fished on. On one occasion, I received an invitation to an elder's house to look at old pictures with a

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Canneries are able to form as part of the License Limitation Program (LLPs) and own vessels that can fish in federal waters for any species not regulated by permit or quota.

[66] *Ikura* is salmon roe; *sujiko* is processed caviar still in the egg sack; *surimi* is a fish paste used in many commercial fish products.

[67] For example, they will not buy fish off a boat with a dog on board, because dogs tend to relieve themselves on the deck, which pollutes the fish holds below.

[68] This refers to mature salmon which have started their spawning migration from the sea to freshwater and their skin begins to change from bright silver to shades and colours of sexually mature fish.

friend of his. The man got out his shoebox of pictures and stack of albums and his friend brought over an old worn suitcase full of loose photographs. Beers were cracked open, and for hours we poured over the pictures, the majority of which were snapshots of boats. Other old timers drifted in and out of the house, offering their stories. The F/V *Sacco* triggered stories of a deceased brother; the F/V *Pansy* reminded one man of how much he disliked the captain; the F/V *Catherine J* was the "tippiest boat" they had ever fished on; the F/V *Tempest* was a solid tender; the F/V *Onocos* was run by two Rudys; the F/V *Ocean Pride* was run by Norwegians that introduced lutefisk ("How can you make an Aleut sick?" he asked. "Eat lutefisk."); and the F/V *Westerly* burned up just after one of these men got his family to safety. One picture was of a strike decades ago that closed down the East Anchor fishing grounds. There were pictures of False Pass before the cannery burned; boats in the photos burned with it, they remembered sadly. One photograph triggered the memory of a particularly bad winter when 37 boats followed one large boat through the sea ice all the way to Togiak in Bristol Bay. Genealogies of the fishing vessels themselves, where ships have histories linked to various captains and crews at certain times, are part of the historical legacy of fishing. Vessels alone are sometimes described as singular, living things on which various fishermen have had the privilege or misfortune of working. These retired fishermen were referring to their boats, their experiences on board, and knowledge of other boats as points of reference in their lives, in the history of the community, and to link them to the current fishing practices.

Figures 3.6 and 3.7. F/V *Catherine J* and F/V *Ocean Pride.* Photos courtesy of Barney Mack.

Fishermen spend the majority of each fishing season on their boats at sea. They also work aboard their vessels between fishing seasons year-round. The captain and his crew form a team on a particular boat in a particular season in which they classify shared experiences, memorable moments, crises and triumphs. Personal memories are always linked to who one was fishing for, fishing with, and on which boat. The career of a crewmember is divided over a long history of different boats and the experiences aboard each. Ownership demands responsibility to maintain the boat, organize a crew to fish, steer the boat, and run the actual fishing operation. But it also offers a measure of freedom to choose their crew and direct their participation in fishing seasons. Captains and vessels are sometimes identified jointly in which the name of the boat also identifies the captain. Captains might also have T-shirts, hats, or jackets printed with *F/V NAME OF BOAT* and a sketch of the vessel on them for themselves, their crew and their families to wear. They also display models of their boats in their homes, made by one of a few local expert modellers. Boats are often named after wives, daughters, or other female relatives, but also with reference to being Aleut or in nautical terms. They may sell their boats to upgrade to a newer, larger one. Sometimes they retain the boat's name and other times they choose a new, more personalized name. The quality and condition of the boat reflects on the captain, as does how close to the main dock he gets to park it in the harbour.

Figure 3.8. Boat model built by Paul Tcheripanoff, King Cove. Photo by Della Trumble.

Though the Aleut did not have segregated men's houses as found in many Inuit societies, the Harbor House is a comparable version, a modern Aleut men's house. The Harbormaster's office is but

a small portion of the Harbor House, the rest is a lounge lined with chairs where the coffee is always on and the walls are papered with nautical charts, maps, the American flag, and fisheries news. “If these walls could talk,” said the Harbormaster, “heaven help us all.” The Harbormaster, who is from a large Aleut family, keeps track of boat traffic, use of the boat lift, harbour facilities and has several employees. Construction on a new Harbor House was completed halfway through fieldwork, giving way to new stories, new complaints, and new negotiations. Retired fishermen still “go to work” (see also Braund *et al* 1986:9-58) in the Harbor House and offer the benefit of their experience to the younger generations. The Harbor House excludes women (with the exception of this anthropologist), though not overtly. There is no similar alternative space in which women congregate.[69]

If the wheelhouse is the office, then the Harbor House is the boardroom. Most business is conducted in the Harbor House, from price negotiations to crewman hires to fisheries meetings. Critical to this business is VHF radio communication on every boat. Indeed, every household and business is connected by radio, including Peter Pan, PenAir, the Post Office, and the National Weather Service. Radio communication is necessary to conduct the everyday business of fishing, but they also provide subtle information on fish and other boats to their cohort. They pass on knowledge about the weather, currents, and when and where to fish. They tease and gossip on the radio, but also negotiate trust and status. Fishermen carry on more private conversations on their “secret channels,” directed on the radio as “go up a couple,” “go to the other one” or simply “go up” to channels that they have prearranged. There is less formal radio usage than in other parts of the world; fishermen that are new to the area are immediately distinguishable because of their radio formality. Those on land scan the channels and know what is happening on the water at all times: "The radio's been quiet all day, the guys must be on some fish;" or “The radio’s busy, must be no fish out there.” The radio is also used to conduct everyday business within the village, exchange personal messages, arrange travel, and talk to those at sea. The flow of information depends upon an understanding of partially coded talk, a language that is not simply maritime, but is unique to this fleet of fishermen.

The two domains of Harbor House and fishing boat are simultaneously public and private spaces: some activities of the boat are conducted in public, but onboard dynamics (and some fishing operations in which they keep their activities a secret) are private. The Harbor House is a public meeting place in principle, and yet it is understood that it is men’s space, fishermen and non alike. Status and sociality are being performed, in which boat ownership is a public demonstration of wealth, fishing capacity, and often of family history in fishing. Fishermen’s activities and possessions are indicative of social class. Identity symbols and expressions are only significant when they are meaningful to the larger community, and in a small-scale, intimate, and fairly isolated community,

[69] In 2003, the old clinic was converted into a ‘community co-op’ where twice a week, a small group of women meet for a sewing circle.

these expressions convey meanings to each member of the community. People create their own meanings of these shared symbols, the utility of and access to which are described below.

3.6 The King Cove Fleet: Salmon fishing, gear and vessels

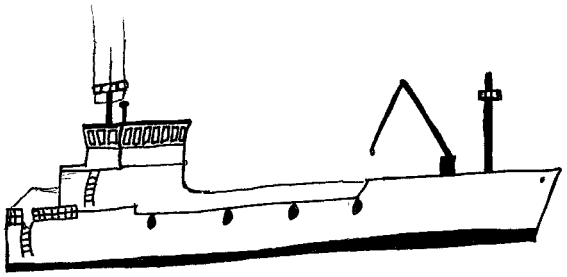
In the previous sections, I traced the different kinds of resource networks that any fishermen needs to negotiate in order to fish, share, eat, pay their bills, and be recognized as high status producers. Now we look at the way commercial fishing demands different kinds of access to resources considered as part of a larger conceptualisation of limited entry. I will describe a series of resources—boats, permits, labour and revenue—as networks that intersect, but also form limited entry systems with restricted access. These limits, in turn, are implicated in aspects of social organization, sharing, and gender relations.

Preparations begin in May for the onset of the salmon season. Fish & Game regulates the June fishery such that it cannot begin before June 10th,[70] and there is a frenzy of activity until opening day as they ready their boats and anticipate the cannery's fish prices. There are three salmon gear types fished in Area M: purse seine, set gillnet, and drift gillnet.[71] The different types of fishing operations can determine success or failure in a season. The proportion of Aleut fishermen who own the different boats and permits and those who crew will be discussed after the general description of the boat and gear types. 'Top boat' and 'high boat' are the terms for the highest catch in the salmon fleet. These terms can describe fishing performance per opening or for the entire season.

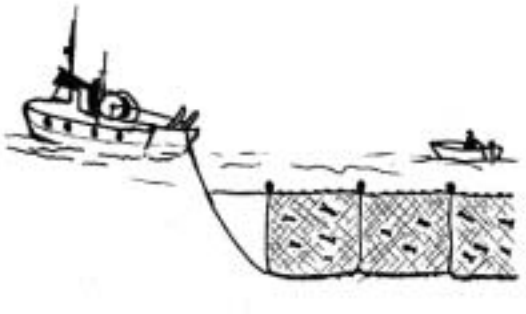
Purse seiners, often called "limit seiners" because these boats are limited to 58' in length by Alaska law, catch salmon by encircling them with a large net and closing the bottom in a purse. One end of the net is attached to a power skiff and then laid out in the water in a circle by the boat. Attached to the top of the net are thousands of floats that hold the net at the water's surface while the bottom is weighted and hangs vertically. The bottom is then pursed, or closed, and the bag is lifted alongside the vessel by a hydraulic power block. Fish are dipped from the bag into the boat's hold. A *tender*, or buyer vessel hired by a processor, may lower their fish pump straight into the bag and brail salmon directly into their hold. Tenders deliver the fish to the canneries and bring supplies and messages back to the

[70] This is a measure to ensure that enough salmon pass through the Aleutians on their way to rivers in western Alaska, described in Chapter 5.
[71] Descriptions of each operation are from interviews, observations and www.adfg.state.ak.us. Some of the sketches are my adaptations from an ADF&G Pamplet "What kind of fishing boat is that?" (1999) and others are mine.

boats. The tendermen are often non-local white men with a 60-day contract with the cannery during the summer fisheries. Local fishermen will also captain tenders, which are often their own boats that they also take crab fishing. Because they are on contract, and their earnings are not based on performance, there is very little competition between the tendermen. Some, however, have better reputations than others for visiting the fishing boats and making personal deliveries to and from King Cove. Purse seiners are generally the largest of the salmon vessels, and their captains and crews typically have higher status than other fishermen because of the expense and value of both the boat and permit, the larger crew, the potential for greater earnings, and versatility. They can more easily be converted to fish in trawl or pot fisheries, or even crab fisheries for the more daring few. In Area M, purse seines are regulated: they must be between 100 and 250 fathoms in length, less than 375 meshes in depth, mesh may not be more than 3½ inches, and leads must be between 50 and 150 fathoms.



Gillnetters set a curtain-like net perpendicular to the direction that the salmon are travelling. Vessels are usually between 30' and 40' long and have a drum on the stern or bow onto which the net is rolled. Fish are handpicked out of the net as it is reeled back on board. Salmon are typically iced and delivered whole to the processor. Again, the top of the line is kept at the water's surface with corks and the bottom is weighted with lead. The mesh is large enough to allow the large male fish to get 'gilled', or stuck, but the smaller fish, usually female, are not so easily trapped. *Drift gillnetters* set their nets along tidal rips and currents where the salmon tend to migrate, though they do not anchor the net. Area M limits their net lengths to 200 fathoms and mesh must be at least 5¼ inches and may not exceed 90 meshes in depth. *Set gillnetters* in Area M anchor both ends of their nets in the water and pick fish into skiffs. Fish are then offloaded in the holds of the vessels. Set gillnets are limited to 100 fathoms, no more than two 'sites', or designated areas leased by the state to a permitholder, and they must be at least 900' away from another set gillnet.



Setnet sites are somewhat competitively obtained; "good sites" are those rumoured to guarantee a decent season. Thin Point and East Anchor are among "good sites." Purse seining has a more direct competitive element, but even then, there are local rules of sharing. If a purse seiner "gets

on some fish" and is doing well in a certain area, he might allow certain other seiners to get in line to fish in the same spot or he might do his best to conceal his success. In fact, taking turns seining a productive pocket of fish is said to be "mandatory," and each seiner has 30 minutes to fish that spot. "As soon as the first boat's net comes up, you are there to drop it. If you are over time, someone will come in and *cork* you. That means they catch your fish instead of you. They will let their net out inside of your net." It has been said that when some fishermen are doing really well, they might not even call home to their wives for fear of "giving away" their "good spot." Fishermen can be quite protective of their good fortunes on the water, or quite generous depending upon the circumstances and who is fishing nearby.

The boats themselves are important theoretically because of the variation in gear and fishing capacity, crew requirements, and the variation in ability to harvest fish, and have implications for the success or failure in a given season. They are regulated differently, depending upon their configuration and permit type. They require constant attention; fishermen endlessly maintain them in the harbour as well as at sea. Licences are required, and captains must take extra classes to carry passengers. Boats allow people to move between villages, "get out" to Cold Bay to catch a plane in bad weather, and transport materials. Owners are more easily incorporated into a larger network of sharing labour, such as negotiating with crabbers to haul materials from Seattle or Anchorage, because they are in a better position to reciprocate.

3.6.1 Permit transfers: A Wealth Transfer System

Permit transfers constitute a wealth transfer system in the anthropological sense, discriminating in favour of sons, then other relatives, then friends, then strangers. Thirty-nine King Cove fishermen received salmon permits in 1974 under the Limited Entry program, some receiving more than one permit for different gear types based upon their record of fishing (84 total permits, 2.15 permits/fisherman), but the current distribution of permits has changed since that time. In 2002 there were 63 salmon permits for 53 fishermen, 1.19 permits/fisherman (www.cfec.ak.us). Today, purse seining is the dominant gear type while there are fewer set and drift gillnetters. The permit type is also indicative of the type of boat the permit holder owns. Some fishermen issued multiple permits have sold one permit to finance gear for fishing another permit. Salmon permits for this area are among the most valuable in Alaska. Fishermen's earnings have on occasion been high enough to attract new fishermen to the enterprise from out of state, and competition for fishing has increased.

At the 2001 annual meeting of the Alaska Anthropological Association in Fairbanks, I presented a paper on Aleut fishermen, putting a human face on Area M fisheries. Many who commented to me about my presentation, which included those from Fish & Game, U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service, and other anthropologists, were insistent that Area M is comprised largely of

"Seattle boats" and many believed that local Aleut fishermen had long sold their permits (or at least one of them if they were issued more than one) to non-resident strangers. This phenomenon is taken up in Chapter 5. Here I show how "resident" versus "non-resident" fishermen is not an appropriate dichotomy for analysing permit distribution.

To substantiate this claim, I reviewed Area M's permit statistics. In 1975, 100 seine, 98 drift gillnet, and 99 set gillnet transferable permits were issued to Alaska Peninsula/Aleutian local residents (Malecha, Tingley and Iverson 2000b). A total of 25 transferable permits were issued to other Alaskan non-local residents and 71 transferable permits were issued to non-residents. Changes in permit distribution statewide have been tracked by the Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission (CFEC) since 1980 (Malecha, Tingley and Iverson 2000a, 2000b). In the Alaska Peninsula/Aleutian region, of the 175 seine permit transfers from 1980-2000, 25 (14.3%) went to a friend/partner, 111 (63.4%) went to an immediate family member, 8 (4.6%) went to another relative, and 31 (17.7%) went to "other". Of the 296 drift permit transfers, 60 (20.3%) went to a friend/partner, 103 (34.8%) went to immediate family, 24 (8.1%) went to another relative, and 109 (36.8%) went to "other". Of the 288 set gillnet permit transfers, 68 (23.6%) went to a friend/partner, 111 (38.5%) went to immediate family, 23 (8.0%) went to another relative, and 86 (29.9%) went to "other." Figure 3.9 shows the relationship of transferors to transferees for all seine, drift, and set gillnet permit transfers from 1980-2000.

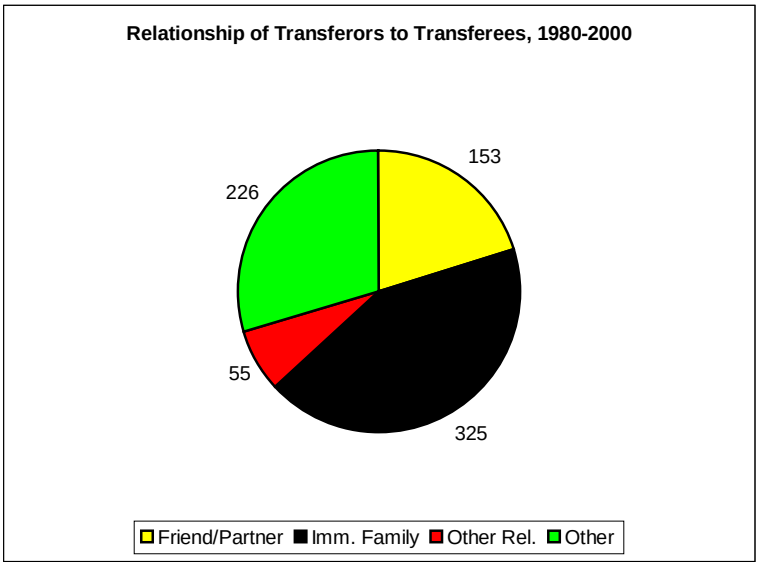


Figure 3.9. Relationship of permit transferors to transferees for all salmon permit types, cumulative from 1980-2000. Source: Tingley *et al* 2001:96-97.

Though many permit holders claim residency outside of an Aleut village or out of Alaska, their status cannot automatically be considered non-Aleut, non-family, or stranger. In reviewing the list of names and addresses of permit holders for the year 2000 on the CFEC website, I identified many from Ferndale and Bellingham, Washington, Anchorage, Kodiak, Palmer, and Kenai as

relatives to Aleutians East Borough residents, not to mention those who I do not know of, or any of the other villages, or other kinds of relationships. In 2000, there were 85 purse seine, 36 drift gillnet, and 82 set gillnet permit holders who listed King Cove, False Pass, Sand Point or Nelson Lagoon as their primary residence[72] (Figure 3.10).

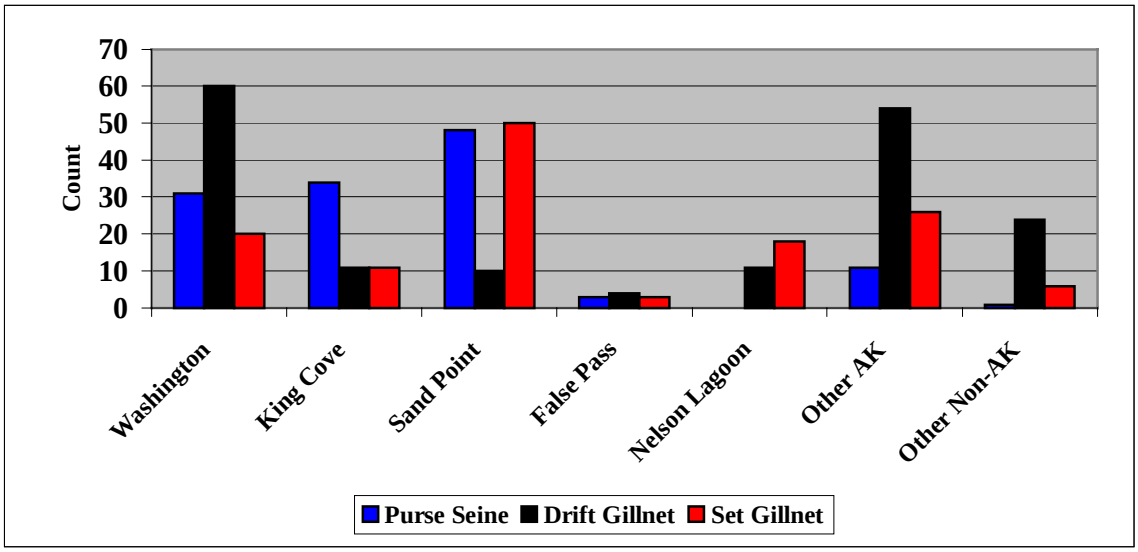


Figure 3.10. Alaska Peninsula/Aleutian Permit holder's Residency, 2000. Source: www.cfec.state.ak.us. From Reedy-Maschner 2001:65.

The belief that Area M is composed mostly of wealthy Seattle fishermen with jobs the other nine months of the year has fuelled much of the arguments for the closure of the Aleut salmon fishery, discussed in Chapter 5. These data indicate that not only are a significant number of local residents holding permits, but that they did not always sell or transfer their permits to the highest bidder. Often permits were sold, traded, or gifted to family and friends no matter their residency, or were inherited (Tingley *et al* 2001). Statewide, fisheries where there are lower permit values tended to be gifted more than higher values, but an exception to this is the Peninsula/Aleutian seine fishery with a high percentage of gift transactions and high permit values (Tingley *et al* 2001). Before the recent collapses in Area M seine permit values, they were so expensive that no young man could ever hope to buy one, and the most likely way that they would change hands is through gift transfer. Setnet permits, however, were cheap enough that a man would be more likely to purchase one, and often they were sold with a boat as a package deal. Driftnet permits were also very expensive, but non-local fishermen sought them out to buy from locals and could adapt most boats to fish this gear.

Purse seining and setnet permits are predominately locally owned whereas non-Alaska residents own half of the 163 driftnet permits in Area M. Permit inheritance follows an intra-family pattern identified in the 1980s (Braund *et al* 1986:Ch9:38-42). Transfers were most often from father

[72] Compiled from www.cfec.state.ak.us

to son, usually with the father fishing the more prestigious seine permit and sons fishing a gillnet permit. “This pattern reflects a predominate commitment among King Cove men to provide their sons access to the community’s traditional way of life” (1986:Ch9:40). Permits are typically handed down to sons (and rarely to daughters) that have done well fishing in their fathers' places and the other children will work on boats fishing for a percentage of the catch. Ideally, they will support their parents off the inherited permit (Inheritance in relation to kinship is taken up in Chapter 4). Though there are fairly large families in King Cove, and one can imagine that children might argue over their father's permit(s), one woman stated, "I have not heard of a big squabble over permits [between siblings]". And neither did I. Often, if the father owned a boat and multiple permits, he might place his son with a permit on another boat that needed a permitted captain, while the father fished the remaining permit. This strategy occurs especially if there is only one boat owned by the family. Access to owning a boat and permit by sons of those excluded by Limited Entry is extremely difficult. These young men were and still are forced to work as crew or find alternative employment.

3.6.2 Crews: Shares system, recruitment and kinship

Crews are arguably the most valuable resources for boat captains (see also Jorion 1982). Captains cannot fish alone; between one and five crewmen are required, depending on the undertaking. They support his operation and rarely challenge his authority. Captains use their resources, which includes kin resources, and their reputations to attract skilled crews. Crewmen will indicate pride in saying “my captain” or “my skipper” or they may grumble about him out of earshot.

Crewmen are not merely plucked from a pool of young men waiting to be hired, rather they also determine their fate and have greater flexibility than do boat and permit owners. Top crewmen’s status depends upon certain standards of fishing and they recognize how valuable they are. If the price of fish is low, even though they would receive higher crew shares than those fishing next to them, many consider low prices an insult to their identity and will seek other jobs. In the bleak season of 2002, a large number of these top crewmen opted not to go fishing. It is fortunate that this bad season was coincident with many land jobs in construction, however temporary, which they snatched up quickly once it was apparent that the price of fish would be low. I believe these men would have abandoned their land jobs in a heartbeat if there were a sudden turn-around in fishing success.

Though all crewmen must buy a license (an Alaska Commercial Fishing Crewmember License issued by Fish & Game), there is little protection for them since they are often hired with a handshake and when fishing returns are low, they are sometimes only partially paid. Some captains insist upon writing contracts in legal language that must be signed and witnessed specifying expectations on both sides and conditions that would terminate employment, though this formality

never occurs between family. New crewmen are called "greenhorns" or "greenies".[73] Experienced crewmen usually earn more shares than greenhorns; when the price of fish is low, a few captains will seek to only employ greenhorns so they do not have to pay them as much. This hiring decision is often considered acceptable in order for the captain to have a satisfactory income, especially if local crewmen are seeking land jobs for the season. It can also lead to animosity from some in the community who feel that captains should always hire locally. Hiring greenhorns sometimes backfires since they rarely bring in as much fish as do those with experience. In one instance, a crewman on a crab boat with fifteen years experience was making the same share as a greenhorn; he was deeply insulted yet he still needed the money. "It used to be that guys only hired family and *no girls*, but as things got bad, they started hiring girls too. Seiners need a large crew. They'll hire college students from the Lower 48 because they can pay them a smaller share." Thus, the price of fish offered by the cannery and the conditions at sea play a large role in crew organization today.

Most of those that hold commercial fishing permits employ non-permit-holding members of their families and the community. It is virtually impossible to "work your way up" to captain a boat; a crewman must inherit a boat and permit, or save money to buy a boat and permit. Crews are more fluid than fixed. Several types of kin relations are found on one boat. For generations, fishermen have taken their sons (and sometimes daughters) fishing as soon as they were capable to crew. Experience and skill earned them 'crewshares' and eventually, these young men would lease-to-buy a boat of their own from the cannery. Limited Entry rendered this aspiration unfeasible, and kin relations became the primary means by with a non-permitted fisherman could gain access to the fisheries by inheriting a permit or crewing for relatives, and therefore, the most direct means by which young men could become a part of the preferred Aleut way of life. Braund *et al* (1986:Ch9:42) reported on crew selection favouring immediate family members first, then other family who are not already employed in fishing, followed by local non-family members, and finally crewmen from out of state, such as college students or family friends. It remains that most crews in the salmon fishery contain one or more individuals that are related to the captains.

When the suggestion was made by an Aleutians East Borough representative that the Aleut hire Yupiit to crew on their boats as part of a solution to the AYK salmon disaster (discussed in detail in Chapter 5), the Aleut were offended and showed this with sarcasm and dreadful ethnic jokes in the Harbor House. Never would they hire a Yupiit over a brother, cousin, nephew or friend (nor, I suspect, would a Yupiit accept an offer). And they said they would prefer to hire an unknown outsider over a Yupiit because the hire would not be politicised.

[73] Greenhorn comes from the Middle English *greene horn*, the horn of a newly slaughtered animal, and refers to an inexperienced or easily deceived newcomer.

Figures 3.11, 3.12 and 3.13 show diagrams of a random selection of captain-crew relationships in the salmon fishery for each gear. These crews tend to remain the same or similar in the cod, pollock and halibut fisheries. In the crab fisheries, discussed below, crewmen are often young men from these villages or elsewhere and are less likely to be related to the captain or each other.

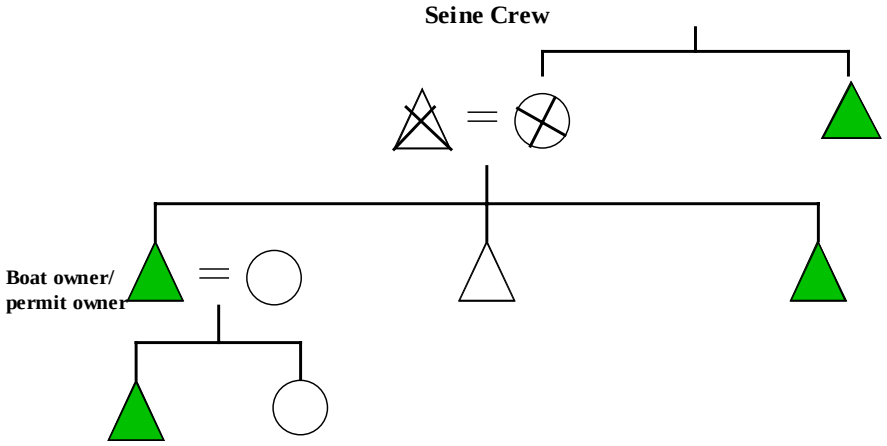


Figure 3.11. Example of purse seine crew, 2000-2001, King Cove salmon fleet.

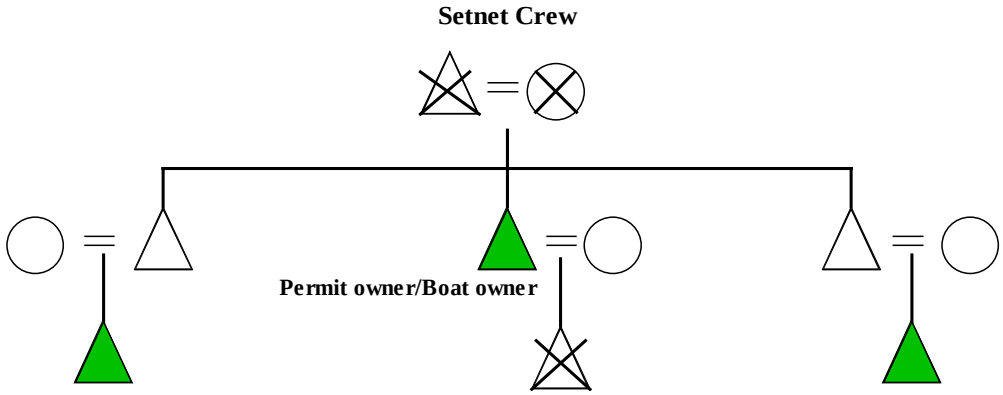


Figure 3.12. Example of set gillnetting crew, King Cove salmon fleet, 2000-2002. The captain's son is deceased. His nephew was given the option to buy the boat and permit after a trial fishing season where he worked as captain.

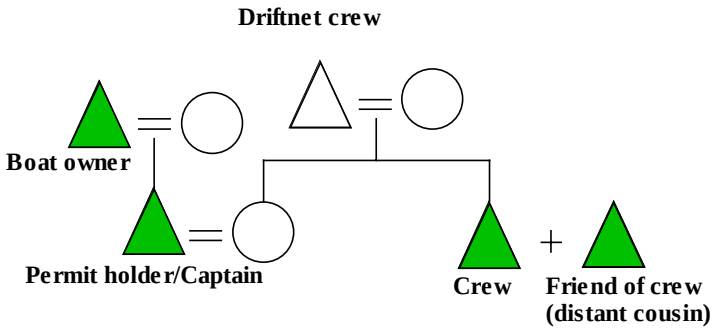


Figure 3.13. Example of drift gillnetting crew, King Cove salmon fleet, 2002-2003. The captain in this case lost his boat to a fire at sea in 2001.

Boat captains' authority overrides other kin relations. For example, if a captain employs his uncle as crew, he has ultimate authority over his uncle's activities during the fishing season. On land, the uncle might earn more influence because of his age and relationship, but in the context of fishing or even crew duties on land, he is expected to follow captain's orders.

Thus crewmen are an important and necessary social category of fishermen, and in fact, call themselves fishermen. Most young men are committed to living out their lives in King Cove; they are socially connected through family and totally invested in the lifestyle. Sons of boat and/or permit owners are often automatically in line to take over the operation, and will invest financially and with work before they are due to gain control. These data show that kinship plays a strong role in shaping captain-crew organization as well as in the long-term changes in the distribution of Limited Entry permits.

3.6.3 Fishermen's codes and gear wars

Fishing grounds vary during each season and each year and are governed by gear type, regulation and species abundance. King Cove fishermen tend to fish between Pavlof Bay on the Alaska Peninsula and the East/West Anchor area of south Unimak Island in June. In July, they might move to fish the area from Urilia Bay on the north shore of Unimak to Port Moller on the north Alaska Peninsula, all within Area M, with tenders moving to accommodate them. There is a Peter Pan cannery in Port Moller, dubbed the "penal colony" by several tendermen because of its isolation. Fishermen are keenly aware of the conditions throughout the entire area and will move to different areas or change gear (for those holding multiple permits) for a better fishing strategy. Some setnetters might hold multiple sites in this regard.

In August, boats move closer to King Cove where it becomes legal to fish and they will set their nets right in front of town. Many of the locals on land will turn out to watch different boats fish, commenting on technique and the size of fish loads appraised through binoculars.

The rapid rate in which the technology has developed in just a few decades is astounding. Fathometers, radar, GPS, automatic pilot, hydraulic lifts, refrigeration systems, and sodium lights bedeck almost every boat. Boat attributes have changed over time in terms of gear multiplicity, physical attributes, horsepower, and size. For Area M's purse seine and drift gillnet vessels (over 30' in length), average length, net and gross tonnage, horsepower, and fuel capacity have increased significantly since 1978 (Iverson and Malecha 2000; Shirley 1996). Characteristics of length and gear diversity were selected for the years 1990-2002 and shows a steady annual increase in average vessel length and diversification of gear types per vessel. The total number of vessels, however, has decreased over the last decade or more (Figures 3.14 and 3.15). I have only considered fiberglass-hulled vessels because it is difficult to determine from the summary data whether the aluminium- or wood-hulled boats are in fact skiffs. Wood-hulled vessels, which tend to be older and smaller, are rapidly dropping out of favour, but there are few in the fleet today.

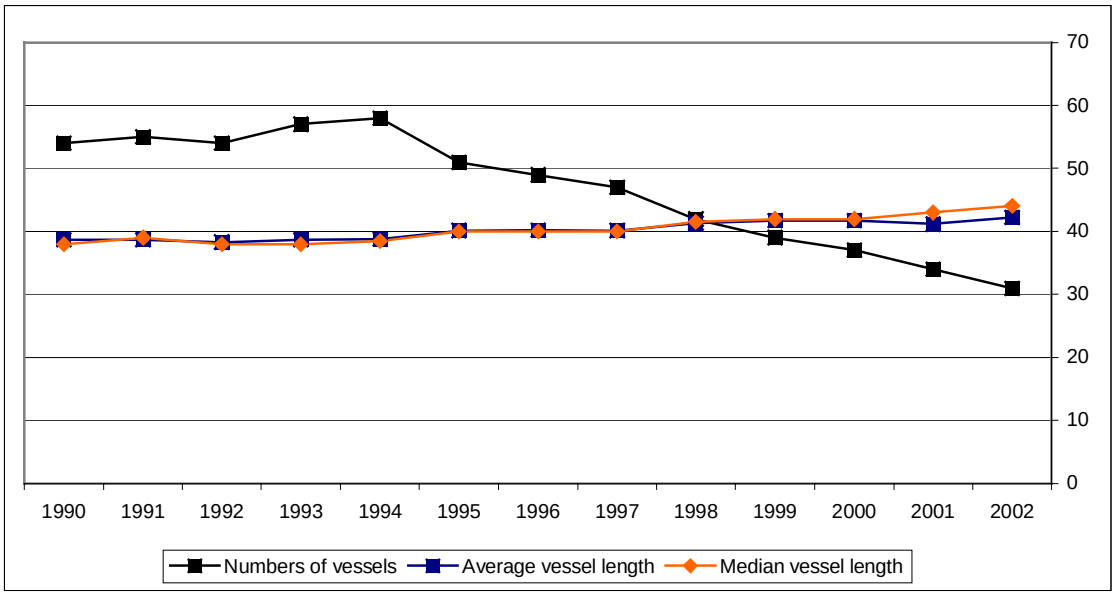


Figure 3.14. Numbers of vessels, average vessel length and median length, fiberglass-hulled vessels only, salmon fleet, King Cove, Alaska, 1990-2002. Source: www.cfec.state.ak.us.

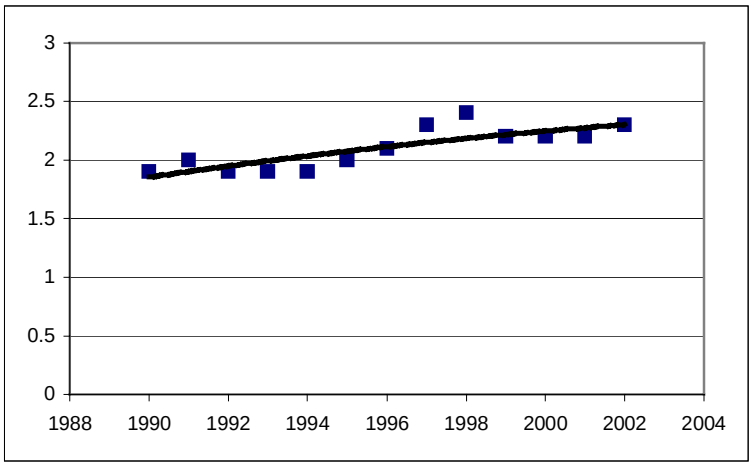


Figure 3.15. Average number of gear types per vessel, King Cove salmon fleet, 1990-2002.

The 58-foot limit on seine boat length sets a legal limit on striving and has created conditions for striving to move towards individual expansion with multiple boats. Regardless of the success or failure of individual or family fishing operations, the King Cove fleet is becoming more efficient.

These trends could be explained by a subtle, yet important gear war in which boat captains strive to expand their individual operations and fish in every type of fishery year round. This is in large part a response to shorter fishing openers and fewer fish in which the advantage goes to the more efficient, better-equipped fishermen. This can also be explained by competition in individual status striving, and the need to continuously set new standards for attaining prestige.

Non-resident fishermen have often had the upper hand in gear wars; local residents typically own older, smaller fishing vessels with less sophisticated gear, though the gap has closed significantly in the past decade. In the Eastern Aleutians, there is some tension with non-locals "from outside" in all fisheries, "especially if they step out of line," said one woman. There is a "fishermen's code" and if someone breaks the rules, "they can blackball people out." For example, she was fishing with her ex-husband several years ago and a setnetter came in and set in the way of their drift gillnets. Her ex-husband cut the other fisherman's net. Among seiners, the code of courtesy is that fishermen will take turns setting their nets. “They get in line and rotate. If someone breaks the rules or jumps ahead in line, another boat might drive into the middle of their seines.” There were reports of fishermen shooting the buoys of other fishermen who violated the code. Most will not leave their nets unattended. One woman who regularly fishes with her husband said fishermen do similar things to locals if they step out of line, but mostly these discipline methods are used on outsiders. While in the Harbor House, one man complained about a fisherman with “mickey mouse” gear who was habitually “dumping his gear on everyone else.” He added, “Now I’d never dream of cutting another man’s nets

but I came pretty close with him." He was angry with the less experienced fisherman but had to make it clear to the others where he drew the line in his own behaviour.

One fisherman, whose usual captain had trouble finding a complete crew and decided to fish with his son instead, sat at home all summer long and scanned the VHF, listening to boats talking to each other. He described what he was hearing to me.

> "One guy will get on and say, 'I see a couple jumpers over here. I'll take my turn,' and then the other guy will say, 'Okay, I'm coming over.' They *share*. Everybody does. Some boats go co-op. If there's friendship, they cooperate. Everybody shares. That's the way it is around here. They might make a haul and share with another boat that didn't get as much. Seiners are all local. No non-local seiners, and they all cooperate. Non-locals are the tenders. False Pass, Sand Point, and King Cove all stick together. Like glue. Anybody else, you know. Kinda nice, but…"

I also scanned the radio channels continuously. In my experience, this description was an exaggeration of cooperation on the water. Fishermen can be quite territorial when it comes to the fishing grounds. They chide each other with "you're stealing my spot", but certain fishermen have priority for fishing grounds. Boats crowd into popular fishing spots. Fishermen will rarely give away how many pounds of fish they caught in an opening, or where they were successful. To say, "we caught a few fish," means they did really well. "No fish out there" means they could have done better. His insistence that fishermen were all local and the tenders were from elsewhere was meant, I believe, to demonstrate cohesion to an outsider, though not accurate. On a few occasions I overheard tendermen or other fishermen announcing to those in the Harbor House where different fishermen were having the most success. These betraying statements made some uneasy, especially since fish were hard to find that season, making fishing more competitive.

In the following section, I will take the reader through aspects of the "June fishery," that is, the salmon fishery upon which most fishermen depend the most. Troubles in this fishery resonate throughout the community, and are implicated in most discussions of socioeconomic problems.

3.7 The June Fishery

Although more detailed aspects of the salmon crisis are discussed in Chapter 5, this introduction of the June salmon fishery points to their immediate situation and the rapid decline of this fishery between 2000 and 2003. In June, fishermen harvest a mixed stock of salmon that are returning to the rivers of the Alaska Peninsula, Asia, and western Alaska. Most people make their "real money" during this month. Days before the first opening day, boats from all over the North Pacific stream into the harbour in anticipation. The lines at both grocery stores snake through the aisles. The bar bursts at the seams with patrons drinking and dancing. Hours before the opening, the harbour empties out as boats head for the fishing grounds, and the town falls quiet.

The 2000 June fishery started the morning of June 13 and continued with added extensions for most of the month. Periodically there are closings of one or a few days, but the fishermen ideally stay out on the fishing grounds and tenders supply them with groceries and water. The harbour emptied out almost entirely the day before except for a few fishermen whose boats broke down and they were awaiting a part and one man who was still waiting on his crewman to fly in once the rain stopped. They "settled for" 85 cents per pound for red salmon. For a week before the opening, fishermen hung around the Harbor House, in between readying their boats, waiting for the right test ratio of reds to chums (they needed a ratio 2 to 1, set by the Board of Fisheries). They had a floating "cap," or limit, on the number of chum salmon they can harvest from 350,000 to 650,000 and the 2000 chum harvest was capped at 400,000 fish. Fish & Game tests the waters with nets to determine the ratio, lest there be too many chums that have not migrated through that pass and the fishermen reach this limit and have to stop harvesting altogether before they reach the limit on reds. Historically, sockeye salmon runs peak between June 13 and 22, and usually declines sharply after June 22 (www.adfg.state.ak.us), though there is some indication that this peak is shifting earlier each year.

One week into the June fishery in King Cove, the fishermen in Sand Point and the Shumagin Islands reached their quota of 363,000 sockeye. Their fishery closed on June 18. Consequently about 50 boats sailed down the peninsula to fish until the quota for the King Cove area was reached. One King Cove resident stated, as she watched the other boats cruise across the bay on their way to the fishing grounds, "I wish they'd stay the hell away. The guys here need to get their fair share. This happens almost every year." The tension on the water was felt through the radio and in the Harbor House, though I heard of no direct conflicts between fishermen.

Peter Pan announced the species' counts by VHF when fishing closed at 10 p.m. the first day. Things were "kind of slow," one fisherman assessed. They "had to move [their] boats all over the place looking for fish." By the 23rd of June, boats were already heading to Port Moller where the July fisheries begin, even though there was no escapement there yet. This was because there were no fish around False Pass and "so many boats that there is hardly enough water," according to one fisherman.

The June fishery closes on the 1st of July whether the fishermen get their quota or not. The 2000 fishery closed with only 50 percent of the South Unimak sockeye allocation harvested. Many fishermen were not able to make their boat payments or insurance payments for the year because of that. In 2000, crewmembers were hard to come by. One man had three girls less than 17 years of age working for him. They could not fish in bad weather because they were so inexperienced, and hence their total take was seriously low. He was not able to make his payments for the year.

Success rates vary for different types of fishing gear depending on the season. Set gillnetters did well in 2000; even though they are less efficient, there were no closings for them. My fishermen friend with a two-man crew was able to get a few thousand pounds of fish each day. Purse seiners

were less successful and driftnetters caught just below their average from previous years. Thus, we saw a slow start to a disappointing season.

In 2001, Area M fishermen were on strike. Peter Pan offered a mere $.40 per pound for sockeye. There were fewer subsistence fish in circulation as a consequence. One household that depends upon a crewman did not get any sockeye, king or chum salmon in 2001, and instead were confined to fish for pinks at Ram's Creek. Only those who could *afford* to take their boats subsistence fishing were able to. For 2002 the offer was only $.47 per pound. One seiner who decided not to fish the summer said, "I'm not giving a fish to Peter Pan. They're getting their fish for free." In 2003, the price was $.49 per pound for sockeye, but so few fish being caught that one man called every opening a "practice run" for the real thing. The highliner for one opening got 10,000 pounds, which would be paltry any other year but this one.

3.7.1 Costs and revenues of the salmon fishing operations

Area M fishermen own some of the most valuable salmon permits in Alaska, but their value is currently declining. Today, fishermen are still paying off permits they purchased a decade or more ago. Fishermen have said that Fish & Game places higher values on permits than fishermen can sell them for. There is indeed a gap between what the permit brokers list in the advertising sections of the *Anchorage Daily News, Pacific Fishing* and *National Fisherman,* and the CFEC's site indicating values.

Purse seining	**Cost range (U.S. $)**	**Average annual maintenance costs (U.S. $)**
Limited Entry Permit and loan payments, if applicable	30,000 to 40,000	16,000 (average loan payment)
Vessel 40' to 58'	120,000 to 475,000	5,000 to 15,000
Purse Seine	25,000 to 40,000	2,000 to 3,000
Power skiff with internal engine	25,000 to 50,000	1,000 to 3,000
Hydraulic power and purse blocks	15,000 to 25,000	1,000
Vessel insurance		5,000 to 30,000
Vessel storage and harbour charges		500 to 1,500
Gear storage		500
Fuel (per season)		3,000 to 8,000
Drift Gillnetting		
Limited Entry Permit	40,000 to 150,000	
Vessel	95,000 to 130,000	
Gear (200 fathoms)	7,000	
Reel	2,500	
Fuel (per season)		2,000 to 5,000
Insurance		2,000 to 5,000
Set Gillnetting		
Limited Entry Permit	50,000 to 70,000	
Vessel 39' to 45'	35,000 to 130,000	

Site (leased from the State)	10,000 +	
Nets – up to 300 fathoms	6,000	
Skiff with outboard motor	6,500	
Fuel		1,500 to 3,000
Insurance		2,000 to 5,000

Table 3.2. Basic capital cost estimates for entering Area M's commercial salmon fisheries, 2002. Costs vary tremendously based on whether the equipment is new or used, its condition, age, length, gear, electronics, hull type, etc. These are conservative estimates based upon interviews with King Cove fishermen. For larger boats, costs are higher. Additional costs include food and supplies for the entire crew, crew licenses, radios, and survival kits.

3.7.2 Economic Profile

A statistical economic profile of King Cove is difficult to piece together because employment and income data sources for Alaska's coastal communities are incomplete (Northern Economics 2000:11-1 to 11-10). This is due in large part to the non-systematic collection of data for the self-employed. All of the state's economic agencies, such as the Department of Labor and Workforce Development and the Department of Community and Economic Development (DCED), have conflicting numbers regarding residents employed in the job category of self-employed commercial fishing, and all indicated too few fishermen. Hence, King Cove is economically dependent on the fisheries, but this is hidden by incomplete data. Data provided by the U.S. Census are perhaps the most complete because they gather individual, household, and community data. It may be significant, however, that the U.S. Census asks for current employment on the date of April 15 for the year the census was taken, and the height of fishing activity in King Cove is from June to September (Northern Economics 2000:11-1 to 11-2). Employment statistics for the village population age 16 and over (total n=657, female n=263) found only 46 individuals reporting fishing occupations, an obvious error (www.census.gov). For the entire Borough, Northern Economics found that the commercial fishing industry employs at least 500 residents and generates $8.7 million in income (2000:11-1).

If a man does not fish, there are limited alternative employment opportunities within the village. Non-fishing jobs include employment at the school, administrative positions, maintenance, seafood processing, municipal jobs, and State and federal employment, which tend to be temporary project-oriented jobs. The median household income in King Cove was averaged at $45,893 for the year 2000 (www.census.gov). Per capita income for 2000 was $17,791. Four families, two of them with a female head of household (no husband present) and 97 individuals reported as below the poverty level in 2000. By and large, households in 2000 were financially secure. However, a fisherman's income depends entirely on the amount of fish caught, the market value, number and duration of fishing openings, and regulations affecting fishing.

In 2000, the Internal Revenue Service began taking Permanent Fund Dividends from people indebted to them. Those fishermen, whose boats were not making enough to pay insurance, permit payments or boat payments were stunned. A woman who manages her brothers' finances said, "Last

year, the state wouldn't let the feds take dividends. This year, they are taken. It shocked us. People were counting on them. … People pay portions of their accounts with dividends usually. Now the feds took them. I'm so upset I can barely talk about it." Credit at local businesses adds another dimension to individual debt. One family business estimated that the town owes them $97,000 in charges. "We are the last ones they pay if they come into money," the owner stated.

Municipal revenues are heavily reliant on the fisheries where changes in the fisheries result in changes in the community's economic structure. The city budget relies heavily on the 2% 'raw fish tax' and an additional 2% on raw fish is taxed to the Aleutians East Borough. Their budget comes from one-third each of the groundfish, salmon, and crab fisheries. Of the 2% fish tax, 20% of it goes to the Aleutians East Borough School District. Beyond those two percent are funds from the federal and state governments for schools and health clinics only. The city also levies a 3% sales tax, but there are no property taxes. In 1984, the fisheries tax constituted 30% of the city's budget (Braund *et al* 1986:Ch.5:4). This was still true in 2000. Socially, the Chief of Police predicted a "trickle down effect" with the budget problem. "I hope the crime rate doesn't climb. It's a lot quieter this year right now. It's too early to tell yet. This is our first budget crisis ever and we haven't really seen the results of that yet." (See Chapter 6).

3.8 Alternatives: Crabbing and Groundfish

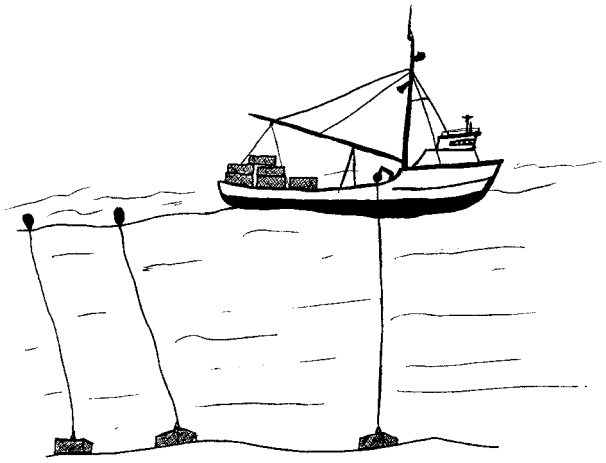
Local people uphold salmon fishing as the most important community-wide activity, but they fish other species as well, and when salmon is weak, they depend on these other fisheries. Salmon is only fished approximately four months of the year (June to September). The other eight months are spent crabbing or in support of crabbing, which is very important to some, particularly to young crewmen, or in groundfish fisheries, which has grown to be of critical importance to most everyone.

3.8.1 Crabbing: The "Young Man's Game"

Bering Sea crab fishing is often described as the most dangerous occupation on the planet by both those who take part in it and those who study it (DHHS 1997; Hodgson 1992: Stoller 2003). The death rate for commercial fishing is 75 times the national average for on-the-job deaths (Dillon 1998:8-9). For crabbing, the death rate is 25 times higher than the rest of commercial fishing and 9 times that of mining and logging. The Bering Sea is a relatively shallow (less than 100 fathoms), extremely turbulent body of water boiling over an outer continental shelf teeming with marine life. Earthquakes occur almost daily, active volcanoes line the southern edge, and islands emerge and disappear in shifting tectonics. Sea water cycles continuously from top to bottom, feeding nutrients and sustaining a variety of species. Finding crab in this tumultuous bathtub is best illustrated by one Aleut elder: "It's like someone scattered pods of crab like marbles on the ocean floor and you have to

guess where they ended up." It is not uncommon for the fleet not to catch anything until the last day of the opening. When I asked if he still went crabbing, he said, "No, no. That's a young man's game. I stopped years ago."

Waves can form sharp peaks, often 30 feet high, overwhelming boats. When the temperature drops suddenly, sea spray forms ice layers over an entire vessels reaching up to few feet thick and causing it to roll over suddenly. Axes, baseball bats and sledgehammers are standard equipment on board, necessary to break off the ice. In the 38º F Bering Sea, an unlucky fisherman can be chilled into unconsciousness in minutes. If he is able to clamber into a buoyant, insulated survival suit, he may last a few hours. In the event of an accident, it takes several hours for C-130 U.S. Coast Guard Search and Rescue planes or H-3 helicopters based in Kodiak to get to the site.



Crabbing targets several Bering Sea crab species: King, Tanner (snow crab), and Opilio ("opie"). Crab are trapped using rectangular wire-meshed steel pots. Crab boats typically have long wide decks for stacking crab pots. Smaller boats use pyramid pots that stack inside each other whereas the larger boats use square pots (6'x 6') that weigh approximately 800 pounds empty and cannot be moved without a hydraulic power block. The size of the boat determines the pot limit: boats under 125' have a 100 pot limit and those over 125' have a 125 pot limit. "It used to be that we could fish with whatever the boat would hold," lamented an elder.

Crabbing are derby fisheries with openings that can last three days or twenty days. Following lean seasons, fleets are pushed even harder to compensate for losses of previous years. Once the boats have reached the crabbing grounds, often in a rush, crewmen crawl into the pots to bait them with frozen herring and drop them onto the sea floor, marked only by a line attached to a buoy. There they let them "soak" for a minimum of 12 hours but often longer, occasionally raising test pots with a power winch to see if there are any crab. Once raised, the catch is dumped onto a sorting table and females and undersized males are returned to the sea. Legal-sized males are stored in aerated seawater tanks below deck.

The captain stays in the wheelhouse orchestrating the entire operation over an intercom while steering the boat. An experienced deck boss dictates the work of the deckhands. Crab fishermen fish around the clock for the entirety of the opening, catching little sleep. With the need to stay awake,

cocaine and methamphetamine use is rampant. At the closing, crab boats race back to the canneries to deliver their catch; those that are slower must remain out in the bays where sea water can circulate into their holds and keep the crab alive lest they be spoiled by brackish water in the harbour while they wait for a space at the cannery dock.

The majority of Bering Sea crab fishermen are non-residents or other Alaskans; it is not a Native fishery. Aleuts are on the fringe of crabbing and younger Aleut men may participate as crew. Those Aleuts that do fish for crab typically have smaller boats than their non-Native counterparts. Where the other captains run boats for absentee owners, and are somewhat itinerant, Aleut crab fishermen usually own their boats. In one case where an Aleut tried to be an absentee owner and hired a man to run his boat, the hired captain came back to the harbour with too many undersized crabs. He was heavily fined, and found to be dealing drugs in the bar after the ordeal. Figure 3.16 above illustrates the difference in boat sizes between local (left) and non-local (right) crab boats. The dangers of the Bering Sea are heightened in the smaller boats, exacerbated even more by the fishermen who feel the need to overstack the decks with pots in order to compete with the larger boats. For one family, another observing fisherman shuddered over how overloaded their boat was, and the dangers they faced: "They're so desperate they're taking their 58 foot boat King crabbing." King Cove's main position in the crab fleet is as a support centre. Crab fishermen stated that they prefer to deliver their catch in King Cove because it is more "subdued" than the main port of Dutch Harbor on Unalaska Island. King Cove has therefore grown as an important support base for these fishermen.

In October 2000, the King crab fleet swamped King Cove for its yearly fishery, the rush to catch as many legal-sized crab as possible in a three-day period. Crab boats from all over the North Pacific entered the harbour with captains and crew ready to load crab pots, purchase groceries and alcohol libations, reconnect with local friends and lovers, chat up the cannery management, and drink at the bar. In King Cove, only an average of 14 crab permits are held by local fishermen and approximately 11 King Cove captains actually participate in these fisheries (www.cfec.state.ak.us; Northern Economics 2001). I expected hostilities between local fishermen and this seeming invasion of haughty white men from 'outside'. Instead, this was an exciting time for local people.

Bering Sea crab fishermen are considered an elite group in the world of fishing, to residents of King Cove, and amongst themselves. Where "highliner" is a term rarely used among Aleut salmon fishermen, crab fishermen regularly use it to describe themselves or each other. My naively asking, "who's the highliner?" in a group of crabbers instigated self-aggrandizing and overconfident statements about themselves. Many crab fishermen exaggerate their catch amount to impress each other and women. Crab fishermen bring a sexually charged atmosphere with them, and local men keep close tabs on their wives, girlfriends and daughters (and sometimes mothers) during this time.

The crab fisheries are highly volatile; when the King crab fishery crashed in the 1980s and was replaced by the Tanner crab fishery, industry marketers renamed Tanner crab as "snow crab" to make it sound more delectable. It immediately became haute cuisine in fine restaurants. There has only been one Tanner crab fishery open since its height in the 1980s. In 1999, the King crab fishery was cancelled. In 2000, the season only lasted three days. In 1999, huge crab boats that had arrived for crab began invading other kinds of fishing such as cod and pollock because they could not take crab. Consequently, local fishermen with smaller boats had to compete with them, and in some cases, local fishermen were excluded altogether. Quotas are set for cod and pollock and the huge crab boats were able to reach the quotas quickly, leaving the smaller boats scrambling.

3.8.2 Groundfish: Cod, Pollock, and Halibut

King Cove fishermen have made strong efforts to participate in groundfish fisheries despite increasing pessimism created by the need to compete both with commercial factory trawlers and other better-equipped enterprises, and the need to accommodate a steady barrage of new restrictions. Groundfish permits now outnumber crab permits in the Borough (Northern Economics 2000:7-1). Pacific cod and pollock are harvested using trawls, and only large seine vessels are big enough to be equipped with trawl gear. Smaller drift gillnet and setnet vessels have fewer options for diversifying in fishing, but can fish for cod with pots and jigs and may be able to use longline gear depending upon the boat's configuration.

Community Development Quotas (CDQ)[74] and Individual Fishing Quotas (IFQ) have been hailed as the most sustainable fisheries management plans worldwide. Pacific halibut, formerly a derby fishery, is now a closed IFQ fishery. Individuals own shares of the total allowable catch, limiting the numbers of boats and people that can fish. In 2002, when the June salmon fishery was a disappointment, several fishermen decided to fish their halibut IFQs right away. Thus, demersal fisheries are gaining in importance to counter the dramatic fluctuations in the beloved pelagic fisheries. Fishermen are taking advantage of all possible avenues, but diversification only means

[74] The Aleutian Pribilof Island Community Development Association (APICDA), which is the federal program designed to develop the economies of other Aleutian communities and manages the CDQ programs for them, specifically excludes King Cove and Sand Point because of their salmon fishery.

entering another fishery. Limitations in groundfish fisheries and community impacts of those will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

3.9 Fisheries Economics

The following three charts indicate the poundage harvested, value and number of permits fished in King Cove from 1981 to 2001.

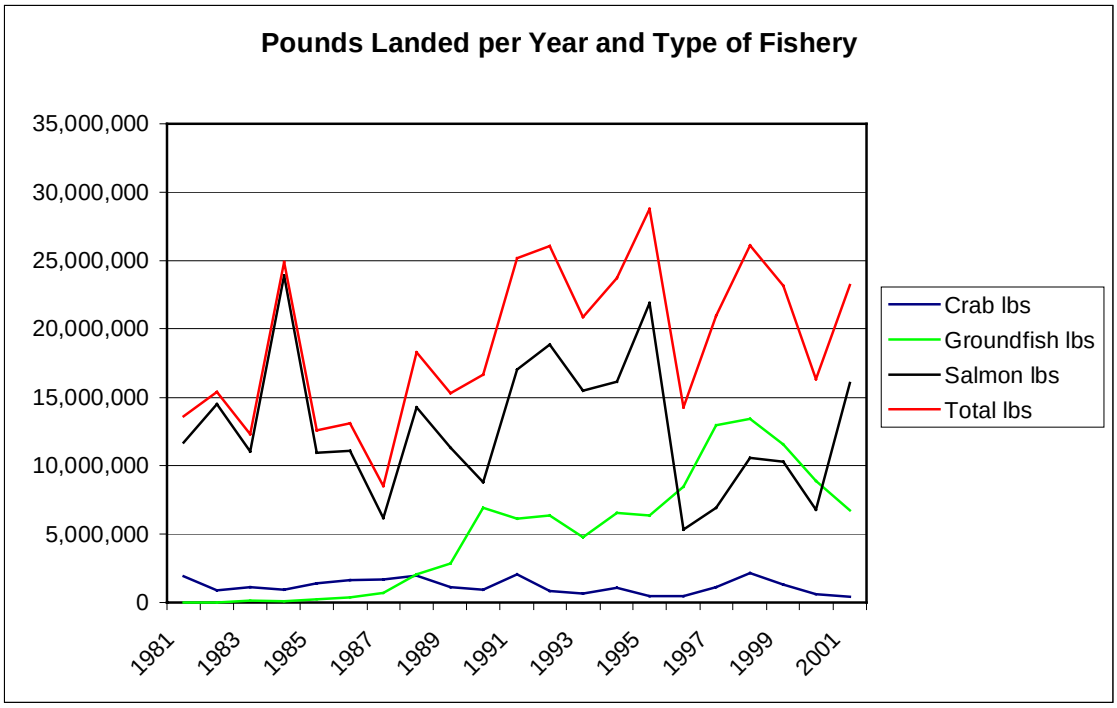


Figure 3.17. Pounds landed for crab, groundfish and salmon in King Cove, 1981-2001. Source: Northern Economics, 2001.

Salmon used to account for most of the total pounds of seafood harvested, but groundfish is gaining in importance.

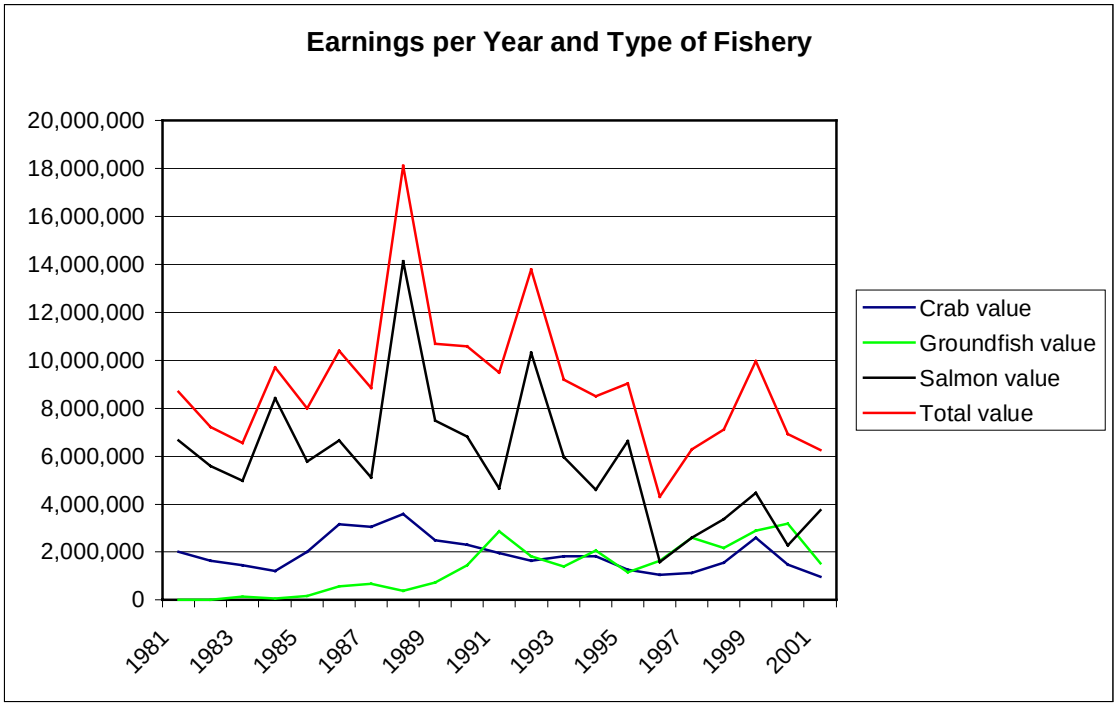


Figure 3.18. Ex-vessel value to King Cove fishermen for crab, groundfish and salmon fisheries, 1981-2001.

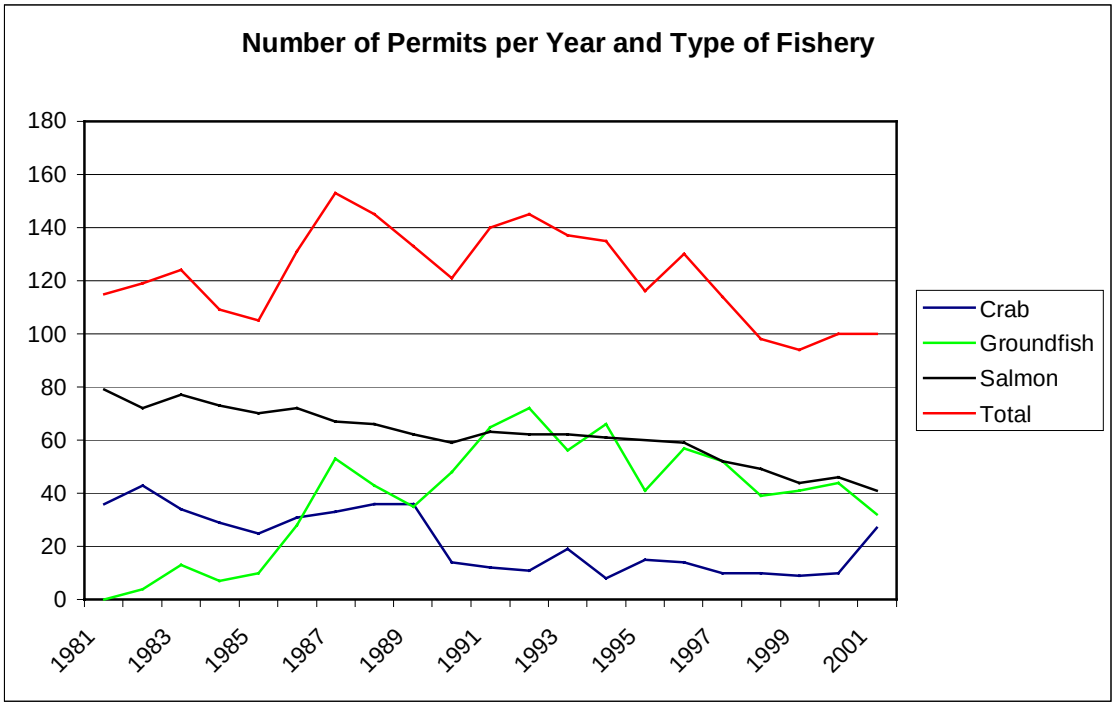


Figure 3.19. Number of permits held and fished by King Cove fishermen, 1981-2001.

There has been a steady decline in the number of salmon permits held while groundfish permits have become more widespread, as has the poundage harvested. There are variations in

individual earnings, masked statistically by averages. Salmon fishing still drives the total value. Breaking even and falling short can lead to catching more fish to compensate in subsequent fisheries seasons.

3.10 Discussion: Politics at Sea and the Passion for Piscary

I have shown aspects of how the fishing nexus works through social organization, gender relations, and individualised status in the production and distribution of wild resources. Descriptions of vessels, permits, crews and, revenue have elucidated issues of access, not just to these recognized assets, but also to a whole host of cultural and social resources. Subsistence and commercial economies are separated in bureaucratic processes, indicating an either/or of traditionalism versus industrial development. Eastern Aleuts do not separate subsistence and commercial fishing; instead the majority feels that they are able to get the maximum out of their traditional economy to better their lives. Salmon fishing has been the primary Aleut fishery, and almost all boats and fishermen are "salmon boats" or "salmon fishermen". The salmon fishery itself has status. Groundfish, however, are becoming so important that many say they are dependent upon these fisheries. There is a schedule to life that is cyclic and repetitive, a ritualised practice, in which a commonsense world emerges.

The intersection between cultural identity and commercial fishing has strong implications for Alaskan anthropology: the Aleut have not faded away as many have suggested; a good deal of Alaskan anthropology shows that subsistence and money cannot be separated, but the Aleut are part of a *franchise*, a for-profit business that is the driving force of the community. In this context, the Aleut propose an alternative definition of *subsistence*. Thus, there is profound variability among Alaska Natives with economic exchange.

Paul Bohannan has argued that culture is the by-product of stories of material things, events and behaviour (1995:149-158). He wrote that icons are necessary in the creation of stories, that they create contexts for culture. Fishing vessels are both iconic and functional. Houses contain sea memorabilia in the way of paintings, boat models, and photographs. Fishing, and all aspects surrounding the practice and organization, is the dominant discourse.

Hierarchies on the water depend on the status of boat captains, not necessarily in economic terms of success. The highest-ranking group at sea is the boat captains, with 'top boat' and 'high boat' referring to the highest catch in the fleet. These terms generally refer to the captain and his crew but, while crews may change, the reputation as 'top boat' stays with the captain and the boat. "Highliners", a term generally used by non-Aleut fishermen, are the most monetarily successful captains with the most sophisticated vessels and gear, and they typically have no trouble finding an eager crew. The gear types (that is, the permit) used in each fishery somewhat determine highliners and distinguish them from other fishermen in the same fishery. Individuals and families may hold more than one type

of permit, and use them strategically to enhance their performance. "Highliner" can also be a temporary status from day to day, fishery to fishery, and year to year.

Family members will serve on boats, or the crew can be recruited from outside the village or even outside the state. Crew must muscle the gear, run the skiffs, and follow captains' orders. Crew composition can change frequently, sometimes several times in a season, though some are permanent. Crew receive percentages of the boat's take, which are determined by level of experience or relationship to the captain. Crew will sometimes include a captain's relative who is perhaps not the ideal crewman and who cannot get a job on anyone else's boat; other captains in the same family may rotate him between their boats. No one wants to be left "sitting on the beach," meaning, unable to fish. Household inter-connectivity between families and non-family households is often maintained by the resource potential of crewmen. Captains need crew, and therefore they will keep loose networks alive that will allow them easier access to crewmembers, and hence access to fishing and ultimate success. Likewise, crewmen will keep a variety of relationships and loyalties alive with prospective captains, often independent of kinship. Throwing kinship into the mix intensifies these relationships.

I hope to have shown how Limited Entry has generated disenfranchised individuals who have been shut out of fishing, although I suggest that this permit plan exaggerated other limited entry systems. Controls of social and material resources are both indicators of social position and self-reinforcing rewards for status. Access to fishing facilitates the performance of social relations, which can then be mediated by strong or weak family ties, shown in the following chapter.

Competition is articulated in subtle ways. Fishermen and their families do not consider themselves to be competitive on the whole, and yet, after an especially successful fishing opening in 2002 for one seine boat that landed 25,000 pounds of sockeye in one day, a crewman bragged, "We kicked everyone else's butt this year." With pride, one young woman said, "My dad was high boat last opening. I was so proud of him. He's got such a small boat compared to everyone else's." There is tremendous pride in surviving near death experiences and keeping everyone on board alive. One retired fisherman boasted, "I lost a few boats, but I never lost a crew member."

Genealogical knowledge is frequently called upon in negotiations between Aleut, suggesting that the fundamental practice of "selection thinking" (Daly and Wilson 1988) influences the membership and the proscribed form of the fishing system. Thus, kin selection provides an important conceptual framework for understanding the structure and practice of fishing. Maynard-Smith (1964) argued that degrees of genetic relatedness dictate or influence the amount of collateral investment. That is, the closer you are related to someone, the more likely you will invest time and energy in supporting their activities. For the Eastern Aleut, fishing together and sharing are not restricted to kin, but kin often have priority. Who you fish with, and the prestige that can bring to the crewman or the captain, can also be just as important as who your relatives are, which taken up in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4. LIMITED ENTRY SYSTEMS in an EASTERN ALEUT COMMUNITY

"Those guys had to paddle all the way to Kodiak, kill a few Eskimos, and then paddle all the way back, just to impress women. Today all you need is a big boat."
--Aleut fisherman in King Cove, 2001.

4.1 Limited Entry Systems

Traditional and modern avenues for status and prestige differ by degree and scale, but not substance. On the occasion of this fisherman's observation, my husband and I were talking to a group of fishermen in the Harbor House about oral histories and ethnohistorical accounts of Aleut men going on raids as far away as Bristol Bay and Kodiak. It was the fishermen who spontaneously added comments about how hard it was to impress women "back then" and how one has to impress women today. What else were these Aleuts doing on their raids? "Stealing women," they frankly added. And one fisherman, whose wife is from Kodiak, added with a wink and a chuckle, "We *still* do that." In Nelson Lagoon, I was told a story about an elder still living in Herendeen Bay who, in the 1950s, travelled down the coast, around the tip of the Alaska Peninsula to Sanak in a power dory "just to get himself a woman." Mission accomplished; he brought her back to the village where they live today. Another man from Nelson Lagoon went on a similar mission, but got "weathered in" at False Pass, and there he "found one that would do."

Marriageable women, it seems, were a scarce resource, and men travelled great distances to find wives. This also highlights an interesting observation about ethnicity and lifeways: Nelson Lagoon and Herendeen Bay are closer to many Yup'ik villages of the north Alaska Peninsula, but these men journeyed long distances to find Aleut women. They also sought Alutiiq women of Kodiak who engage in a similar lifestyle. Women also prefer Aleut men, but they seek out men who have filled prestige criteria in relation to fishing. Fishing, then, is necessary for survival, not just in economic terms or in terms of sharing and maintaining social networks, but in terms of men negotiating place in the pecking order of fishing, establishing identity through skill, and attracting women. Fishing is necessary for women's survival, who keep track of male prestige and seek out high status men, and whose identity is linked to the status of their fishermen. Although there is evidence to suggest that men seeking status and attracting mates and women seeking high status mates is a universal,[75] I do not wish to engage in debate over this theory, except to say that these behaviours are very much in evidence here.

As Dall described more than a century ago,

> "The most respected and influential were those who were the most successful in the chase. The great ambition of the Aleut was to be a great hunter. Those who were unsuccessful were

[75] Barkow 1975, 1989; Batten 1992; Blum 1998; Buss 1994; Hrdy 1999; Ridley 1993; Symons 1979.

> looked upon with more or less contempt. The number of wives was not limited, except that the best hunters had the greatest number of wives. This seldom exceeded four" (1870:388).

The modern Aleut also derive pride from their skill as hunters and fishermen, from impressing women, and from surviving the dangers of everyday living in the Aleutians, and less from monetary wealth. Symbols of empowerment have been adapted to the modern era as fishing vessels have become symbols of identity and status. Fishermen exaggerate their catches and the dangers they have survived when talking to each other or to women they want to impress. They tell tales of bravery in boating accidents, daring rescues, and how they have gotten away with skirting hunting and fishing laws. One retired elder boasted,

> "I started smoking and drinking and running my own boat when I was eight years old. That's why they call me Skip. I was the youngest skipper in the whole damned Alaska fleet on the *[Name of Boat]*. I'd fish on Sundays see, get ahead of everyone. They'd just be getting started and I would be bringing in a load and hiding out from Fish and Game."

Eight years old seemed early to me, and when I asked other fishermen about this, they said he was at least a teenager and was running a "large skiff" with a few of his friends. However, this elder repeatedly declared these details to me at every visit, indicating that captaining in his youth was important for his identity as a fisherman. This man chose particular facts in his life in which to exaggerate—skill at an early age, assembling a crew, competition in time fishing and catch size, and operating beyond the eyes of the watchdogs—indicating not only what he considered crucial to his identity and status, but also instructing me on what is important criteria for being a man while goading me to be impressed.

"Cradle of storms," "birthplace of the winds," and "people of the foggy seas" are accurate Aleutian imagery (Bank 1956; Hubbard 1935; Jochelson 1928). In one storm in 2000, a 110 mph gust tore the roof off the house I was staying in, broke out car windows, and broke the sodium lights off the crab boats waiting out in the bay for their turn at the dock. The weather can be warm and sunny one minute and then fog will slip silently down, erasing the hills, the bay, then the house next door. Aleuts take pride in surviving and thriving in this harsh, unpredictable environment, where fishermen risk their lives every time they go to work. "The stuff you see out there [while fishing] is awesome," said one excited young woman, whose name appears on her father's bowpicker.[76] "Landslides, volcanoes erupting, whales, bears fighting. Sharks rammed our nets once. I thought it was so cool!"

Prestige is highlighted in many fishing societies (e.g. Gatewood 1983; Jorion 1976; Nadel-Klein and Davis 1988; Pálsson 1994; Weibust 1958). Gatewood found an insatiable quest for prestige among seine fishermen in Southeast Alaska (1983) in which prestige is always in demand and not subject to the law of diminishing returns as is the demand for cash. The only way to gain prestige is to seine well; "there is no desire to be the richest fisherman, but many would like to be the best

[76] Type of gillnet boat with the net reel on the bow and the wheelhouse at the stern.

fisherman" (1983:355). Wealth does not always mean that one is a prestigious fisherman, but Gatewood found an almost direct correlation between prestige of the captain and the size of his boat's catch. Because canneries have quotas for how many fish they buy, a speed dimension is added to the competition where prestige is gained by catching the quota in the least amount of time. He found that prestige could also be gained through the condition of one's boat, his skill in repairing seines, and the boat's equipment. Prestige constitutes a "positive feedback system" where one can attract skilful crewmembers and mutually reinforce the social and financial benefits. "Ole timers" retain the prestige they held in their heyday but are no longer considered to be players in the competition (1983:356). Though I cannot make a direct comparison between Southeast Alaska and the Aleutians, the salmon fisheries in both regions are characterised by prestige.

The Aleut live in a "single social-identity/skill area" where men compete "in terms of a shared set of evaluation criteria" (Barkow 1989:189). Though fishing is the only game in town, men have attempted to distinguish themselves from each other in aspects of fishing. They refer to each other or to themselves as "the best skiff man," "the best skiff builder," "the best on board cook," "the best deckboss," among many other talents.

Changes in leadership, politics, economy, technology, resource needs, beliefs or a combination of these result in changes in opportunities for individuals and can alter prestige structures surrounding these. There is now a generation of young Aleut men and women who were raised to strive for certain ideals that they can no longer realistically attain. The Limited Entry permit plan was a defining moment for all modern social relations among the Eastern Aleut, though its future impact was not well understood at the time of its implementation. The plan, I argue, created more than one limited entry system, and possibly exaggerated a system of rank and status already in place. The permits themselves represent not only the right to fish, but also a suite of social and political privileges. Here I use the notion of "limited entry" to talk about the social and organizational map of King Cove, the use of which is partly my own perception of relations but clearly stems from the Aleut as well, who refer to imposed limitations as a language of explanation for a variety of circumstances. Limited entry systems in this regard are organizing systems for divisions between the land and sea, gender and generation, and the public and domestic spheres.

In investigating the status of senior men, that is, those men who were in their prime when Limited Entry began, I asked how the plan changed social relations. Those that were excluded from fishing are difficult to study because many left the village and the Aleutians; there are certainly fewer lineages living in King Cove today than in the 1970s and 80s. Today there is a wide gap between the haves and the have-nots in terms of fisheries access and fishing capital. Limited Entry has allowed select individuals to continue to prosper in fishing and forced most men without permits to sell their boats, many to leave the village permanently, and hence lose their identity as fishermen and their

immediate relationship to the community. Some have been able to maintain a link with the village through their relatives sending wild foods to them or "coming home" to crew. Being Aleut in many ways depends upon that link. Limited Entry also changed the obligations involved in family relationships, particularly with regard to food distribution, and for many, made the failure to live up to them an irreversible reality.

The strategies of gaining status are thus in service of a number of goals, and may bring prestige to the individual, the whole family or community. In the following sections, I consider relevant demographic factors that influence social relations, and examine family organization and status in terms of culturally recognized assets. I described the basic organization of the Limited Entry Permit system in Chapter 3. Here I examine some of the implications of that system for Aleut social relations. I then consider rank in its modern form through an examination of political and social positions. Generational and gender divisions act as units of analysis in examining identity processes.

4.2 Life Cycles, Opportunities and Limitations

Individuals experience the fishing franchise differently depending upon age, gender, time and place, and expectations. For analysis, generational divisions illuminate the different experiences and expectations placed upon them, which I illustrate in the following sections with representative examples. Elder, adult and youth are not rigid categories. The title *elder* comes with a responsibility that not every older individual is comfortable with. There are relatively few elders (estimated at 35 men and women), plus an older generation that does not quite qualify as elder or accept the role but they are still senior adults, a middle generation of adults (approx. ages 30 to 50), young adults (ages 20 to 30), youth (early teens to approx. age 20), and children. In this section, I explore social restrictions and opportunities present for age and gender groups, and consider individualized "senses of reality" (Bourdieu 1977). Levels of involvement in fishing influence obligations between people.

4.2.1 Demography: A Male Surplus

Germane to an understanding of life cycles is a demographic surplus of men for the Alaska Peninsula and Aleutian Islands. The highest percentage of men and boys statewide has been identified for the Aleutians East Borough resident population, where in an overall population of 2,697, 64.9% are male and only 35.1% are female (www.alaska.com).[77] Transient non-local fishermen increase this divide during fishing seasons. The Aleutians West census area comes in a close second with 64.3% males. The 2000 Census reports a population of 792 in King Cove, 59.6% male. For those 18 years and older in King Cove (n=623), 389 (49.1%) are male and 234 (29.5%) are female (Figure 4.1).

[77] This is a shift from a century ago: for the then Eastern Aleutian villages of Unga, Wosnessenski, Belkofski, Sanak, Morzhovoi, Old Morzhovoi, and Akutan there were 175 males to 234 females (Hooper 1897:17-23).

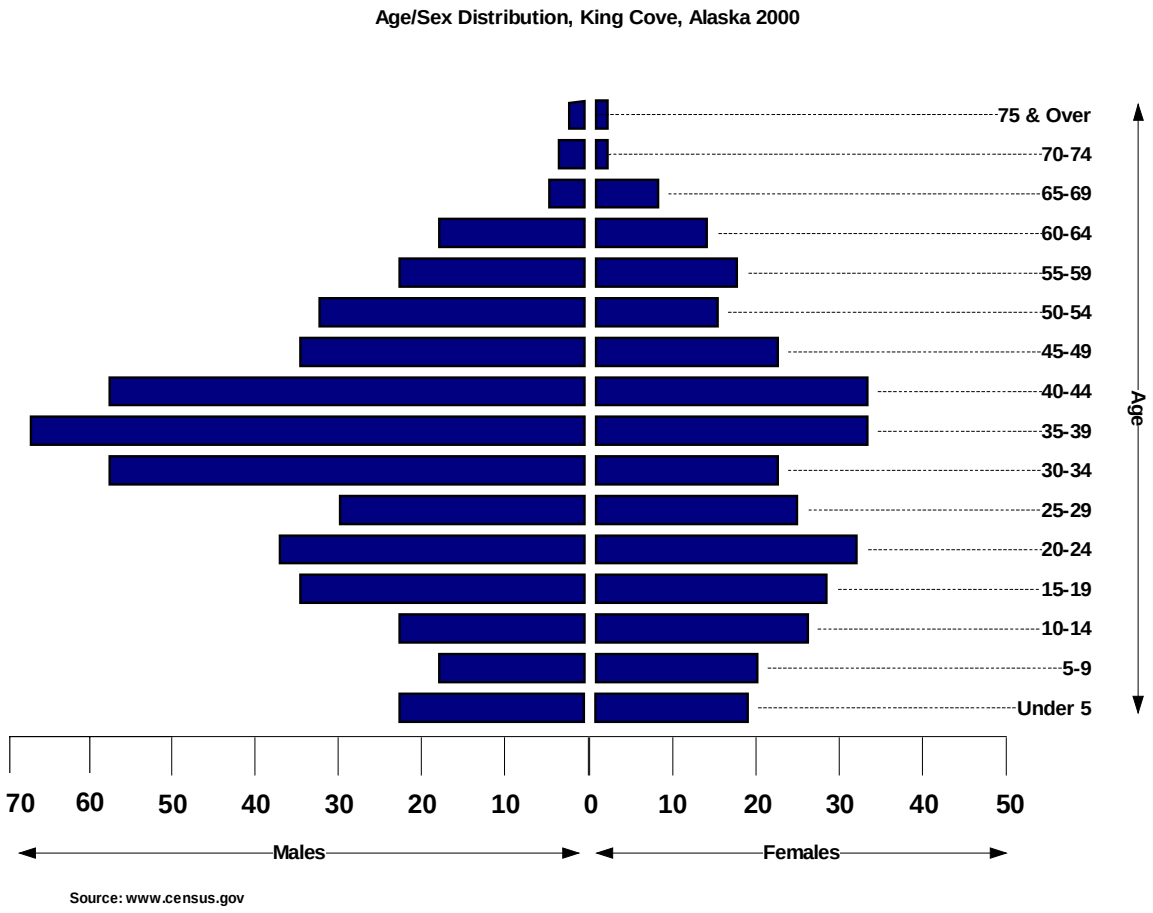


Figure 4.1. Age/Sex structure, King Cove, Alaska, 2000

The excess of men and the scarcity of women have generated factors that influence the prestige structures of both men and women. There are more men than available female partners, more men than there are fishing permits, and more men than there are non-fishing wage jobs. Within this, as will be shown, there is also a scarcity of the "right kind of man" for women to marry, though this does not necessarily preclude sexual relationships.

4.2.2 Children and Youth

Today, all children are ideally born in the Alaska Native hospital in Anchorage. This was not the case just a generation ago, where several elder women are respected as having supervised most births of the community. One teenage girl has the distinction of having been born on a boat en route to Cold Bay where her mother was to catch a plane to Anchorage. First pregnancies most often occur in

a young woman's teens or early twenties.[78] Because many start having children young, five living generations are not uncommon: in one case, an elder has several great-great-grandchildren and he is only 75 years old. Young parents with children are rarely married and most often still live in their parents' homes. These children are primarily raised in their mother's home with the grandparents. This arrangement is neither stigmatised, nor does it put the child at an automatic disadvantage in matters of inheritance or social opportunities.

Children enjoy a great deal of play and freedom, but are socialized for specific roles. Most young boys aspire to be fishermen, and play at being so. In the summer, they build makeshift boats and sail them across the waters of Heart Lake. These are highly detailed models of their father's vessels (Figure 4.2), but different from those displayed in homes in that they are meant to be played with. One afternoon, I was playing badminton with a six-year-old Aleut boy, knocking the birdie over an imaginary net. His aunt came out of the house, having found the net that goes with the game. As she was stringing it up, the boy said, "Auntie, it's like a fishing net. Can we catch fish in this?" When boys are asked what they are going to do in the future the overwhelming answer is: "fish." When girls are asked what they want to be, a few tend to choose more urban careers, but most often say they do not know. The Sunday school teacher at the non-denominational church said that, when they do art projects, *every* boy draws only fishing boats, and they argue over certain features and what the gear should look like. In almost every grandparent's home I visited, their grandsons' drawings of boats were displayed on the refrigerator.

Figure 4.2. Children's boat model contest, Fourth of July party, King Cove, Alaska, 2002.

[78] Teen pregnancy is cited as a concern for EATS, but seems to be less of a worry in King Cove because the family support systems are firmly in place.

As I stated in Chapter 2, school is not seen as a foreign institution, but is an accepted part of the community. Of course, school is not always considered relevant by students, especially teens, but that is not unusual. The school year ends in late May so that children have time to prepare for salmon fishing. School-age children tend not to fish for groundfish or crab because of school schedules and also because of the dangers present in these fisheries. In school, fishing issues can become part of the curriculum. One school exercise for all age groups was to write letters to the Congressional Delegation over the sea lion issue and ask for help in matters of fishing (discussed in Chapter 5).

When not in school, a great deal of non-fishing time is spent playing, trout fishing, berry picking, bidarki picking, exploring on 4-wheelers, and helping their families. Children learn how to clean, butcher, and process fish and game when they are very young.

Not every Eastern Aleutian child wants to grow up to be a fisherman, but every child has a "limited career perspective apart from some relationship to the fishing industry," according to a health worker. Teenage boys reject opportunities for summer employment, camps, or travel away from King Cove: "I can't. I'll be fishing" is heard at every turn. When one 16-year-old boy was offered an opportunity to work with my husband on his archaeological excavation, his father said, "If he wants to do something other than fish, that's okay with me." However, as the fishing season loomed closer, this boy decided instead to crew for his brother-in-law and made ten times the amount he would have made with my husband. Parents recognize that fishing has become difficult, and their children do not have the same opportunities that they had, but they are so entrenched, and enthusiasm for fishing is so contagious, that they are still reluctant to give it up because it means so much more.

Children often form deep bonds with extended members of their families, and may choose to divide their time between two or more households. Few parents contest these arrangements, which are rarely formalized or openly discussed. Reasons for children living with another relative, as temporary as it may be, are often related to disagreements with their parents, or they "just needed a break". In cases where parents are fighting, their children will voluntarily remove themselves from the house for a few days or longer and stay with other relatives, or with the anthropologist.

A few prominent adults in the community are openly critical about how others raise their children. Parents of this "next generation of fishermen", according to one couple with teenage children, "just threw money at them and sent them out of their hair. They were too busy partying and didn't include their kids in their activities." Now they are paying the price, they argue. "Children grow up really fast around here," a statement I heard dozens of times from all segments of the community.

It is often the case that those around age 20 are parents, a fact that launches them into automatic adulthood. Until this time, youth continue to enjoy a great deal of freedom. There are acceptable levels of irresponsibility, and often these behaviours get them into trouble with the law (see Chapter 6), but for the most part they are considered to be "acting their age." Most young men

and women have leeway in participation in commercial fishing and in subsistence activities. However, in several cases, young men are the sole subsistence providers to their immediate families or even to several households as crewmen. Young men spend much of their non-fishing time hunting caribou, geese, and ptarmigan, and honing the necessary skills.

Though there are no ceremonial rites of passage, marriage and/or parenting are key criteria for adulthood, along with responsibility in fishing. Having children at a young age is generally expected. Indeed when I began research in King Cove childless at the age of 25, this was commented on constantly. During pregnancy and after my son was born, the dynamics of interaction changed, and I felt like I became more of a real person to many people.[79] The community is child-oriented, and young women declare their love for children, even upon first meeting them.

Postsecondary education is fairly rare, and very few youth talk about university; those that do consider it almost never know what they will study. It is difficult to say how many actually leave for larger places, because so many come back and try to leave again. Most, however, remain in the village, in their parents' homes, and try to find work. Teenage girls are more likely to talk about education than boys are. If they do not fish, there are few local jobs that will get passed around by more girls/women than there are jobs. Girls rarely participate in hunting, but might spend a good deal of time trout fishing, picking berries, processing wild foods, and babysitting. A few young men cannot fish because they suffer from severe seasickness; these few are considering attending technical colleges outside of Alaska.[80]

A kind of intergenerational awareness of the fisheries impressed me. In late June 2001, when I was home in Idaho and heavily pregnant, I called up to King Cove to check in with a friend. Her twelve-year-old daughter answered and when I asked how things were going, she didn't tell me about her summer plans or some boy crush, she told me about the fishermen on strike. "People are sticking together, though," she said. "Peter Pan offered 42 cents but they are *not* going for it. Last night they all went out to fish 700,000 pounds for BP [Bering Pacific Seafoods in False Pass]. They're gonna split it equally. It's bad. Peter Pan is threatening to withhold fuel and other stuff if they go elsewhere [to sell their catch]." Youth are keenly aware of the plight of the fishermen, in large part because they too are deeply involved in the industry and way of life. "All of us kids around here grew up on boats," stated an elder. One non-Native health worker felt that children do not even get a childhood because of their role in fishing: "There is a blend of desire to just be American kids but they start fishing when they are six or seven." However, I never heard children complain about this!

[79] My husband becoming a father for the first time at the age of 42 was considered most unusual, since a good number of Aleuts his age are grandparents. His nickname given by our Aleut friend was "old man", chosen for having a younger wife and starting a family later in life than most.

[80] Many adult fishermen suffer from time to time too, but were slow to admit this to me since it can be regarded as the test of a true fisherman.

4.2.3 Becoming a fisherman

During a salmon fishing opener, which coincided with a huge storm, a 15-year-old girl was crewing on a seiner. The boat was severely rocking from side to side in the wind and the rain. The girl was on deck, pulling the net in, and every time the boat rolled to her side, a sea lion leapt up trying to bite her. It was bitterly cold and the deck was slippery. One crewman had already fallen overboard earlier that day but was rescued right away. The storm raged for the entire opener, forcing most boats to quit early and head for the harbour. When she returned, she told her mother of all the difficulties, saying, "Mom, I'm a fisherman now!"

This young woman knew that she had crossed a threshold and had earned the title of fisherman in that one salmon opener. It was harsh and frightening, and she did not just get through it, but got the work done as well. This also draws attention to a gender matter. As a teenage girl, she was crewing under the captaincy of a friend of her mother's with her cousin and his friend as other crew. Fishing is certainly not her career choice—she was earning money to attend a basketball camp out of state—and it is understood as temporary. She carries the title of fisherman, but that is temporary as well. After high school, she is likely to attend college (with perhaps a basketball scholarship) and most likely will never fish again. For the young men on the boat, it is a different story altogether.

For many young men, crewing is a perpetual status, and they strive to get on more successful boats with highliner captains. Becoming a captain is an impossible prospect for many, and difficult for others. Here I illustrate the process of becoming a captain with the story of a man in his early 20s for whom circumstances offered a way to the top. He is from a prominent family in that his father owns a boat and two permits and is often a highliner. His father usually hired his own brothers as crew and his son salmon fished with an uncle for several years, jumping on outside boats for crabbing and halibut IFQs. Thus, he is already in a prime position for inheriting an entire operation from his father, and has the skills to run it. However, his father shows no sign of retiring. His uncle, who has no sons, gave him the opportunity to fish the salmon season using his boat and permit. As captain, he organized his crew (two friends of his who are in no position to inherit) and in the first opener, they were the highliners. Everyone in town was singing their praises. Women began talking about them, the captain in particular, and took an interest in him in the bars, which, as a shy young man, had been rare. At the end of a successful season (relative to performances of other boats, but still low numbers because of few fish), his uncle, who had relocated further out the Aleutian chain, offered to sell him the operation. Thus he had proven his worth to his uncle, father, his crew, the village, and to himself.

4.2.4 Being a Fisherman

Being a capable fisherman is the essence of being an Aleut man. Adult men spend the majority of their time working on their boats both in the harbour and at sea, and must continuously

demonstrate their abilities as fishermen. Status is maintained through continuous hard work and success. Women support their activities by providing supplies on the boat and taking care of in-home responsibilities. Women also hold land jobs to provide money for fishing as well as for their families, especially in lean years. Occasionally they will fish with their husbands, but they often wait for him to send them fish to process and/or distribute. Men and women employ a wide range of hunting, fishing and processing techniques of most available wild foods that they have learned throughout their lives, and though most of these chores are gender marked there is some cross-over in activities.

In the course of fieldwork, men (and women indirectly) have both raised and lowered their status with participation in fishing. One couple I met in 2000 went through a profound transformation in three years time. In 2000, they fought all the time, and he was often drunk at all hours of the day and night. She held a few part-time jobs to support the family, while he complained most of the time. In 2002, when captains were having difficulties getting crew, he was hired on with a fisherman who has been a highliner intermittently during his career. That season, and the season to follow, were good for the boat, and with each opening, the crewman's demeanour changed. He became friendly, less hostile to his family and others, and quickly got a reputation for "taking care of the whole neighbourhood" by bringing fish to several households between openings. His wife also changed. She smiles now, and is often seen taking huge stacks of cakes and casseroles down to the boat for the entire crew. Her husband still drinks a good deal of beer, but now it is in the spirit of celebration more often than not.

I have seen it go the other way as well. As a seiner, one man had no extended family in King Cove (his brothers sold out and moved away) and had a difficult time attracting a crew. He could not afford to pay high crew shares and so hired young women, high school girls, who had no experience and were more of a burden than support. His wife was extremely ill and he had to accompany her to Anchorage frequently for extended hospital stays. He eventually turned his operation over to his stepson and had to leave the village. Still, he refused to get a land job, and today is engineer on barges in Prince William Sound.

In another case, an entire family experienced a downward slide when they overextended themselves just as fishing prices were starting to collapse. Their father passed away in the mid 1990s, and as a tribute to him, the family's corporation bought a seine boat and named it after him. With heavy payments due, large families to support, and poor fishing seasons, they could not cover their bills. To make up for losses, they took their seiner crab fishing in the Bering Sea for a season, which is extremely dangerous for such a small boat. While visiting with an Aleut woman and business manager for her family's fleet, the phone rang, but she was afraid to answer it because she knew it would be more bad news. When she returned to the living room she said, "The Coast Guard wants a stability report now. They are boarding the boat tonight. They may stop the crabbing. We need more

licenses every year. You never know what stickers or papers you're supposed to have." The bank eventually repossessed the largest of their vessels. They were embarrassed. While they realized they should not have bought the last boat, they wanted to commemorate their father in an appropriate way, and hoped that they could build a large family fleet in his honour.

Becoming a captain is extremely difficult now, and often it comes without ownership of the boat and with a temporary permit transfer. One fisherman boasted about finally having his own boat at the start of the season. He was "gonna do it right this time" where he claimed all his previous captains had failed. Later on, I learned that it was not really his boat and the permit was an "emergency transfer," meaning a distant cousin residing in Anchorage transferred it to him for this salmon season only. He hired his son and his brother to crew with him, and was fairly successful given the size of the boat and the temporary nature of the operation. Of course both the permit owner and the boat owner took unknown percentages of his overall income. This may be a situation in which this captain could "prove himself" and gain more permanence in this arrangement with the boat/permit owners.

Only one family has maintained a successful small business outside of fishing as their sole means of support in the way of a grocery store that has been in the same family for generations. They experience ups and downs along with fishing. There are approximately fifty business licenses obtained for King Cove, but most of these are small operations, providing filler income, such as childcare services, salons, taxis, maintenance, hotels, bars, eateries, charter services, and fuel sales. Many of these businesses do not advertise and are operated out of private homes on irregular schedules, so you have to be "in the know" to get a haircut or hire someone to watch your children. Women manage the majority of these land businesses.

4.2.5 Women in Fishing, Women and Fishing

As I have stated, fishing is a decidedly male activity, but women's knowledge of fishing practices and requirements surrounding the practices is extensive, though they may only occasionally step aboard a boat, and even less often may they fish. Women crew on a few boats; if they do not regularly fish, they can fill roles as crew on a moment's notice if a crew member quits, gets fired or is injured. With men gone fishing for stretches of time, women control the domestic sphere, and work in politics and community duties. Rarely do they fill jobs at the harbour. Men maintain some independence from the household duties, but they must also get along with other men on a cramped boat for long periods of time, and cook and clean for themselves.

Women assume the primary parenting responsibilities. As one woman stated, "I'm teaching them to be good people. I'm teaching them to take care of what they have, and know how to provide for themselves." In one case, an elder proudly boasted that he used to fish out in the Bering Sea almost year round and missed out on raising his eldest daughter. "I raised her by myself," his wife

said as a statement of fact, with no guilt implied. Men are often just as involved in raising children, and take great pride in their sons' or daughters' achievements in fishing. While I was watching boats come into the bay with one man, he puffed up when he saw a boat coming in with a full load, riding low in the water. "My son's on that boat," he said.

Figure 4.3. Frances Larsen holds up a piece of *ulla,* or whale meat, while also processing king salmon.

In the past, female pollution was a major concern in matters of fishing. Menstruating women were prohibited from walking the beach because they were believed to have the power to deflect fish. One woman told me that perhaps twenty years ago her father would not let women on the boat because it would "jinx it" and he would only take his wife and daughters on the boat on the last day of fishing season (After suffering a heart attack later in his life, he took his wife fishing with him because he felt safer with her there. Practicality wins over taboo). Today, there is no lasting belief that women are polluting and there is no institutionalised segregation, but they still experience difficulties surrounding sex and gender. A non-Native woman mechanic on a crab boat was the topic of much discussion between men, often over lunch in the cannery. They seemed to be trying to convince themselves that she deserved to be on board. I thought the reason was obvious: she is an excellent diesel mechanic. This was insufficient for most of the men, who debated whether she was a lesbian or whether the captain or crew were really "doing her", but many also acknowledged her skills.

There are no women captains in the King Cove fleet, however women do fish as fishermen, not as "women fishermen" (see also Allison 1988:231). On board, they function in many capacities: as skiffman, cook, deckhand, among many roles. Women are usually sexually linked to the captain as family or partners. Entire families might fish their own operation together. Women by and large do

not want to be equal to men in fishing, and the social rewards are not the same for them. Ortner and Whitehead argue that gender is a prestige structure where women's roles, activities, and products of their labour are generally accorded less prestige than their male counterparts (1981). This is true here as well, where men gain or lose status in providing fish and game, and women gain or lose status in food preparation and in the quality of the final products. Black (1998) adds that species hunted by men carried symbolic significance whereas species hunted and gathered by women and children are seen as utilitarian.

Fishermen's wives are sometimes shore-based managers, similar to Davis's "shore skippers" (1988), in which they balance the books for the boat. Also, following Davis, women who get too involved in men's activities are referred to as bossy. More often, wives remain separate from the business of fishing, and do not involve themselves with crew hires or crewshares, equipment purchases, or fishing itself, but keep to household and family management. They worry over their husbands, sons and daughters at sea. One woman fretted over her daughter out in a storm saying, "I'll sleep better when she gets home." One woman told a story about seeing a boat on fire far enough off shore that it looked like her husbands. She told of agonizing moments while she tried to raise her husband on the radio, and learned that it was her husband's cousin instead.

Women also act as a kind of reliability check for men's boastings. There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that men exaggerate the pounds of fish caught. One wife told me about her husband bragging to others about his catches, "but I see the fish tickets, so I know better," she said.

Figure 4.4. Jarred salmon, 2002. Photo by Lisa Wilson, King Cove.

4.2.6 Behind Every Successful Fisherman…

Successful fishermen require two things: a reliable crew and a solid marriage. Captains do not boast about how many fish they catch because they do not need to; their crews do it for them such that "everybody knows" how well they did. Almost every highliner or successful fisherman has a stable marriage. Staying at home, child rearing, and supporting their husbands are *valued* activities, and women are not pressured to do more than that. Marriage is about working alongside one another. Successful fishermen can attract wives more easily but they also need wives to be successful.

If his cross-cultural study holds true and "the single best predictor of the physical attractiveness of the man a woman actually marries is his occupational status" (Buss 1997:192), then we can look at non-random mate preferences and determine which characteristics are preferred. In Belkofski in the early to mid-1900s, Father Khodivitskii dictated marriage partners and rules as discussed in Chapter 2. Choices are made individually today, but there is some family influence. Members of some families consider members of other families to be unsuitable as potential mates, a product of long histories between families. By and large, young women strive to marry successful Aleut fishermen, or sons of successful fishermen who are guaranteed a future in the industry. In a few cases, knowing the uncertainties of fishing, several intend to marry outside the Aleutians and move away. For young men, mate choice presents a different set of problems. It is more difficult to bring non-local women to the village and persuade them to stay, so they are often torn between finding a mate or staying in the village and fishing. In 2000, the ratio of men to women over the age of 18 was 1.66:1. Thus, there is a kind of scarcity all around; there are fewer women relative to men, but there are also relatively few desirable mate choices for women. Above I stated that elite families tend to marry each other, and non-elite families tend to marry each other, and though there is no institutionalised local definition of incest, there is a sense that a few relationships are "too close," and in two cases that I am aware of families tried to block marriages.

The ideal is to marry or partner with an Aleut, as opposed to some parts of Native Alaska where women are increasingly marrying non-Native men and leaving the villages (Fienup-Riordan 1990a; Hamilton and Seyfrit 1994a, 1994b).[81] Several young women insisted that Aleut men are very well endowed. One woman stopped by to visit on her way to the harbour to see her "new honey", a man running a tender for Peter Pan. The first thing she told me about him, beaming with pride, was, "Kate, you won't believe it! He owns four boats!" Her daughter later mentioned that he also has a girlfriend in Anchorage, but that her mother was willing to overlook that.

In the 19th century, Veniaminov described a type of bride service performed by the prospective husband for his future wife's family where the bridegroom hunted for a year or two for the bride's family and might perform feats "to show his bravery" (Veniaminov 1840:II:75 in Hrdlicka

[81] Several women seek out white fishermen passing through because they are "related to everyone it town!"

1945:167). This form of transaction has modern equivalents. Permit transfers and crew hires have occasionally taken the form of several wealth transfer systems, where a man will crew for his prospective/actual father-in-law as a form of groom service, or a permit transfer might take the form of a bride price and be given to the male's family as a symbolic dowry.

It is common for every able male member of a family to be out salmon fishing during the commercial openings. Husbands and wives will fish together for many reasons, but also so they do not have to pay a crew, especially if they still owe on their boat or permit, which so many of them do. They send their children to stay with non-fishing relatives (or with the willing anthropologist) if they do not take them on the boat. Long fishing openings also serve as a respite between spouses. When men are gone, women and children seem to have more freedom in household duties and recreation.

Marriage Year	Occurrences	Rate
1999	6	2.8
1998	3	1.4
1997	4	1.8
1996	3	1.4
1995	5	2.2

Divorce/Dissolution	Resident Women	Rate	Resident Men	Rate
1999	7	7.2	7	5.9
1998	4	4.2	2	1.7
1997	2	2.0	4	3.3
1996	6	6.0	4	3.3
1995	5	4.9	6	4.9

Tables 4.1 and 4.2. Frequencies of divorce and marriage in the Aleutians East Borough, 1995-1999.
Source: Alaska Bureau of Vital Statistics Annual Reports.

In 2000, 86 people (49 of which were women) reported that they were divorced and 8 reported being separated (Census 2000). These numbers include the cannery population. Reasons given for separation or divorce are infidelities (real or suspected), accusations of laziness, drunkenness, and the inability to find employment or gain subsistence foods, initiated by both women and men. Several divorced couples still live together, in part because they share children, the housing shortage, and the expense of running two households. They might continue to behave as if married or have other relationships. Several women compared their husbands or boyfriends to bidarkis, the black katy chitons picked at low tide all summer that are often stuck so hard to the rocks that they must be pried off with sharp knives, a fine simile for their inability to end the relationships or move out of their homes. Many of these relationships were fraught with spouse abuse in the way of beatings, overprotective jealousy, drunken fights, and locking each other out of the home, but all were described in the past tense by women, even though these men were still living with the women.

Some spouses fear bad fishing years because of the potential for spouse abuse. In good fishing years, there is a good deal of hedonistic behaviour. Men might have been chasing women before, but are more successful in the catch now. Men might be compelled to travel to Anchorage to party, and consequently cheat on their wives. This goes both ways. "Some women pass themselves around when guys are out fishing," one man argued, and I observed a few obvious cases of this. Daniel Pérusse's study of 433 French Canadian men found that social status did not predict the number of children one has, but it did predict the "number of potential conceptions" (1993), that is those with power and prestige had greater sexual access to women (in Betzig 1997:8). At the beginning of certain fishing seasons, when there is an influx of fishermen touting themselves as highliners, an already sexually charged atmosphere is heightened. Though it cannot be quantified, the number of potential conceptions undeniably increases. In lean years, a few entire families, or more often just the male heads of household, will leave the village in search of employment. A few families reside permanently in Anchorage and return to the village to fish and catch up with family. Occasionally, divorced couples with children will find the father leaving the village for other employment, returning only to fish. His ex-wife and children are often left in the care of her extended family. The stress of coping with lean fishing years is often blamed for the divorce in the first place.

4.2.7 Elders and Fishing Indemnities

Security in old age is most reliable through one's own children, and possessing a boat and/or permit is a concrete index of a man's ability to meet his family obligations. Elders try to maintain their autonomy for as long as they can by continuing to fish commercially as crew or run their own boat. Having achieved their status (high or other) at an earlier age, elder fishermen are less competitive or daring in fishing and rest on their reputations as running "top boats" or other feats at sea. Elders who no longer fish or hold jobs of any kind describe themselves as "pretty dependent" on others to stock their freezers with fish and game. Having a large family and many friends is the best way to ensure that you will be provided for in your later years.

Elders take great pride in their work as youth, and might scoff at the younger generations. "I packed water, wood and fish when I was a kid. Oh, I worked hard. Now all these kids have 'push button.' They don't know nothing about that." For hours, this elder told of all the work she was responsible for as a child and teenager. "We made mattresses out of fifty pound sacks of flour and feathers. … Dolls we made out of men's socks with buttons for eyes for Christmas. … I packed spring water from up the hill in cast iron buckets as a little girl, and packed alders on my back for the wood stove…" Complaining about "kids these days" is a widespread phenomenon, of course, but the complaints here are usually in relation to the automation of fishing today or to village change. Having lost one son in a car crash, the other two crew with anyone who will take them, but often on top boats.

Their father did not receive a permit in 1975. “My husband died of cancer in 1980. I been by myself since that. I been barely making it.” Her sons do not assist her financially. She lives is a run-down house with sporadic heat, and has no car. She used to work for the cannery, and even misses it sometimes, but “there are too many Filipinos now.” Her sons are in the “wrong generation,” she said. Rubbing her hands together she described how her more successful nephew stocked her freezer with caribou meat and salmon. “That should last me all winter.”

Another elder, who divorced her husband in the 1970s but he still lives with her, has two sons who had fishing jobs all winter, but when I visited with her in 2003, she had no fuel oil for heat and had been turning on her oven to stay warm. Her ex-husband had left to work the summer in Bristol Bay and her sons went fishing without checking to see that she had enough fuel and food to last.

Though elders may not have the authority or respect that they might have commanded in the past, they are consulted on matters of history, family and fishing practices. They are honoured with an annual dinner and the entire community makes concerted efforts to look out for them on matters of health, family, food and basic needs. Elders tend to form a tight social unit themselves in playing bingo, throwing Polka parties, and taking banyas (saunas) together. Most have never ventured beyond Anchorage and would not dream of leaving Alaska.

“There aren’t too many elders around here,” lamented one Aleut woman. The number of elders in other communities never fully recovered after World War II, but this does not explain the situation in King Cove. With the prevalence of life-threatening diseases and poor health, most die before their time. Health concerns presented by a community health provider ranked Type II diabetes as the primary cause of death, with pneumonia, cancers, and alcohol-related health problems following closely. Death from “drinking too much” or “heart attack drinking” were common causes mentioned. A main concern of community doctors is the lack of physical activity, however, my sense is that physical activity among adults is high: fishing is a demanding occupation and requires great strength and stamina. Many youth begin fishing at a young age and often bear the same physical burdens as the rest of a fishing crew. Like many American youth, they also have aspirations to play professional basketball and train for the Native Youth Olympics during the school year to participate in the statewide competition of Seal Hopping, Knee Jumping, and the Eskimo Stick Pull. At the same time, many people hamper themselves from outside activities because of the fear of bears. Some are too afraid to pick berries or walk the beach.

The paucity of elders may also have something to do with everyday dangers. One elder lost nine members of her immediate family in the 1940s in a boating accident in the lagoon. Commercial fishing has the highest mortality rate of any occupation in the world, and overturned boats or accidents on the water have claimed many lives (DHHS 1997). Likewise, the risk involved in travel to and from these communities, i.e. flying low over freezing waters in small planes and dodging

mountains hidden in mist or, if the wind is too high or there is no visibility for air travel, taking boats through choppy seas. Since 1980, there have been 11 deaths related to travel to and from King Cove. These deaths have fuelled a fight for a road between King Cove and Cold Bay, which has the main runway for planes to and from Anchorage.[82]

Causes of death were discovered using genealogical methods tracing back several generations and covering at a minimum the twentieth century (following Dyson-Hudson 1985, 1995). This technique provided a reliability check for official vital statistics and gave a longer time frame in which to evaluate other social and economic fluctuations. Since this research began in May 2000 (over a period of 26 months), there have been two suicides, one murder, and 55 deaths in the combined Aleut villages (also Alaska Bureau of Vital Statistics 2002). Deaths from unnatural causes like bear attacks, boating accidents, hit-and-run accidents, and plane crashes were all described to me, though the majority of deaths were health-related. The rate for whites in Alaska is 75.2 years versus the 68.5 years for Alaska Natives (Alaska Bureau of Vital Statistics 1995). There is variation within the Alaska Native population, however the rate is lumped for all Alaska Natives, and modern Aleut life expectancy data do not exist.[83]

This elder generation has survived the booms and busts of multiple commercial industries. The middle generation saw the most prosperous years of the salmon industry and most have always called King Cove home. Young adults are in a generation with great disadvantages. They have seen their parents thrive in the salmon industry and have seen a constant decline over the years. Their own pockets swell every summer from crewing on boats, but this generation may be running out of opportunities. Marriages seem to stabilise with newfound success in fishing. Long-term relationships seem to have better success at fishing.

4.3 Family Organization

In the 1980s, Braund *et al* (1986:Ch.8:35-37) distinguished between major family lineages in King Cove based on surnames and male heads of household. Braund's study team identified seven "dominant families" (N=208 people) and 28 other families (N=244 people), the former chosen as dominant because it was their members who occupied formal leadership positions. If we follow this example, today there are 28 family lines in King Cove, 9 of which might be considered core families due to their size and influence. Of the other 19 families, two male heads are white, married to Aleut women. Limited Entry prompted a number of excluded men and their families to leave the village

[82] This road was not completed because it would have to pass through Izembek National Wildlife Refuge; instead, King Cove is building it partway and will use a hovercraft to cross the water to the town of Cold Bay.
[83] Laughlin 1980:10-15 discusses life expectancy data from Veniaminov's time to the early 20th century and found that they had considerable longevity in those years compared to other Alaska Native populations as well as colonial settlements in the Eastern U.S. See also Harper (1976) and Alexander (1949).

permanently. Though it is difficult to say exactly how many have left since 1974, I can say that in the mid-1980s Braund *et al* identified 35 lineages, compared to the 28 that I identified in 2002.

In my own research, it became apparent that many female heads of household, who are also sisters from the largest lineage, were strongly influential community-wide, and their husbands' positions', though highly respected and influential, were enhanced by and maintained with the status of their wives. Thus, male lineages are accurate delineations of some families whereas other male lineages, which vary in size and composition, are better delineated through linking female heads of household, who are also sisters. Through this "sorority", the families within are organized around fishing and sharing. If we follow the influential sisters, they form the female heads of household (though two are deceased) in five of these nine families. Living members of these five sorority-linked families including spouses comprise approximately 25% of the village. As King Cove's largest family, it is also the one whose members hold many political positions (description to follow, this chapter) and command the greatest respect, thus an extended family's position of rank appears to correlate with size. Members of the nine elite families tend to marry one another (or to partner with one another) while members of the smaller families also tend to marry (or partner with) one another, with some exceptions. Thus, individuals intentionally or by default maintain and shift their social positions through marriage. Many people described a kind of competition between two major lineages for numbers of children (18 children from one family and 16 from the other), and joked that they were "enemies," though they have intermarried several times over. They still discuss who won.

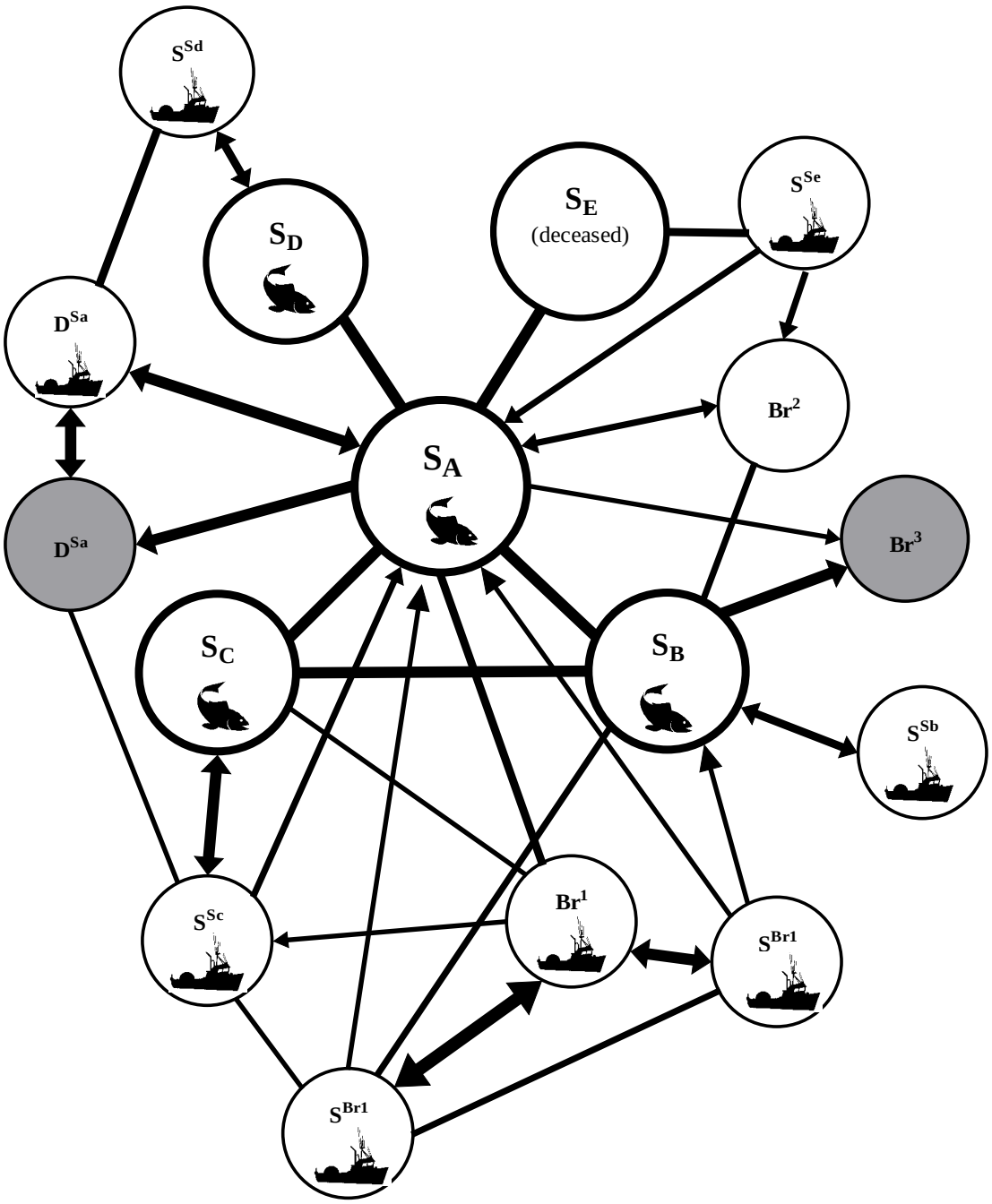


Figure 4.5. Sociogram of a sorority family indicating fishing assets and sharing, winter 2002/2003.

Figure 4.5 shows a portion of a sociogram of a family centred around a woman elder and her sisters. S_{A-E} are five sisters, Br^{1-3} are three of their brothers, S^N=Son of, D^N=Daughter of. Three of these sisters live very near one another in the downtown section of King Cove. The thicker lines show closer relationships and a steady flow of food sharing, care, and communication between them. These

often coincide with closer biological relationships, but there are a few exceptions. Thinner lines indicate relatives as well, but as associations with less flow between them. Arrows indicate the flow of actual foods (salmon, bidarkis, cuttlefish, crab, for example) but not the social relationship. The sisters receive the majority of fish and redistribute finished products such as kippered salmon or *chisu*.

S_A, in this particular network, is a primary node, with access to most everyone and their goods and services, though she does not have direct access to fishing through her husband or sons. Her status is ascribed in that she was born into a large lineage but is also achieved because she has had a long life as community health provider and is extremely well liked. Others' status is dictated by their connection to the node relative to each other. This does not depend upon actual communication, for example, if someone helps work on his cousin's boat, he does not arrange this through the lines of communication, but through his relationship.

S_B is a primary node in Anchorage as well, because she and her husband own a house there and spend their winters there. Most relatives who pass through or stay in Anchorage for whatever reason stay in their house, whether they are home or not.

In Chapter 3, I showed how King Cove is highly interrelated, but they do not always act on that relatedness. Figure 4.5 also shows that to get access to someone's labour, material wealth or sharing, an individual does not simply go from A to B to C to D, but through a node, an individual connecting them to another. Distance from people is not determined by numbers of links. Relatedness plays a strong role, but does not decisively determine the social relationship or responsibilities between people. If we were to randomly distribute cousins, this sociogram would look very different in that some are entrenched within the network and some are on the fringes.

Nodes allow people to leap between families, for example, you might have better relations with the in-laws of someone in your network. The shaded circles represent "loose nodes", those who are connected, but do not have opportunities to contribute many goods and services back, and do not allow anyone in the network access to another more distant network. Br^2's wife is deceased and he does not fish commercially, however he does accept fish from his sisters and friends, and will fish with rod and reel in town.

The above sociogram of sharing can describe a number of lineage-based networks, though in some cases, the primary node is male. Inheritance of property is generally transmitted through the patrilineal line regardless of whether the family is linked by the sorority or is delineated as a male lineage. In two of the main male organized lineages, corporate kingroups of fathers and sons have formed in which they jointly own property, as in boats and permits, and depend upon each other on land and on the water. Figures 4.6 and 4.7 illustrate the organization of these two family fishing groups. Families tend to own assets in direct proportion to family size in the village. These are large lineages, and their fishing assets reflect their size.

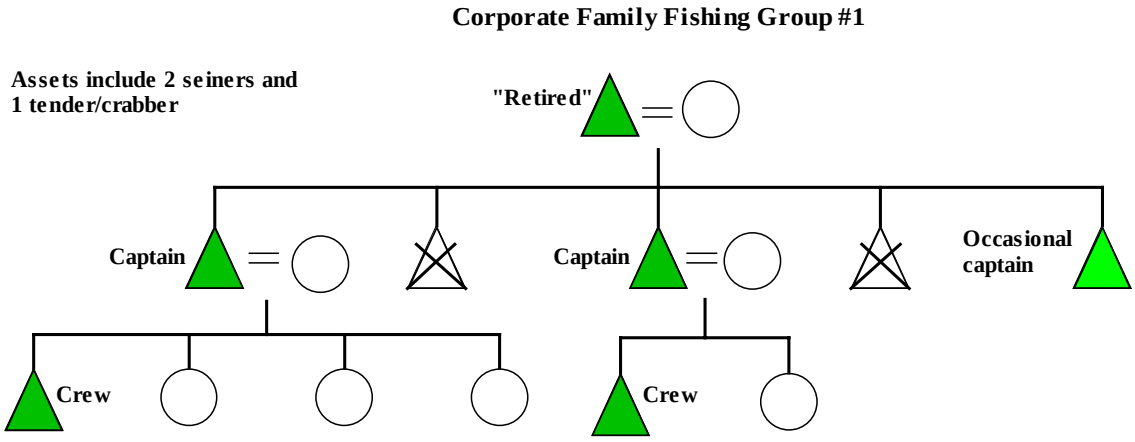


Figure 4.6. Partial genealogy of a corporately organized lineage in which the sons own and fish two seine permits while the father owns the boats. The father was "retired" only in speech. He is still in the Harbor House every day, and working on the boat helping his sons and grandsons. He will still go out and help tender during some openings.

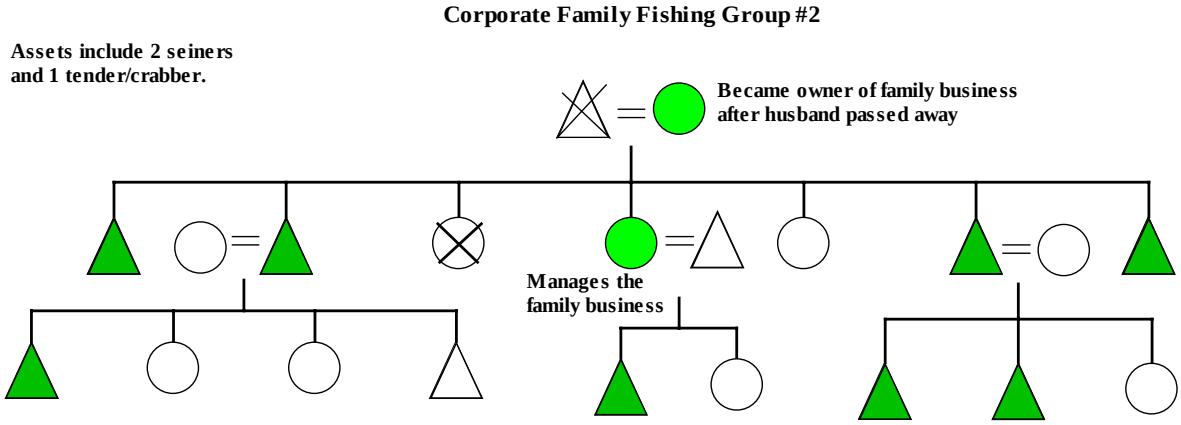


Figure 4.7. Partial genealogy of a corporately organized lineage, in which the family has formed an actual corporation, owned by the mother, managed by the sister, and fished by the brothers and their sons. The family's corporation owns the boats while the brothers own the permits.

4.3.1 Family Assets and Limited Entry

Limited Entry put a large number of fishermen who could not demonstrate a record and all future generations at a great disadvantage. As I have said, Limited Entry is arguably the key external structure that set the stage for future practices and relationships. There is finality in this plan, and they can never go back to fishing as it was before Limited Entry.

Strictly considering stark numbers generated in the sense of evolutionary biology, which investigates categories of social behaviour where the consequences of fitness can be measured, I compared the first and second generations between men who were issued permits as part of Limited Entry and men who were not. I cannot incorporate everyone excluded during Limited Entry because many of them left the village for alternative employment; these numbers, then, only compare those that stayed in King Cove and raised their families there. I selected 20 men for each category for whom I had complete genealogical data for at least two generations. Table 4.3 shows that men who were issued permits have more children and grandchildren today than those who were not.

	No Permit	**Permit(s)**
Numbers of Children	82 4.1/person (44.3%)	103 5.15/person (55.7%)
Numbers of Grandchildren	119 5.95/person (33.5%)	236 11.8/person (66.5%)

Table 4.3. Comparing numbers of descendants for 20 fishermen issued permits in 1973 versus 20 men who were not.

Are these fishermen simply able to support larger families more easily? Most of these fishermen also come from very large families with many children (and sometimes these households also raised others' neglected children), so are they simply carrying on the tradition? To be numerous, to have a large family, is a good thing. When one woman was considering having another child, her friend said, "sure, you *only* have three." An elder who died in June 2002 was praised by everyone at her funeral for having more than 80 children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. Another woman boasted that each of her parents came from the two largest families at the time of their marriage.

It does appear that in getting a permit, the reproductive success of that man's own offspring is almost doubled. There is a slight increase in numbers of children, but these children were able to do more in their adulthood, such as work on their fathers' boats and inherit boats and permits at a younger age. Several of these fishermen subsequently lost their permits through sale or gifted transfers, but the trend of larger families still carries through. These data are not meant to show that permits have determined family size, but they do indicate that men who received permits versus men who did not have had very different life histories.[84]

[84] Generally speaking, a longer time frame and more data are required to consider evolutionary patterns. These types of micro-evolutionary patterns will be part of my future longitudinal research.

In describing how he and his brother lost their right to fish during Limited Entry, an elder stated, “It’s a sad story. They were determined to faze people out. I was one of the early guys, just didn’t have a record.” Entire families were “fazed out” of the fisheries during this process, all of which were the smaller, less influential family lines. It is difficult to quantify this situation because many who did not receive permits had to leave the village, and those who subsequently sold or lost their permits in various ways, also left. Many who did not receive permits stayed on in the village and tried to fill “land jobs”.

As we saw in the previous chapter, the costs of entering and sustaining a role in commercial salmon fishing are very high. Several fishermen have lost their permits or had their boats repossessed over the past few decades because they could not maintain their payments. Assessing just how many fishermen suffered this humiliation is difficult because it is almost never discussed.

Comparing the effects of Limited Entry between two men, one given multiple permits, and one given no permits, illustrates some of the difficulties and advantages created by the system. The man given multiple permits, now in his late 50s, still owns a purse seine permit, setnet permit and a boat and fishes every season. His only son fishes one of the permits running someone else’s boat. He has held multiple political offices within the village, and manages a family fishing-support business. The other man, also in his late 50s, was given no permits, and says he is “retired,” collecting social security. Though he had fished and owned a boat before Limited Entry, he had to hire a lawyer to argue his case for whether he deserved a permit and lost the battle. Without a permit, he had to sell his boat. He subsequently held political offices in the 1970s and 80s.

The experiences of these two men are fairly typical of others with and without permits. There are exceptions, however. One man who was not given a permit was able to overcome the fundamental lack of assets because of his previous reputation and high status within the community, his family size, and because of his wife’s respected position and family size. He was even offered a permit by a state official responsible for their distribution, but turned it down out of fairness. His primary job for the next two decades was to work for the cannery and run tenders for them. He held long terms in every village political office.

In many ways, Limited Entry followed the social and status structure in place, but rewarded those with clear fishing records who were already well established as fishermen, and who were often from the largest families. Those individuals were permitted to continue their activities. Without dwelling too long on their misfortune, many of the men shut out of fishing were still resentful thirty years after the fact. They emphasize their successes on land in village government, but often their activities in office, or the political victories they accomplished, had entirely to do with reinforcing or facilitating aspects of commercial fishing for the King Cove fleet, such as harbour improvements or forcing the cannery to adhere to certain pollution standards. Thus, these men were disenfranchised

from *actual* fishing but fed back into the system and contributed as if they were fishermen, with all the same things at stake. These men, whether still active in the village in some regard, retired or even disabled, continue to take in the weather reports each day and pour over the Blue Sheets, the preliminary commercial fishing numbers released by Fish & Game during the season, as if they have the same things at stake as the fishermen.

Fishing assets and family histories in fishing are exhibited throughout the village. The walls of the King Cove Corporation bar are covered with photographs of boats, many eulogising fishermen lost at sea. Old photographs of boats and the village are displayed in most homes. Several men have earned reputations for making quality boat models to sell to the captains (fetching approximately $800). These are symbolic representations of capital, as well as pride. Two of these modellers have not had stable careers as fishermen, and have worked in the cannery or in other support jobs, but maintain an important role in relation to fishing.

Palinkas (1987) attributes the formation of social classes among the Yupiit in Bristol Bay to unequal access to the salmon fishery, beginning with Limited Entry, the limitations depending on which type of permit the fisherman has, and the differences in these technologies. The size of the family with the permit(s), family ties, or even the history of that family's successes or failures also has a significant effect in that large family networks can help supplement income or alleviate bad years by pooling resources and coming to each other's rescue. In the Eastern Aleutians, however, there is some evidence that Limited Entry did not create social classes, but altered a status structure already in place. In the following section I explore rank in its modern form, mapping positions that carry status.

4.4 Rank, Leadership and Village Politics between the Land and the Sea

I enter the discussion of rank by first describing the phenomenon of the village plenipotentiary—the manager, diplomat, and delegate invested with and conferring real power, representing local government on all levels: village government, tribal council, and village corporation. Every Aleut village has what one woman called a “Mama False Pass” or a “Papa Akutan,” a leader who holds multiple elected or appointed positions and is highly respected in the village. These individuals are self-taught (usually with some college in business administration), well travelled, hard working, and are often controversial. They tend to occupy elected or appointed positions as administrators on the village, tribal council or corporation level and command a great deal of status, often as much as the formal leadership positions do. In all but one Eastern Aleutian village, they are women (3 of 4 are Aleut women) and their political authority is both self-possessed and vested by the village fishermen.[85] King Cove has a “Mama King Cove” who sits on at least four separate boards within the village, the Borough, and federal and state fisheries-related administrative

[85] Cold Bay, as a government town, does not follow this pattern.

organizations, holds sway with every administrative body associated with the region, and spearheads development projects in the community.

Women control much of the supporting political structures of King Cove, while men fill the roles of mayor, corporation president, tribal council president, and borough board. Non-natives in the community have noted that it is “matriarchal,” often with an adverse tone, but the Aleut population does not have this attitude. Political positions are *tough*, and anyone who takes them on has the village’s respect, despite controversies that might come with the roles.

In an eclectic village such as King Cove, where multiple generations from a half dozen villages have come together in the past 100 years, there is an amazing unity in political pursuits. Tribal councils, Native corporations, city government, and the borough all govern the village, and sometimes their boundaries are blurred. The Aleut enjoy a moderate amount of autonomy in village-based decisions but they are also beset by a Weberian bureaucratic process. The map of positions that carry status are both political and non-political. Political offices are President of the King Cove Corporation, President of the Agdaagux Tribal Council, Mayor, Harbormaster, Board members of the corporation and tribal council, city council members, Aleutians East Borough board, and school board. The Belkofski Corporation and Tribal Council based in King Cove are the only enduring leadership structures from the former village, and they formed after the village was largely abandoned; their combined membership is less than 30. King Cove's Agdaagux Tribal Council is not a remnant of past elder leadership, but rather it was created little more than a decade ago in response to the national trend granting decision-making power and funds to local tribes. The cannery, whose community is largely detached from the village, was not directly investigated in this context, but there is an open dialogue between cannery managers and local politicians. The processing plant is made up of resident and transient administrators, and a largely foreign work force. Each division in the cannery has its own hierarchy that was not investigated at this time.

To discover aspects of the ranking system, I spent most mornings in the Harbor House, which is a gathering place of men essentially ranking themselves. This was unsolicited information from men entrenched in fishing, and there tended to be a consensus. Outside of this, others—both men and women—often, but not always, came up with the same information.

The relations between personal and positional status work in multiple ways. Some people gain positions because of status; sometimes status is gained because of the position. If we consider Fried’s definition of a ranked society “in which positions of valued status are somehow limited so that not all those of sufficient talent to occupy such statuses actually achieve them" (1967:109), then the modern Aleut might be considered ranked. This ranking is no longer ranked in the traditional sense, which went through multiple transformations in the past 250 years, but some families are considered elite and it is their members that qualify for certain political positions. Elite positions tend to be filled

by those who meet certain criteria, and contain elements of both ascribed and achieved status. As has been developing thus far, the position of fisherman is attained in certain ways, with a number of difficulties involved.

Political manoeuvring is a subtle play of negotiation and alliance and the ability to succeed at this depends in large part upon family size. Within King Cove, political power is determined largely by family status and familiarity with bureaucracy before education comes into play. However, those in smaller family lineages are also able to access political positions, but through completely different channels. Their methods of gaining credibility are through experience with bureaucracy, education, connection with the outside, and confrontational styles, in part because they do not have the family presence behind them.

4.4.1 Fishermen-Politicians

Similar to Rasing's description for Iglulingmiut where, "In the days of subsistence hunting, good hunting abilities had been a *sine qua non* for the political status of a man" (1994:191), being a good fishermen is an important component of an Aleut man's credibility in relation to political issues. Fishermen—captains and crew—are often referred to simply as "the guys" for women. In many fishing societies, fishermen are absent from the political process because they are out fishing for extended periods of time (e.g. Ellis 1977). However, in Alaska, fishermen and hunters often engage directly with politicians (for example, as part of the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission or with the Board of Fisheries). Successful Aleut fishermen hold almost all political offices within the village, and decisions are only made between openings when they are present. Increasingly, these Aleut fishermen are expected to strengthen their political positions and adopt the strategies of government politicians in order to continue their livelihood (see Chapter 5). For these negotiations, fishing seasons often coincide with critical meetings in Anchorage, such as the Board of Fisheries meeting held every three years, in which fishermen can testify on their behalf and hopefully influence political decisions.

Voting in city elections in influenced by the state of the fisheries. In good years, voters tend to put community interests at the forefront of their decisions; in bad years, voters tend to choose candidates that are more likely to allow individuals to "get away with the minimum," as one man stated. Before the October 2000 election, the mayor at that time lost popularity because he forced residents to pay their city bills, sometimes by cutting off their utilities. Those in leadership positions found it refreshing that he was balancing the books so that those that did pay their bills were not "supporting the freeloaders." His predecessors (and ultimately his successor) were less strict. Residents could accrue enormous debt with impunity. Thus, a *laissez-faire* approach is preferred in bad times in order to preserve capital for fishing.

There are hub individuals that wear many hats: they are simultaneously successful fishermen who hold positions in local city or borough government and sit on the boards of all organizations having to do with Native concerns and the fisheries. Most fishermen rely on the continued efforts and articulateness of these few in order to speak for all. In one instance, a representative from the Aleutians East Borough was recruiting fishermen in the Harbor House to give targeted testimonials at the next Board of Fisheries meeting in Anchorage. Only eight fishermen attended the meeting and none would commit to testifying. This reluctance is in part because of a sense of hopelessness, and because this meeting coincided with cod fishing openings, but also apprehension of the political process.

Figure 4.8. King Cove Harbor, Spring 2002

4.4.2 Family Ranking

A Sand Point family claims a direct line to Finnish royalty. Their grandfather was from Finland and "ended a worldwide tour at Belkofski", where he met their grandmother and moved to Wossnesenski Island in the Shumagins. When a granddaughter was married (her first marriage, in the 1970s) the royal family of Finland sent a crown over for her wear during the ceremony. Her father, this immigrant's son, was also in the Alaska Legislature. This is hierarchy in the extreme sense, their status fuelled to a large extent by their descendancy from Scandinavian and Northern European immigrant fishermen.

Genealogical distance from the core families described above does not necessarily determine political ranking, but it does determine *access* to certain political positions and influence. Those that do not hold the official positions nevertheless derive privilege from their degree of relatedness. In October 2000, city elections were taking place for almost every seat in city government and the school board. In this environment, people were intensely evaluating each other's leadership abilities. However, these deliberations were drawn down family lines, and the election resulted in an entire replacement of one family in control of the city with another, nevertheless these were still two of the largest families in King Cove. Families typically vote for themselves, so the leadership positions are passed around to the majority. A single lineage might occupy most of the positions on the city council, whereas members of another lineage might occupy most of the positions on the King Cove Corporation board. In 2002, Lineage A (Corp Group #2) held most of the city council, Lineage B (Corp Group #1) held most of the corporation board, and Lineage C (Sorority) held positions on the Borough board. This is a switch from the previous election where major families (unconsciously) rotated control, though different individuals might hold the actual positions. In 2003, an election year, families rotated control yet again. The Agdaagux Tribal Council seems to be more diverse such that members of the larger and smaller lineages are equally likely to be members of the council. Control of the Belkofski Corporation and Tribal Council tends to bounce between two of their largest enrolled families. As is common elsewhere, younger people tend to be disinterested or apathetic to politics.

There remains some competition for the administrative positions within the formal community structure because these leadership roles do in fact carry some measure of power. This competition is almost always between middle-aged men. Oftentimes, members of different major families will each occupy these positions. For example, during one term the mayor and members of the city council tended to be in the same extended family. These lines were not drawn exactly, but there is a discernable trend.

Despite the relative unity, political disputes can easily form between families over past events. "It's clannish here," said one fisherman/businessman of King Cove. "You have to be careful about who you hire." In a village of closely related people, nepotism in politics and land jobs is formally and informally suppressed, but not absent. (Nepotism is expected in fishing and sharing, however). For example, on the King Cove Corporation board, every member must disclose how they voted and give a legitimate reason for their choice to prevent any partiality. Nepotism still occurs, and there is a significant amount of complaining about it, but little action is taken because the members share a similar fate. In some cases, families control a block, but the one who holds the actual position is the one with more free time, willingness, or holds a land job, and not necessarily the best person.

The relations I have just described clearly do not fall easily into a single rank order. Instead, Aleut social organization is much closer to what Ehrenreich, Crumley and Levy (1995) have called

'heterarchical' societies, complex societies where segments within have separate internal hierarchies. Hierarchies are split between the land and sea, but there is also a great deal of crossover. In both realms, however, every political decision is evaluated in terms of how it will impact the fisheries. There is not a single ranking system; it does not map seamlessly across status/prestige gained through fishing and administrative positions. Rather there seems to be multiple internal structures of both low- and high-level inequality.

4.5 Status and Money between the Land and Sea

"I'm willing to bet billions of dollars have passed through here. Not millions, *billions*," said one Aleut fisherman, drinking at the Corporation bar.

"Where did all the money go?" I asked. "There aren't a lot of expensive cars and trucks here, nobody's house is all that spectacular, I haven't heard of people taking exotic trips or anything. So, how did all of that get spent?"

He pointed in the direction of the harbour. "Have you seen my boat?" he asked.

To non-Aleuts new to the area, culture is often assumed to be a quantifiable entity and visible only through subsistence activities, Native foods, speaking the language, and displaying distinct cultural items, like beaded headdresses, animal skins, icons or the like, in the home. "Culture varies from home to home. It shocks me. I'll visit one house and they'll speak Aleut and in the next home they can't. In one house, everybody will be eating Native foods, and in the next house, they won't even touch it," observed a King Cove police officer who had been in the community just sixteen months. In this sense, the display of Aleut items and language use does indeed vary from home to home (in my observations, variation in eating Native foods only applies to variety, not quantity). But examination of the household is not necessarily where one should limit their inquiry. Aleut culture should also be noted by what is absent from the home. Wealthy fishing families by and large do not spend their money on home improvements or material indicators of wealth as found in mainstream America, but on boat improvements or improved replacements. This is not to say that Aleut culture can be quantified by walking the docks at the harbour, but it is to say that boats are visible measures of individual and family status and that which is absent from the home, is almost always present in an unexpected form tied up in the harbour.

Up until now, the fisheries have been lucrative enough to allow year-round residence in the village, with lean years being supplemented with "land jobs". "Land job" is their word for any employment outside of fishing. Some have found niches for themselves that guarantee an income no matter the state of the salmon industry, for example, renting, storing and hauling crab pots for the crab fishermen, taking care of boats for non-locals that are stored in the harbour through the winter, chartering their boats, guiding hunts, renting vehicles, among others. There is often a tug between participating in both fishing and land jobs. For example, a woman employed by the city was resentful

because the current mayor would not allow them to leave their jobs with the city in the summer months to go fishing, something former mayors apparently allowed.

A few young people mentioned plans to leave for technical training, college, or to find a job elsewhere, but it was so few that it was not demographically significant. The tribal council has coordinated people for training for CDLs (Commercial Drivers Licenses) so that locals, particularly young men, can work on road construction projects and for "six-pack" licenses so that fishermen can be contracted to transport State and federal employees and cannery workers in their boats. Even successful fishermen with few bills are hedging their bets with CDL licenses, though several of these are perceived by less successful individuals as gaining an unfair advantage. This is an attempt at diversifying the economy, and is a form of "risk management" in the classic hunter-gatherer sense.

"Back in the 1980s, there used to be people camped in the crab pots looking for a job. Now you can't even get a crew. It started getting hard when the price hit 90 cents. Now it's at 47!" With the price of salmon being so low, there is a pool of top crewman who became unwilling to fish. "It's not worth it," echoed continuously. "We got land jobs now. These are a lot harder to get and we're glad to have them." These fishermen quickly snatched up these temporary "land jobs" leaving few potential crewmen for the captains to hire. The remaining pool of potential crewmen is from what I call a "generation adrift." They are the young adults that still live with their parents and are so intermittently employed, that they can never hope to own permits or boats of their own, discussed in Chapter 6.

On the 10th of June 2002, as the salmon boats began to trickle out of the harbour on their way to the fishing grounds, a usual crewman paced back and forth in front of his living room window watching it all with the VHF radio tuned in. Sporting a belt buckle with a fishing boat design, he lamented his loyalties. "I should have jumped ship. I could be fishing right now." The man he has been fishing for most of his life could not find a full crew of his own, so instead of running his own boat, he decided to go fishing with his son. This left him "stranded," he said. "I should've signed on with another boat." Those who considered themselves lucky to have land jobs still looked wistfully out on the water as they worked construction, and took their breaks in the Harbor House.

Three men working for the Aleutian Housing Authority came to replace the windows in the house I had rented from a fisherman in the summer of 2002. Though they were not fishing that summer, and two had not had fishing jobs in a few years, they spent the entire day talking about fishing, the price of fish this year, and keeping track of every boat moving in and out of the harbour.

Land jobs in themselves are considered to be lower in status than fishing, and though wage employment is necessary, there are no opportunities to gain prestige. In asking those men with land jobs what they do, they invariably stated, "I'm a fisherman," even though in some cases they had not fished for up to five years. Women tend to see land jobs for men as responsible and good, but should be temporary.

Political and economic striving are valued up to a point, but can be discouraged. One man who is relatively wealthy and does not have a large immediate family to support is often criticized for "getting everything." He wins bids for contracts using his boat, he guides hunters, he is one of a few that has a "six pack license" which allows him to transport people by boat, and he ran a local business until he sold it in 2001 for a profit. When a Commercial Driver's Licence (CDL) program started to train fishermen for a new career, he took the class and became licensed along with those in greater need. Many people see this as "unfair", but at the same time, he is one of the few that takes the initiative and creates opportunities for himself. He has the ability to organize other boats, their owners and crew to accomplish logistical tasks and has employed at least ten different relatives as crew for a variety of projects in the last few years. Though striving has social and political penalties, the rewards can far outweigh the social sanctions that may accompany the behaviour, and others also benefit from his striving.

4.6 Perfect Drift

During the June 2002 horse race at Belmont, where War Emblem was going for the Triple Crown, a horse called *Perfect Drift* caught the attention of the fisherman watching the televised race with me; his name was reason enough for the fisherman, a driftnetter, to root for him.[86] But it is not simply the impressive fleet in the harbour or the detailed boat models displayed in homes. It is not just that children play at being fishermen, or that the weather is referred to in nautical ways like 'dory breeze'. It is that all sociocultural expressions and relations are intimately tied to fishing and Eastern Aleut identity is a product of these relationships. A common farewell remark is not "good luck" or "good bye," but "good fishing." As one health worker suggested, fishing is a core metaphor for explaining life's phenomena, and embodies commonsense knowledge. For example, "Everybody knows a sou'easterly wind blows the fish in," and will make for a healthier, happier season.

Eastern Aleutian society weaves together two economic forms in practice; this coordination exists only as long as it is being continually enacted. The nuclear family provides a basic social unit, but the extended relationships and obligations transcend the household and solidify relationships across the community.

There is a great deal of pressure on men to fish, particularly young men. The majority of these men can never hope to be full participants in fishing, especially those outside the dominant families. The changing structure on the water affects community and familial relations, where Aleut women are finding it more difficult to partner with Aleut fishermen, where subsistence obligations are becoming difficult to fulfil, where politics and leadership are only accessible to fishing families, and where an independence ideal in an occupation dependent upon natural resources, state and federal regulations, a

[86] Perfect Drift finished in 10th place.

Japanese-owned cannery, and fish markets is becoming difficult to realize. The transfer of physical and intellectual property from fathers to sons has linked succeeding generations over time. Now, however, this system is limited in such a way that the knowledge and practices are being handed down but the property is more difficult. In getting a permit initially, it appears that the reproductive fitness of that man's own offspring is almost doubled. Permits themselves seem to be a key factor reflecting different life histories, and can be a guarantee for elders' security after "retirement".

Land jobs safeguard against the vulnerability of the business, as do working spouses. Wives manage the household, the children, and mend nets while husbands fish for days on end, and they may provide additional income if the boat has not been doing well. A male/fishing : female/land job pattern still means that when fishing declines, everyone is affected, not just the men. Women often become the sole consistently employed member of the family and, in the classic hunter-gatherer sense, are keeping their families alive with steady work while the men wait for a fishing opener or other job. "Males are tied into fishing but it seems to be matriarchal," stated a temporary health provider.[87] "They raise the kids [together]. All other responsibilities are up to the women."

Subsistence practices are often regarded as being loaded with meaning, even embodying culture, while commercial practices are often treated as devoid of meaning. The assumptions made about past practices are used to assume things in the present, for example that the Aleut have lost their culture and are modernized so they do not demand special attention in the present. In defining themselves as commercial fishermen, the Aleut have been treated as being non-Native. An awareness of traditional resource use among the Eastern Aleut has almost dropped from the discourse of state and federal agencies and non-governmental researchers, and has been replaced with references to "Area M", the Board of Fisheries designation for their salmon district. The following chapter describes external conditions that make the continuance of their livelihood an ongoing daily concern.

[87] Non-Aleut health providers tend to be fairly transient. Reasons cited to me by both the health workers and the community were difficulties in travel, personal clashes within the community, wanting a change, and promotion.

CHAPTER 5. FISH WARS, IDENTITY AND DEHUMANIZATION

"Don't people *want* to eat seafood? Don't they realize where it comes from? I just don't understand why they'd want to stop us fishing."

---Aleut fisherman in the Harbor House, 2000

5.1 Global Pressure

To this point, we have looked at local relations and how they are managed. This chapter turns to processes and relationships on and beyond King Cove. For Aleut fishermen, catching and eating seafood are the pinnacles of experience and they are astonished that others would not feel the same way. The international political climate of the environmental movement has shifted against commercial fisheries as viable economies, and large-scale fisheries are often presented as environmentally irresponsible, non-sustaining piracy (e.g. Bours, Gianni and Mather 2001; www.greenpeace.org; www.oceana.org; Stump and Baker 1996). In previous chapters, I showed how commercial economic relations have become an integral part of Eastern Aleut culture. Since Aleuts define themselves as commercial fishermen and their social life and culture cannot be separated from the practice of fishing, I have sought to understand the ways in which this connection can be threatened and how people respond to those threats. This chapter traces Aleut identity through two major on-going struggles: the salmon wars surrounding the Aleut, and conflicts between environmental groups and fishermen over endangered species on the North Pacific and Bering Sea. These events have brought about a heightened self-awareness for the Aleut, and have shaped Aleut identity in both common and heterogeneous ways. These affairs have also solidified public opinion and media bias in Alaska, and in the culture of environmentalism, against commercial fishing and against this particular, albeit misrepresented, fleet of fishermen. The burden on the Aleut to demonstrate indigenousness and possession of 'traditions' both within and beyond Alaska is constant. This chapter considers Aleut identity within a relentless atmosphere of others' denials of that identity.

Incorporating the Aleut into the larger American, Alaskan and industrial configurations, Aleut identity is influenced by, among many factors, conflicts within the fishing industry, competition from Chilean and Norwegian salmon farms, political movements against the industry, and an increasing awareness of a long heritage of marine dependency. Socially, economically and culturally prescribed outlets to status are continuously limited, eliminated, created, and shaped by local and global processes. The Aleut express idealized 'free will' as self-employed fishermen but only within external constraints and conditions. A wide range of contradictory agendas is constantly being asserted from multiple sources. Popular environmentalist discourse advocates conservation of wild resources for our 'national interest' and yet most Americans love eating seafood, and wild Alaskan seafood in particular. Alaska is bound by federal constitutional mandates to preserve wild salmon for subsistence use by Alaska Natives, but the state also depends upon revenue from commercial exploits. An urban

environmentalism seeks to remove humans from the landscape, or at least relegate them to Stone Age economics, and upholds certain species to advance their agendas. Other Native Alaskans want access to the same resources, and employ a variety of tactics to achieve that. These interests are not exhaustive, but affect how the Eastern Aleut express local identity. Most of these interests are out of the realm of control or even influence by the Aleut yet they have direct and indirect ramifications on their daily lives. In addition, the *perception* of global processes in relation to the fisheries affects a whole host of relationships within the community. Their position as Native arctic peoples has been called into question through politically driven assessments by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other entities. Dependence upon global markets has made the fishermen vulnerable yet also links them to larger processes. Aleutian villages are still dominated by family-based economies, but this relatively small population influences access to valuable natural resources, which have national and global economic consequences. The reverse is also true. As we saw in Chapter 2, Aleuts have a long history of global interaction and enduring economic pressures under different political systems, and it is this cosmopolitan outlook that affects their present political position and their own perceptions of political processes.

State and federal agencies, environmental organizations, and other indigenous Alaskans have unsystematically colluded to dehumanise the Eastern Aleutians. Policymakers have referred to the region, its inhabitants and its fisheries solely as 'Area M' or 'False Pass' without any mention of people, especially indigenous people, in debates over access to salmon. As will be shown, by creating categories such as these, a social reality is created that makes the Aleut disappear from the map.[88]

The terms *culture*, *tradition*, *subsistence*, and *commercial* are part of the language of Alaska and are used to argue for certain rights, however they do not mean the same things across the state (Morrow and Hensel 1992). This seemingly universal language through which very different local realities are translated often results in people talking past one another. This chapter also considers how this language is used and abused for particular ends. Concurrent with the salmon wars, environmental organizations have lobbied heavily against North Pacific fishermen, most recently with regard to the Steller sea lion and other species given protection under the Endangered Species Act of 1973. A significant antecedent to these movements is anthropology's misrepresentation of the Aleut on many fronts, for example as cousins to the Eskimo and/or as downtrodden beyond hope and/or reduced to nothing after World War II (see Chapters 1 and 2). These combined events are having profound impacts on the social and economic activities of Aleuts, creating intense uncertainty, and may negatively determine the survivability of Eastern Aleut villages. Their low population, lack of political representation, turbulent history, lack of (conventional) material cultural display or ritual,

[88] This is a fairly common strategy. For example, the Atomic Energy Commission defined the Northwest Arctic as "empty space" when they wanted to test their toys there. See Coates (1991) on Alaska Natives and the construction of the Trans-Alaska pipeline.

few speakers of the Aleut language, geographic remoteness and expense of travel, and full participation in an industry that has traditionally been associated with white men, has made it easy to overlook the living indigenous population. These factors have direct consequences concerning fishing rights. The battle between the Yupiit and the Aleut over salmon is also a debate over who is 'more traditional,' though, as will be shown, the Aleut were late to realize this.

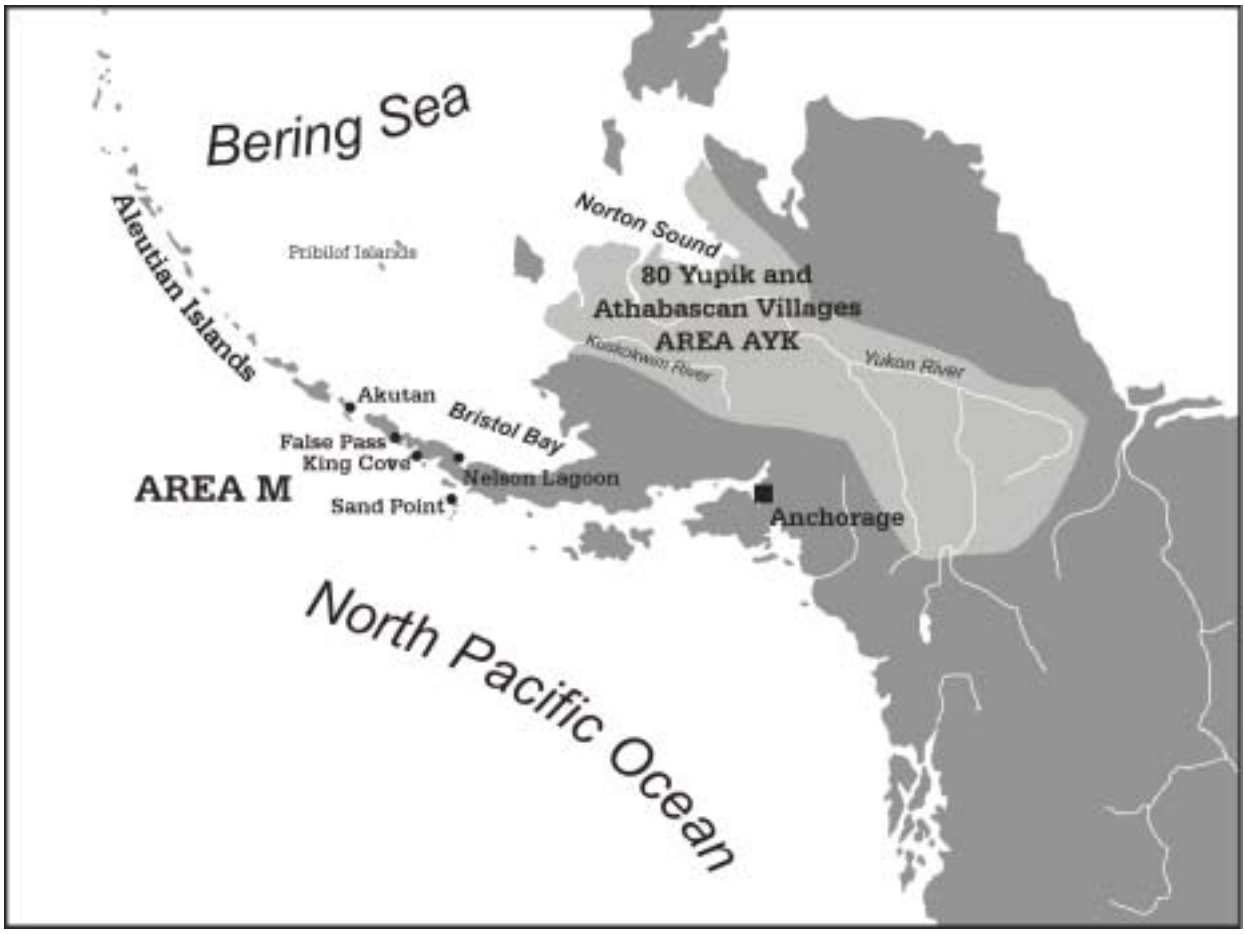


Figure 5.1. Map showing Areas M and AYK, with AYK's 2000 designated disaster area.

5.2 Salmon Wars and "Chum Chucking"

A longstanding legal, regional, and cultural battle over the stock of origin for chum salmon between Area M (western Alaska Peninsula and Unimak Island) and Area AYK (Arctic-Yukon-Kuskokwim) (Figure 5.1) has caused stress in both regions of southwest Alaska. Chums are incidentally harvested during the sockeye fishery along the south side of the Alaska Peninsula and

Unimak Island. Fishermen in this "False Pass" June fishery[89] have long been accused of taking obscene quantities of fish that do not belong to them. This is a “mixed stock” fishery where chum, king and sockeye salmon swim together on their return migration to western Alaska and Asia before sorting themselves out into their rivers of origin to spawn.[90] The people of Area M predominately fish for sockeye salmon for which the canneries pay better prices than they do for chum salmon (in 2000 Peter Pan paid $.85 for sockeye versus $.07 for chum, and even less the following years). Area AYK fishermen use chum and king salmon as subsistence staples and say that chum are also used to feed their dogs (although use of sled dogs is largely a thing of the past).[91] In addition to this chum war, Bristol Bay fishermen complain that Area M fishermen do not let enough sockeye through the passes to return to their streams. Area M fishermen had previously been allocated only 8.3 percent of Bristol Bay’s forecasted sockeye harvest for June, although in a 25-year average, they only caught 5.9 percent of the actual Bristol Bay harvest (Aleutians East Borough, personal comm.).[92] In these salmon wars, studies can be found that support both Area M (Rogers, Boatright and Hilborn 2000; Seeb and Crane 1998; Seeb, Crane and Debevec 1998) and Area AYK and Bristol Bay (Eggers, Rowell and Barrett 1991; Rogers 1990). As stated, the sockeye salmon fishery is when the Aleut earn most of their income for the year, harvest much of their subsistence foods for use throughout the winter, and during which a body of social relations are constructed through harvesting, processing and sharing activities.

There are vast differences in scale between the two regions: Area AYK fishermen hold more than 1,500 commercial salmon permits with approximately 30,000 people relying on the rivers for subsistence; Area M supports approximately 200 salmon permits and slightly fewer than 2,000 people (Malecha, Tingley and Iverson 2000a, 2000b; www.census.gov). In 2000, there were 85 purse seine, 36 drift gillnet, and 82 set gillnet permit holders who listed King Cove, False Pass, Sand Point or Nelson Lagoon as their primary residence (www.cfec.state.ak.us). These numbers do not take into account that some individuals hold multiple permits. Though these numbers appear small when compared to the combined locally-owned Kuskokwim, Lower Yukon, and Arctic salmon permits of Area AYK, it is greater when compared to the percentage of village residents in the region. In 1999 and 2000, 5.2% of the 29,585 AYK residents held salmon permits, whereas 10.7% of the 1,891

[89] The salmon pass through a corridor between the tip of the Alaska Peninsula and the first Aleutian Island of Unimak. The pass and the Aleut village located there are called False Pass, so named because it is narrow, shallow, and difficult to navigate. “False Pass” has been used as synonymous with Area M.

[90] Salmon are anadromous fish; they live in the sea but reproduce in fresh water (a stream or lake). They live in fresh water as fry, mature in salt water, and then return to fresh water to spawn and die. Sockeye and king salmon travel up to 1,000 miles upstream to spawn. These fry rear in freshwater lakes for one or two years, then swim out to the ocean. Sockeyes return to spawn in their fourth year and kings return between their third and seventh years. Chum and pink salmon fry head for the ocean; chums return in 3 to 6 years and pinks return in 2.

[91] “The mainstays of traditional transportation, the kayak and dog team, are only incidental to modern life” (Hensel 1996:49). Dogs have been replaced with snowmachines (1996:53) and dog mushing is now the sport of dog-team racing (1996:67).

[92] This allocation was rescinded at the January 2001 Board of Fisheries meeting in Anchorage in an effort to satisfy Bristol Bay salmon fishermen.

residents of Area M communities held salmon permits, or 7.5% of the total 2,697 Aleutians East Borough residents[93]. The Eastern Aleutian region is perhaps the best location to harvest salmon commercially, and a greater percentage of these fishermen received permits during Limited Entry.

In an effort to ensure that enough chum salmon from this mixed stock are returning to AYK to support the Yupiit's subsistence needs, the Area M chum harvest was limited or "capped" in 1986 by the Board of Fisheries, and Area M fishermen have consistently stayed well below the caps.[94] In 2001, the Board of Fisheries abandoned the chum cap, but restricted the June salmon fishery to just three days a week, and threatened closure in the future. Figure 5.2 lists the restrictions to Area M's Aleut fishermen in relation to chum salmon. This list is presented less to understand the specifics and more to illustrate the set boundaries in which the fishermen must operate, combined with the seasonally imposed limits. No other salmon fishery in Alaska is under such strict regulations.

The Area M fishery has been heavily regulated to conserve chum salmon:

1. June fishery must begin *after* June 10.
2. It is restricted to the Shumagin Islands Section and South Unimak.
3. Sanak Island Section is closed because of historical chum catches there.
4. Purse seine test rations must be 2 to 1 for sockeye to chum for two consecutive days to open the fishery before June 13. The test fishery may continue past June 13.
5. If fishery opens before June 13, seine and drift fishery is only 6 hours in the first opening. Length of the second opening depends on ratios and chum catch size.
6. First set gillnet fishery opens with seines but for 16 hours. It can stay open if ratio in setnet fishery is better than the 10 year average.
7. There is a cap on the number of chum taken in June, determined by forecast harvests of chum salmon in the AYK. Cap is adjusted based on escapements in certain AYK rivers.
8. ADF&G has a *priority* to stay below the chum cap, *not* to ensure that fishermen catch their sockeye allocation. They will close it down if it looks like the chum cap will be exceeded.
9. If the ration is less than 2 to 1 for three consecutive days after June 24, ADF&G may close the fishery, restrict its times, or limit fishing areas. Fishing closes on June 30, no exceptions or extensions. All salmon must be retained on board and reported.
10. Aircraft cannot be used to spot salmon.
11. Seine gear is limited to 375 meshes in depth and leads of 150 fathoms.
12. Gillnet gear is limited to 90 meshes in depth.
13. Setnet gear cannot be more than ½ mile from shore in South Unimak District.

Figure 5.2. Steps to conserve chums in the Area M salmon fishery. Source: Aleutians East Borough, 2001.

[93] www.census.gov; Malecha, Tingley and Iverson 2000a, 2000b.
[94] The Board of Fisheries adopted the "Policy for the Management of Mixed Stock Salmon Fisheries" (5AAC 39.220) limiting the maximum percentage of sockeye harvest allowed for South Unimak at 6.8% and the Shumagins at 1.5%.

In the same context, Area M fishermen have also been accused of "chum chucking", or illegally dumping chum salmon overboard that were caught as a by-product of the sockeye fishery. Years of suspicion that these fishermen were dumping chums so they would not reach the cap prompted law enforcement officers to dive below tenders and spy on the fleet. In 2000, state law enforcement filmed "chum chucking" in the Shumagin Island section of the fishery and charged three seine boats with illegal dumping; this was the first arrest on the South Alaska Peninsula despite years of complaints from both the South Peninsula fishermen and from areas with declining chum runs on the Yukon and Kuskokwim rivers (Paulin 2000). Area M's fishermen are required by state law to keep and record all bycatch chums. The fishermen charged claimed that most of what they were pitching overboard was bycatch pollock. Hostilities abound over chum chucking. Even within the Area M fishery, for example, King Cove fishermen will look after Sand Point fishermen, though they do not usually report illegal dumping. Of the three fishermen arrested in 2000, two were from Sand Point and one was from Washington State. Some King Cove residents were angry that this incident reflects negatively on all Aleutian fishermen.

5.2.1 Disasters

In July 2000, then Governor Tony Knowles signed a salmon disaster declaration for the Yukon, Kuskokwim and Norton Sound areas after their salmon returns were measured at less than 50 percent of the twenty-year historic average.[95] Families that fish on these river drainages were getting almost no fish. The disaster area comprised 240,000 square miles and some 80 villages along the Yukon, Kuskokwim, Koyukuk, Porcupine, and Tanana Rivers (See Figure 5.1, shaded in lighter grey). 30,000 people, of whom 80 percent are Alaska Natives, reside in the disaster area where the vast majority depends on salmon for subsistence and commercial uses. Knowles argued that activities in the Area M fisheries were threatening the spawning needs of western Alaska salmon and the subsistence demands of its residences. Knowles stated, "Specifically, I am writing a letter to the State Board of Fisheries that says we must take measures before the next fishing season to stop the interceptions that threaten subsistence and spawning needs of these western Alaska stocks in the Area M fishery" (Press release, Knowles, 7/19/00). The following month, he reiterated, "As governor, I have a constitutional responsibility to manage for the sustained yield of Alaska's resources and state statutes clearly make subsistence the highest priority among consumptive uses of our salmon," Knowles said. "To provide for the conservation and subsistence needs, I am calling today for action by the State Board of Fisheries and the North Pacific Fishery Management Council to halt incidental

[95] Alaska Division of Emergency Services, 2000. Fisheries disaster declarations are not new to Alaska. In 1953, the entire state was declared a federal disaster area due to a lack of fish. It should be noted that Yukon, Kuskokwin, and Norton Sound regions were also declared disaster areas in 1998. Bristol Bay and Kuskokwin River regions were declared disasters in 1997.

harvest of these stocks in state and federally-managed waters" (Press release, Knowles, 8/9/00). Nowhere in the Governor's numerous press releases, letters to federal and state officials, speeches, and declarations is there any concern for Eastern Aleutian residents. They have been dehumanised as "Area M", and their economic lifeblood described as “bycatch,” “interception,” or “incidental harvest,” without any mention of Aleut people. Most of this conflict has been mediated through state agencies with minimal Aleut-Yupiit direct interactions regarding a solution. The state, therefore, made pronouncements through “constitutional responsibility” that legitimised sentiments in Area AYK, and created a negative image of Area M that was adopted across the state. In this way, they dictated truth and morality through their control of communication (Foucault 1977). Stating that Area M is responsible made Area M responsible, without consideration of Area M’s people.

Complete with fish skeleton logo, Knowles named the disaster relief effort in the AYK region "Operation Renew Hope"[96] and appointed his deputy commissioner of the Department of Community and Economic Development (DCED), who is from the mixed Yupiit/Ingalik (Athapaskan) village of Nulato on the Yukon, as disaster response chief. The operation organized relief efforts by creating government jobs in the area and sending chums caught in other parts of Alaska to some of the villages. A disaster declaration from the federal Department of Commerce prompted Knowles and state senators to try to secure additional federal funds for community assistance and for scientific research on the causes of run failures and how to rebuild the salmon stocks. Based on previous stock identification studies mentioned above, Knowles concluded that approximately half the king and chum salmon in Area M originate in Southwest Alaska (and the rest are bound for Russia and Japan). The state's map (Figure 5.1) indicating a broad swath of destruction affecting 80 villages and almost 30,000 people is a powerful image, and certainly no match for 2000 Aleuts in four villages on a thin corridor on the fringes of the state.[97]

The needs in Area AYK are great; the residents are not getting the subsistence foods they require. The needs of the Aleut are just as critical to their survival. It is the cause for the lack of salmon that is in dispute. Causes of crashes in salmon runs are largely unknown, but they have occurred periodically for thousands of years independent of human activity (Finney 1998).[98]

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[96] www.state.ak.us, Operation Renew Hope link.

[97] Most maps of Alaska cut off the Aleutians altogether or inset the island chain somewhere in Prince William Sound. This treatment in maps adds to a sense of marginalization, prompting The Aleut Corporation the stretch the Aleutian chain across the cover of their the first annual report in 1972 and place a shrunken mainland floating aimlessly in the North Pacific (Morgan 1980; Reedy-Maschner 2001).

[98] Salmon fry mortality due to predation by other fish species and birds can be extensive during their migration, estimated between 15% and 85% on lakes and rivers in Canada and Alaska. Bruce Finney's study of marine nitrogen in the salmon spawning lakes of the North Pacific found that the greatest measure of productivity is not based solely on how many fish spawn in that stream, but on how many fish die there (Finney 1998, Finney *et al* 2000). When salmon die, they create a deposit of marine nitrogen in the freshwater streambed, which nourishes the growth of plankton, an important nutrient to young salmon. Nitrogen 15, which he translated into actual salmon, is taken up by the plankton and deposited in the sediments. Finney cored these streambeds and found

In reading through Governor Knowles' press releases and letters to state and federal officials, he made it clear that it is "imperative that all segments of the industry share in the responsibility for conservation." Although he never acknowledges that Area M is made up of indigenous people, there is a sense that he advocates a type of "levelling out" of the standard of living for all Alaska Natives, even if that means lowering the standard for Aleuts to a level they have never experienced. No Aleut I spoke with ever disputed the hardships faced in Area AYK, they simply do not think that they are responsible.

Of particular note is that Aleut fishermen often call themselves Area M (see Figure 5.3), in large part, I believe, because politicians and regulators use it broadly to designate the Aleut salmon fishery and the people. "Area M: that's what our culture is; that's all we know," said one Aleut woman.

Figure 5.3. Bumper sticker distributed by the Aleutians East Borough, 2000.

This appeal for help perhaps would have been more effective if it highlighted that unfair fishing restrictions destroy *Aleut* communities. By saying 'Area M,' the Aleut make use of a term that they feel is reasonably synonymous with their fishery and way of life without fully recognizing that the term itself was loaded with negative connotations.

5.2.2 Closing Area M: "Genocide for Votes"

The state government's solution to the fisheries problems along the western Alaska rivers was presented as a solution to their social problems as well as economic. Substance abuse, family violence, sexual assault, suicide and mental health concerns are well documented in western Alaska (Fienup-Riordan 1994; Lee 1995, 2000; Palinkas 1987; Shinkwin and Pete 1982, 1983). These "solutions" are also more than an economic threat to Aleuts. The state demands that all salmon user groups share the burden of subsistence conservation, but by increasing restrictions, they might create the same problems (or intensify existing ones) in Aleut villages that have plagued western Alaska villages for decades, something I consider more fully in Chapter 6.

The term *genocide* appeared intermittently in my conversations with Aleut fishermen:

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huge fluctuations in productivity over the last few thousand years. Yearly fluctuations in salmon runs are of no significance given the centuries of wavelike crests and troughs.

> "King Cove is dying, it's going to die. Uh- In a way it's a form of genocide, I imagine. They've taken all our resources, not allowing us to fish them, giving 'em to other people. The halibut is given to the Seattle fleet. We sit down and watch them fish all spring, bringing in load after load of halibut while we can't go and get 'em. The taking of our June fishery will be genocide, and I will call it that." (Aleut seine fisherman, 10/2000)

Genocide implies deliberate attempts to annihilate the Aleut population, which I do not believe is anyone's intention, but many Aleut recognize their own vulnerability, as revealed in the following comment:

> "Commercial fishing has become our subsistence. It's the only thing we have. And it's slowly being taken away from us, all of it is. Not slowly, it's being taken away from us fast. They're taking that away, it's genocide. There's no other hope for us down here, there's no- there's no tourists." (Aleut seine fishermen, 10/2000) (Continuation of quote introduced in Chapter 3)

Aleut survival depends upon a successful industry. Tourism has become critical to the economic future of most of the arctic as "cultural preservation through cultural presentation" (Nuttall 1998:125, on Greenland). Nadel (1984) explores how an east coast Scottish "fishing village" which no longer fishes can maintain social identity through tourism after the basis for existence is lost. Though ecotourism has been developing in the Pribilof Islands where fur seals are a main attraction (Merculieff 1997), a few guided hunts in the Eastern Aleutians do not make a tourism industry. They have no main attraction. Only a few King Cove fishermen have charter licenses for their boats, and even fewer are licensed to guide.

Among the Aleut seine fishermen, who have far more expenses than gillnetters, there was a profound sense of hopelessness in their ability to make bank payments on boat loans in the future. After a seine fisherman said he could not make his payments that year (2000), I asked what his chances would be of recovering that payment the following year.

> "There's no chance whatsoever. Probably won't even have a June season according to the Governor. Without the June season there is no chance of recovering. They might as well come and take the boats right now probably. Take our houses. Put us on the streets in Anchorage, I guess." (Aleut fisherman, 10/2000).

Many King Cove fishermen expressed feelings that their livelihood is an easy platform for politicians to campaign on without having any understanding of the needs of the Aleut people or how to manage the fisheries. For example, in discussing his feelings of uncertainty, a fisherman upgraded his emotion to anger at the thought of the politicians.

> "Lot of anger. There's a lot of anger in this town. Simple fact is it's all political. We're gonna lose our, our whole livelihood because somebody wants some votes. That's what really, it's not for any good reason that we're gonna be losing the- just for votes. Our whole lifestyle is gonna change because of it." (Aleut fisherman, 10/2000)

Many Aleut fishermen put the blame for the salmon conflict on the state's politicians and less on the Yupiit. To my question regarding whether this is just between the Aleut and Yupiit, another fisherman indicated that the state perpetuates the animosity to their own ends,

> "Well, there's a lot of bad feelings about it. There's bad feelings up there [in the Y-K Delta]. People- It's a political deal, it's always been political. The politicians will promise to get rid of Area M fishermen to get elected, and uh, they don't worry about our votes. There's not enough to make any difference. But they, they promise, make promises like that, they, they- The state's kept this fight alive. Politicians have. Because it is always a good vote getter." (Aleut fisherman 10/2000)

It is my sense that this is fairly accurate. This particular fisheries issue has been a platform for many political campaigns in the past decade. If the last major state election is a model, Area M will continue to be used as a pawn in elections.

A major factor contributing to the Aleuts' negative feelings towards the state stem from inconsistencies in harvest regulations between the two regions, which are seen as "unfair" by many Aleut. Subsistence regulations, like commercial regulations, vary by region of Alaska, and although different regions may require different rules to maintain the health of marine resources and balance them with the subsisting populations, the differences in regulations between Areas AYK and M also appear to be politically driven, illustrated in Table 5.1. For Area AYK, there have fewer permit requirements, no take limits, and few time limits. For Area M, they must always have permits, they have set harvest limits and time limits, are required to keep records of their subsistence fish on the reverse side of their permits and turn them back in to the State.

Area AYK	Area M
No subsistence permit required for any species, except in a few small sections of inland rivers.	Subsistence permit required for salmon, rainbow, steelhead and halibut; No permit for other fish species.
No harvest limits set on any species	Salmon limit of 250
Few time limits (only in specific districts and for 1 day before a commercial fishing opener)	No salmon taken within 24 hours before or 12 hours following and within a 50 mi radius of a commercial fishing opener
Gear limits: for salmon only gillnet, beach seine, fishwheel, and rod & reel are allowed; by spear in a few areas. No gear restrictions on other fish species.	Gear limits: for salmon and other fish species only seine, gillnet, rod and reel, or gear specified on the permit allowed.
No record keeping required	Record keeping required on the reverse side of the permit, returned Oct 31 to the Federal Subsistence Board.

Table 5.1. Subsistence regulations from Areas AYK and M (From Reedy-Maschner 2001:67).

Most Aleuts see these regulatory differences as one more piece of evidence that they have few "rights." Regulations always lead to more regulations. What is most striking is that there is no record of what fishermen in Area AYK are pulling out of the rivers, whereas most fish the Aleut take are accounted for (except for commercial removal, described in Chapter 3). "Whatever they let us," to

reiterate a fisherman's quote from Chapter 3, indicates the perceived arbitrariness of imposed regulations on the Aleut and the sense that it is out of their control. A sense of unfairness is felt among both the Aleut and the Yupiit; the Aleut have been regulated to the point that they spend more time "on the beach" than on the water and the Yupiit still are not getting the fish they need. The claims both groups have made for their own rights have selectively used state and federal language.

5.2.3 Aleut-Yupiit Relations: "every fishery is an interception fishery"

"The Kuskokwim Eskimo [Yupiit] say their fish is from here. How can they say that? They say 'all our fish.' I don't know how *we're* going to survive" (Elder Aleut woman, 10/2000).

My assessment of Yupiit-Aleut relations regarding the salmon wars comes solely from fieldwork in the Aleutians and from an understanding of the anthropological literature on the Yup'ik region, and thus is not a balanced picture. Nevertheless, it is the Aleut perception of the Yupiit receiving favourable treatment that fuels much of their antagonism and this sense of unfairness has grown out of the reality that the two regions are subject to vastly different rules and regulations.

The Yupiit have long claimed the resources on a different basis than the Aleut. They have used a language of indigenous rights, that they have done the same things "since time immemorial," and hence are unassimilated, unconquered and have the unique right to use a variety of resources in quantities and customs in which no one else is entitled (Fienup-Riordan 1990a:167-191, 2000:19). They have also used the state 'Subsistence Law', which gives priority to that usage of salmon. Thus, they combine indigeneity as defined by Federal Indian law with state preference for subsistence to lay their claims. The Aleut, on the other hand, do not claim indigenous rights to the fish (yet) and may have a long history of commercial production, but do not consider themselves to be transformed into assimilated producers. Rather their traditional practices have changed and adapted to modernization, and they are one of several groups who use the resources in ways that combine customary subsistence with commercial practices. This self-evaluation has not been politically effective for the Aleut.

One King Cove woman stated, "There is more political power up north in AYK. Their voices are twice as loud, heard twice as much, and they are yelling subsistence." The Aleut could simply change their rhetoric and argue on equal grounds. A Borough representative counselled a group of fishermen in the Harbor House saying, "In order to fight the Yup'iks [sic], you have to say it's affecting my culture, my whole life, like they are."

Recognizing that they may have to adopt the same strategies that the Yupiit employ, they are, however, arguing with the same terms even though they have different meanings. When an Aleut argues for subsistence, he or she is doing so in relation to commercial activities.

"Every fishery is an interception fishery," one Aleut elder reasoned, and salmon are always bound for somewhere else. Even on the Yukon River, villages complain that those downstream from

them are taking too many fish before they get upriver. In the 1970s, Athapaskans in Canada's Yukon Territory protested on the basis that Alaska's Yupiit and Athapaskans were taking too many Yukon River king salmon before they reached the headwaters. Trawling and other international fishing activities out in the ocean are impacting the runs before they even begin to head back to the rivers to spawn. But maybe the activities at the other end of the migration share the burden. Aleuts perceive greater political power north in the AYK area, however, they are more economically depressed: a woman said, "It's like the Third World up there." "I saw a lot of waste in those villages," said one fisherman's wife whose husband fished out of Unalakleet, a Yup'ik village on Norton Sound. Some fishermen had the opinion that the Yupiit are upset because, instead of being able to catch their dog food, now they have to buy it. King Cove fishermen grumble about how careless Yup'ik fishermen are, that they are over-fishing rivers, they are ruining spawning beds or stripping roe from fish, and that their villages are dirty.

These depictions, I believe, are a way for the Aleut to say, "We are not to blame for the Yupiit's problems." Many Aleut say that the Yupiit must take care of their own rivers and villages if they want healthy salmon stocks to return to them. The Yupiit also blame fishing problems on the "wasteful practices of both Native and non-Native fishermen," that salmon choose which nets to entangle themselves based upon the practices of the fishermen (Fienup-Riordan 2000:52). Chum chucking is a wasteful practice, adding an accusation that the Aleut fishermen are recklessly turning the fish away. If the Aleut are being wasteful, why are salmon choosing to entangle themselves in their nets? However, logic does not necessarily enter the discussion, since these are ideological arguments for ideological reasons. The Yupiit also claim the resources over non-Natives because of their long social relationship to fish and wildlife (2000:19). The Aleut do not share these beliefs with the Yupiit, and do not often challenge non-Native fishermen's roles in fishing.

Little of what the Aleut state about Yup'ik wasteful practices is based on first-hand knowledge of their villages. The following discussion, however, is with an Aleut fisherman who visited the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta several decades ago. His comments only partially reflect past practices, not those of today.

Fisherman: In 1920, and before that, all the Indians in the Alask- in the Kuskokwim and the Yukon, all the Indians were starving up there because of one cannery. In 1920, I think it was 20 or 21, Congress shut down all commercial fisheries on the Yukon because of this. They didn't shut down Area M. Their fishery came back even though we weren't shut down. Historically, those rivers cannot support a commercial fishery. The State of Alaska gave them two thou, upwards of two thousand commercial fishery licenses, and they wiped out their own fishery. You can't fish right on the spawning grounds of any salmon stream and hope for something to come back. This is how we all feel.

KRM: Right.

Fisherman: The State of Alaska still actively supports roe stripping in the Yukon. Not many people know this, but they told them, the fishermen up there, to- it's okay to

take the roe if they hang the fish on the banks of the stream. Fish are hanging on the banks of the stream, they're rotting, they're not doing anything with them. Years pass, this has been going on forever.

KRM: What's the logic behind hanging the fish on the banks?

Fisherman: They dry em for using for dog food or use em for subsistence, for food, they can be put up for food. But, ah, all they're interested in, all the fishermen are interested in, is they can't sell the fish, the fish ain't worth nothing. The rule is so they take the roe and hang the- if Fish & Game is watching, they hang them up on the bank- let it rot, and just keep fishing, nobody taking care of it.

KRM: If Fish & Game is watching?

Fisherman: If the State of Alaska is watching em they hang it up, otherwise they'll just throw it back into the stream, and take the roe.

KRM: uh huh

Fisherman: But hanging the fish in the stream bank it- and letting em rot is- uh it's- all these practices got to be stopped. Historically, those streams cannot support a commercial fishery. Not 2000 permits anyway. How many- 200 permits in whole of the Yukon could starve the whole Yukon River, the whole length of it probably if they did it right.

KRM: So why is Area M being blamed so heavily for this, for their problems?

Fisherman: They see us catching fish down here and *(chuckles)*-

KRM: You're too prosperous?

Fisherman: We used to be too prosperous, not no more, we have too many restrictions. We can't make any more money. I never even been paid for my, uh, insurance on the boat this year. I never worked so hard for nothing.

This fisherman claims to understand riverine ecology and sustainability better than those who live on these rivers. He builds a conscious model of Yup'ik practices and traditions, and emphasises the state's role.

KRM: Has Area M ever considered commercially selling roe from salmon?

Fisherman: We can't. There's a law against that.

KRM: Is there? Why here and not there [in AYK]?

Fisherman: I really don't know why we're treated different. They can sell their subsistence codfish too and we can't. It's against the law for us to sell any subsistence codfish. They say we can't even smoke it and sell it. Any part of a subsistence codfish is off limits for us selling. They sell all theirs, one hundred percent of it. The eggs, they smoke it and sell it. I really don't know what the difference is between us. They are allowed unlimited amount of chums, we're allowed 250 subsistence fish. I really don't know how unlimited it is, but one guy up there told me he has a big family and he needs 7500 chums for every member of his family.

KRM: For each?

Fisherman: Each member of his family needs 7500 chums.

KRM: My god.

Fisherman: Compare that to our 250 fish that we're allowed to keep and not sell. … I'm glad it's there [subsistence]. And then for somebody else says he needs 7500 subsistence per person in his family. *(shakes head)*

Again, this fisherman claims a direct understanding and plays up Yup'ik excesses. This is not an accurate picture of activities for AYK fishermen. However at least a decade ago, roe from commercially caught chum salmon were sold separately and the carcasses retained for home use, but

never for subsistence taken fish (Fall, personal comm.). State regulations do not allow for the sale of subsistence fish (with a few exceptions regarding Southeast Alaska herring roe). If the fish were caught in federally managed waters under the jurisdiction of the Federal Subsistence Board, then the regulations allow for "customary trade" that includes exchanges for cash, but they cannot be sold to a commercial enterprise.

The development of a commercial salmon roe industry was suggested by an "outsider" (a non-Native fisherman from Washington State) who does not depend solely on the Area M fishery. In 2000, Peter Pan paid fishermen $0.85 per pound for sockeye salmon. According to some fishermen, Peter Pan strips the roe from the salmon and sells it for $14 per pound, for which the fishermen do not receive a share. If the fishermen switched to selling roe, they would strip the carcasses and only take the roe. If this occurs, one woman insisted, "they'll close us down in a second."

Wolfe, a former research director in Fish & Game's Subsistence Division, wrote that the state considers subsistence regulations unnecessary along the Yukon River because of low levels of demand which limits production, allowing "subsistence harvests to seek their own levels by internal mechanisms" (1984:174). Hensel demonstrates, however, that *quantity* is an important cultural marker for the Yupiit. He writes that one's Yup'ik ethnicity depends in large measure on "how ethnically marked various activities are," and that processing fish in certain ways is "more Yup'ik" than others (Hensel 2001:225). Making king salmon "blankets," for example, where they are filleted with the belly sides attached, dried and smoked, is "more Yup'ik" than making salmon strips (2001:225). Quantity is important: "Drying thousands of pounds of salmon implies its constant dietary occurrence, freezing a few is dietary dabbling in comparison" (2001:225). Thus, Yup'ik identity depends in large measure on harvest abundance and method of processing. Among the Aleut, as we have seen, this same model applies, but with the addition of commercial fisheries success. Abundant harvests are desired and methods of harvesting are important markers of being Aleut, however they tend not to measure each other's Aleut-ness based upon their daily harvesting activities.

At a 1991 meeting on this fishery with the Commissioner of the Department of Fish & Game held in Bethel, a Yup'ik elder testified:

> "The other thing, you know, I didn't have a chance to talk to that commissioner. You know what, you know- I've been into meetings into Anchorage, hearings [on the] False Pass [fishery]. You know, we're just little people over here, what they call us, little people. We don't have much money to flash around over there in Anchorage. The guys from down there, you know, they come in with a gold watch, gold ring, you know, and they've got vests and they walk around with a cigar in their mouths, and they- when somebody talks, people listen [to them] [BRIEF PAUSE WHILE TAPE TURNED]-hurts all of us, you know. It doesn't add up, you're not with us, you just said. You know I don't talk much, you know, when they're at a meeting, but I listen.
>
> "You- you said you're- you're not going to take some actions. But I think you know, you're talking about kids, because we don't make over five thousand dollars fishing. And those guys down there make over two to three hundred thousand dollars, you know, fishing.

> You know, we're got kids just like anybody else, we try to feed them. And what statements you have made, it has lots of weight to the guys that's listening here.
>
> "I know, because I work with my people for a long time. I don't- like I say, I don't say much, but I *listen*. I know what's going on. I know what kind of person, you know, when they talk, what kind of person they are. That's all I have to say. Thank you." (in Hensel 1996:169).

I quote him at length to give a clear sense of what the Aleut are contending with. Both the Aleut and the Yupiit use similar imagery with both claiming that the other has a stronger voice in regards to Alaskan politicians. An Iñupiat Charles Johnson wrote a piece for Smith and McCarter's *Contested Arctic* (1997) claiming that there has been no subsistence chum harvests for the previous six years because their chum salmon are

> "being caught in huge nets by commercial fishermen at False Pass, and the State of Alaska Fisheries Board keeps increasing their allowable catch of chum salmon. These commercial fishermen, who are mostly from Seattle and other non-Alaskan cities, are making huge amounts of money, averaging $250,000 to $400,000 per share over the same six years that we are being denied subsistence for the sake of saving the same salmon run for the benefit of these out-of-state commercial fishermen" (Johnson 1997:6).

He provides no references, and his claims are patently untrue. The Board of Fisheries has decreased the allowable chum catch over time, and the Aleut, as well as the non-Native fishermen who fish alongside them, would love to make the kind of money he claims they do. Of course, he never mentions the Aleut.

The imagery of the rich, greedy white fishermen linked to Area M is constantly being thrown up, and the Aleut have been unable to contest it in an organized, effective way. At the Board of Fisheries meetings, the Aleut witness a mobilization of symbolic resources. As one man described, Yupiit often attend these meetings in traditional dress accompanied by a language translator, while there are a few Aleut standing in the back of the room in their jeans and Xtra-Tuf boots. The Aleut do not feel like they can compete with this Yupiit presentation. However, their boots and raingear arguably are their "dress" as fishermen (and I suspect the Yupiit and Iñupiat dress in similar ways to go out fishing). Thus, the symbolic resources that speak volumes at the local level—boats, permits, crew organization, et cetera—weigh against them on the global stage. All the material wealth and behaviour associated with high status in the village count against them as not being "Native enough." As one Aleut fisherman told the *Anchorage Daily News* in 1999, after Native rights attorneys sued to end their June salmon fishery, "I'm a historical person too" (in Kizzia 1999).

Anthropologists working in the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta have been reluctant to admit that Area M consists of Native fishermen, referring to it as the "False Pass intercept fishery" (Hensel and Morrow 1998:71) or "Seattle boats" (Alaska Anthropological Association meeting, Fairbanks, 2001). Hensel recognizes the above testimony as a strategic move on the part of the elder, but adds, "It is

interesting to note that the Commissioner was wearing a gold-nugget-studded watch and ring. There is at least an implication that the Commissioner's visible markers link him with the *high-volume non-Native fishermen of the False Pass area* rather than the low-volume mostly Native fishermen of the lower Kuskokwim River" (1996:172, emphasis added). Though his discourse analysis is fascinating, he misses the goal of the strategic dialogue: to 'de-Native-ize' and vilify False Pass Aleut fishermen, and plea for protection of the "little people" from those allegedly immoral outsiders that dabble in being Alaskan, a type of strategic essentialism (see also Herzfeld 1996). Morrow and Hensel's article "Hidden Dissentions" (1992) is about policy negotiations between Alaska Natives and non-Natives and the construction of realities, however, they fail to mention that some of the "non-Natives" the Yupiit are engaging with are, in fact, Native Aleuts, therefore affirming the Yup'ik "reality" and taking it on as their own. Nowhere in their writings do Hensel and/or Morrow acknowledge that the majority of the fishermen of the False Pass area are Aleut. In fact the words "Aleut" or "Unangan" do not appear anywhere in their discussions. Aleut fishermen do not come to Anchorage flashing money and gold jewellery with cigars hanging out of their mouths. They do not have the ears of fisheries board members. They do not make two to three hundred thousand dollars salmon fishing.

5.2.4 Discussion

Resource rights must be understood with regards to levels of political organization in play. Federal jurisdiction allows for Alaska Native status to count with regards to subsistence claims. The state does not allow for indigenous claims on paper, but seems to consider it a factor in practice. Alaska Native is a kind of generic classification, but there is tremendous variation. Tradition plays different roles in different contexts. Morrow and Hensel are quite right to point out that "negotiating parties often assume contested terms represent congruent realities, and that this assumption may mask deeper cultural disagreements" (1992:38), but they left a Native party off of the negotiating table.

How long must a society participate in an activity before that activity becomes *traditional*? Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) might classify Aleut commercial fishing as "invented tradition", where a traceable instituted set of practices implies continuity with the past. I believe, however, that it does not matter how long traditions have been in practice, it simply matters that they are considered to be traditions, which have significance for their actions in the present. Maschner has archaeological evidence that the prehistoric inhabitants of the western Alaska Peninsula have been netting salmon for nearly 5,000 years (Jordan and Maschner 2000; Maschner 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 2000), which is 2,500 years earlier than any evidence for people living, let alone salmon harvesting, in the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta. Based upon current data, it is probable that the ancestors of the modern Aleut were intercepting fish long before there were Yupiit living in the Delta.

Efforts to open up a dialogue have been made on both sides. In 2001, the president of the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association (A/PIA) visited the president of the Association of Village Council Presidents (AVCP, based in Bethel) in the hope of "normalizing" relations between the regions and cooperating on projects and concerns that affect both regions, "although fisheries were not a specific topic of our discussions" (Philemonof 2001).

The language Alaska Natives speak is not universally recognized to mean the same things, that is, many different Native peoples use the same terms but they often refer to remarkably different practices and ideas, and are often at odds with the state's definitions. *Tradition* uniquely combines subsistence and commercial economies and practice for the Aleut. *Area M* was co-opted by the Aleut as a legitimate term for their fisheries and their villages without fully realizing that *Area M* was being used as synonymous with non-Natives "stealing" the fish. The languages of identity, and the processes of how practices and beliefs take on meaning, are framed within the notion of social inequity as well as cultural essentialism on both sides of the debate. The Aleut are finding their lives construed in a market economy and a political economy in ways they did not anticipate. After calling her father in False Pass to wish him a 'happy Father's Day,' a young Aleut woman got a dreary fishing report from him from the first opening. Her reaction was to start drinking and call me on the phone angry.

> "Those stupid people down there [Lower 48]. They don't know the difference between a dog or a red or a King. They think salmon is salmon. They're so stupid! Don't they know that we only like the dogs [chum salmon] for their heads and that we eat them raw?! Don't they know that?! Down there they pay what? Seven dollars a pound? And we only get 50 cents? That's fucked up! Who's making all this money off of us?" (Young Aleut woman, King Cove 7/02).

Economic prosperity is crucial to the Eastern Aleut, but the prestige and the rights attached to the fisheries are valued even more. To buffer against the social and economic losses resulting from the shrinking salmon fisheries, groundfish harvesting is becoming crucial to Aleut fishermen. But, as we shall see in the following section, turning to these fisheries has its own difficulties.

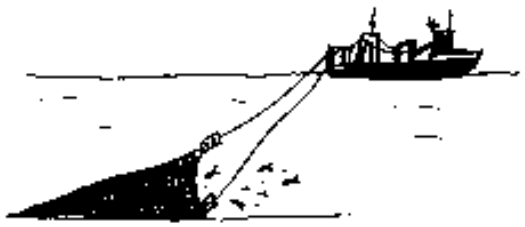
Rarely is the nature of competition and conflict among and between Alaska Natives explored. I have looked at ethnicity and identity with reference to various perceptions from others. The ways in which the Aleut are positioned is logically contradictory, but no one is clear about what categories they are using. The Aleut have been eclipsed; they are very much a part of the fishery and the landscape, but they have been made invisible by processes larger than them.

5.3 The Ocean's *Posse Comitatus* and Aleuts Under "House Arrest"

The clash of an Aleut grassroots cultural movement claiming rights to "their culture" with a powerful, wealthy international environmental movement expressing grievances in the courts was set in motion in 1998. That year, Greenpeace, the Sierra Club and the American Oceans Campaign sued

the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) to limit groundfish trawling in the Bering Sea and Gulf of Alaska in order to protect the habitat of the endangered Steller sea lion who live along the North Pacific rim. The sea lion population fell 80% in the 1970s, 80s and early 90s, and the western stock was listed as endangered in 1997 (National Research Council 2003). This decline was blamed on trawlers overharvesting cod and pollock , their primary foods. NMFS's Office of Protected Species was found to have a legally inadequate 'biological opinion' defining the effects of groundfish fisheries on the sea lion and its habitat. The environmentalists' targets were factory trawlers, massive vessels that drag the ocean's floor with mile-long nets taking everything in their path. Environmental groups cast these trawlers as high-seas pirates, raping and pillaging the sea, hiding their identities, sneaking from port to port, and flagging their vessels in countries that do not follow international regulations (Stump and Baker 1996).

Ironically, factory trawlers have scarcely been affected by the bans; it is the local Alaskan communities that have become the "first casualties" of their campaign (Waller 1996:124). These small-boat fishermen also agree that the "global sea monsters" are overfishing, harming the oceans, and contributing to the sea lion's decline in numbers. As described in Chapter 3, the Alaska Peninsula's fishermen have become increasingly dependent upon groundfish fisheries due to the volatility of the salmon industry and the shrinking crab fisheries. Large areas of the Aleut traditional fishing grounds were made off limits in hopes that sea lion would recover.



The decline of the Steller sea lion is considered to be a commercial fishery issue, not one of community or cultural survival, and continues to neglect the fact that indigenous peoples *are* commercial fishermen. To NMFS, one Aleut girl wrote, "Yes, the Stellar [sic] sea lions are endangered, but if you take away our fisheries, we will be endangered too." The parties of the lawsuit, the environmentalists and NMFS, neglected to involve the thousands of people who spend extraordinary amounts of time in their boats on the water in either the formulation of their policies or the solutions to the perceived Steller sea lion crisis. Aleut fishermen have a wealth of knowledge on predator-prey relationships, population changes, and environmental factors. Given a species that is difficult to monitor, folk knowledge is perhaps most valuable in assessing their population and behaviour and local input in the original drafting of the 'biological opinion' may have made it a more robust document. One fisherman asked, "How can they count all the sea lions in one day on a coastline of 1500 miles or more? Sea lions migrate to follow their food just like a fisherman has to."

Greenpeace's report on factory trawlers and the Steller sea lion points the finger at "intensive" commercial fishing but makes no mention of people (Stump and Baker 1996). Greenpeace and their cohort knew that their activities would hurt Native villages but, using the rhetoric of assimilation, they argue that people are alien to the environment.[99] The Aleutians East Borough, the regional administrative entity, filed a lawsuit against Greenpeace for their handling of the Steller sea lion case in hopes to recover some of the losses they incurred during the trawling bans. This lawsuit is still pending.

Figure 5.4. Sticker attached to a seiner's wheelhouse, King Cove harbour.

Historically, the Aleut hunted sea lions for their meat, blubber, oil, bones and teeth for tools, sinew for cordage, flippers for boot soles, whiskers for adorning hunting visors, internal organs for waterproof clothing, and skins for covering their baidarkas. Today sea lions have no immediate sociocultural or economic value in Eastern Aleut villages, and most fishermen agree that they are pests. They follow boats and get tangled in the nets. "They can pick fish faster than I can. Now they are protected," said one man with sarcasm. Some even joked about writing a sea lion cookbook.[100] Since 1986, the Endangered Species Act has prevented the harvest of the Steller sea lion. However, as Native Alaskans, the Aleut can legally subsistence harvest sea lions, and a few were taken in 2002, but most do not and take voluntary measures to avoid them. As one fishermen determined:

> Fisherman: No, eliminating us ain't gonna help the sea lion. If they want to help the sea lion they're gonna have to thin that killer whale but the killer whale is out.
> KRM: Are they starving too, the killer whales?
> Fisherman: I don't think so. They're eating whales, sea lions, seals and otters. The otter on the Aleutian Islands I figure will go on the, on the list next. …Because of the killer whales. That's documented. …And, uh, sea lions is documented too but you can't bring it up. Nobody will listen to you at a meeting about it. National Marine Fisheries won't listen to it. They're afraid of the environmentalists. Environmentalists will walk

[99] This has become a pattern for environmental organzations, not an experience unique to the Aleut (Coates 1991; Cronon 1996;Lynge 1992; Milton 1993; Wenzel 1991).
[100] A cookbook compiled in the 1980s by the King Cove Women's Club, which is a group of elder women who sponsor the 4th of July celebration each year, contains a recipe for Pot Roast Sea Lion Meat, a mixture of sea lion ribs, lard and spices.

out if you show pictures of killer whales killing sea lions. We got movie pictures of it happening, and they will not watch it. Their, their answer to everything is to eliminate the fisherman.

KRM: Have environmentalists ever come out here to talk to you at all?

Fisherman: Yeah, we've had em and uh…they said that they weren't interested in hurting small boat fisheries and all that there, but the very next year they push them all twenty miles offshore. No small boat fishery in the months of January, February and March has any business being twenty miles offshore.

KRM: Because it's too dangerous?

Fisherman: Dangerous. Icy. Weather? You could have flat calm weather in one minute and five minutes later it could be blowing a hundred north, northerly, and you taking ice and if you're twenty miles offshore you are not making it back to shore.

Starting in 2002, all vessels in Area M are required to participate in the Vessel Monitoring System (VMS) to ensure that fishermen do not go near the Steller sea lion grounds. As another "emergency rule" issued by NMFS, any vessel that fishes the federal halibut, sablefish, or groundfish fisheries must carry VMS equipment as of June 10, 2002. Even if fishermen are not fishing the pollock, cod or Atka mackerel openings, they must have the VMS equipment on board and running. The system costs $2000, and people are required to pay up front and get reimbursed. Once installed, it costs $5 per day to run, which the fishermen are responsible for. "It's like one of those ankle bracelets," several fishermen argued. "Like we're all under house arrest."

A similar case for protection is now being made for the bird species Steller's eider, now listed as Threatened. Again, in the onslaught of environmentalists waving the Endangered Species Act, Aleut-Yupiit relations have come into conflict. The Yupiit, who live near the eider's nesting grounds, are accused of overharvesting the eggs.

KRM: What do you think about the eider issue coming up?

Fisherman: Steller eiders are doing great down here. They don't need to consider critical habitat down here, they're doing great. I guess the ones that were doing great are Russian nesting eider, but the only ones not doing great is the Alaska nesting eider. As far as I'm concerned, they can look up there where they're nesting.

KRM: Up north.

Fisherman: *(Nods)* Find out what's happening to those eggs. It all comes down to eggs. The Steller eider eggs, chum eggs-

The next species due for listing as endangered are the sea otter, spearheaded by U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service (USFWS 2001), and gorgonian coral (*Calcigorgia spiculifera)* (Oceana and The Ocean Conservancy 2003),[101] identified throughout the Aleutian region as threatened by fishing, and for which the fishermen have no defence. A federal employee recently confessed to an Aleut leader that the long-term goal of Fish & Wildlife is to depopulate the Aleutians through regulation and

[101] Oceana has launched an aggressive campaign to preserve deep sea corals and stop trawl fishing from the Aleutians to California. Their website, www.oceana.org, shows reports, maps, videos, and press kits for outsiders' involvement, and added a new site, www.SaveCorals.com.

designate the islands and western peninsula as wilderness. The creation of the Aleut Marine Mammal Commission (AMMC) in 1998 was an indigenous effort to challenge many of the claims made on these species and to open up a dialog between the Aleut, environmentalists, biologists, and agency representatives.

5.3.1 The Aleut Marine Mammal Commission

Many arctic anthropologists focus on the symbolism and meaning of subsistence hunting and fishing to arctic peoples and relationships with the environment, animals, and each other. These approaches emphasize the complex connections between human and environment, culture, social life, kinship, ritual and symbolism, sharing and reciprocity, among many (e.g. Bodenhorn 1989, 1997; Fienup-Riordan 1983b; Nuttall 1992; Riches 1982). Some anthropologists and their informants feel that quantifying these data underestimates the meanings and connections inherent in these processes and ignores people's conceptions of their own environment. A large number of harvesting studies and surveys, for example those of Fish & Game, U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service, Minerals Management Service, among many, do not include symbolism and only include quantifiable data. But while the symbolic and cultural importance of hunting and fishing must not be downplayed, indigenous peoples, particularly the Aleut, are beginning to recognize that this is not enough to combat threats to cultural survival. They need to quantify in the particular political environment in order for their voices to carry. They have to fight numbers with numbers in order to be part of the discussion at all.

This is a double-edged sword of sorts. Quantified data are often taken as facts and are used to define the limits of need and overharvesting; the effect may be to restrict the choices people can make. Modelling the moment, on the other hand, is certainly more accurate, but probably less useful in political or policy discussions. Documenting frequency and sharing between communities and households is quantification of a sort, but more accurately captures the relationships in sharing, and is not about balancing quantifiable amounts of wild food (Bodenhorn 2000). The process of conceptualising their position in terms of numbers has been a political one. Village leaders have told me that in other smaller villages (with populations fewer than 100) they made it community policy to inflate their subsistence numbers in surveys. They indicate that they harvested in the limits in all species whether they did or not for fear that they might lose access.

The Aleut have struggled for how to include their voices in decision-making processes with regards to their natural environment. They launched a grass roots campaign with letters from both adults and children in the villages going to the Alaska Congressional Delegation and NMFS, pleading for NMFS to get into compliance with the Endangered Species Act while still allowing them to fish. Children were called upon in schools to participate in the grass roots sea lion campaign. Girls wrote statements like, "By closing pollock they are putting the City of King Cove on the endangered list,"

and “I don’t know much about fishing but I know if you close fishing, I will be forsed [sic] to leve [sic] my home and my friends.” Teenage boys began almost every letter with “I am a fisherman and…” They attended meeting after meeting and gave testimonials on the issue. They even checked for whether they themselves met the threatened or endangered criteria for listing under the Endangered Species Act![102]

The Aleut Marine Mammal Commission (AMMC) formed in 1998 at the instigation of local tribal councils as a regional entity that gives a voice to all Aleut communities in the management of marine mammals and the authority to work with NMFS and other state and federal agencies on the policies of these resources.[103] This commission is patterned to a large extent after the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission (AEWC) and the Alaska Beluga Whale Committee (ABWC) that represent whaling communities and work with management agencies to ensure the continuation of subsistence whale hunting and the survival of arctic communities that depend upon these resources (Huntington 1989, 1992). These organizations have taken active roles in the scientific process for protecting the animals’ habitat and exercise authority in political matters as part of the regional federally recognized tribal council. The AMMC differs from these organizations in that it has equal interest in protecting their commercial activities as it does their subsistence ones.

The commission’s primary interest at this time is in the Steller sea lion. They have obtained grant money to gather and disseminate information on subsistence harvests of the sea lion and supplement ongoing research efforts. Non-Native scientists need the subsistence harvesters for their biological research because they do not have the permit authority to take sea lions. The commission facilitates this collaboration and aids in the training of hunters to collect biological samples.

NMFS had effectively told the Aleut that their local observations of species abundance and behaviour, indigenous knowledge of ocean cycles, and local perspectives on the causes and consequences of the decline of certain species were anecdotal and hence useless to them. Recognizing the need to speak in the language of science in order to be heard at all, they have begun the process of hiring those with the skills to train local people to collect local knowledge of sea mammals and translate those data into scientific form. As one fisherman assessed,

> “They're starving to death. The killer whales are taking em. Too many Free Willys left in the world to do anything about the killer whale. So the sea lion will continue to decline. Sea lions used to travel, or be out, wherever we fished. They used to come out, and especially gillnet, you know, they'd take and rip big holes. There was a big conflict with them with gillnetters.

[102] The act specifies an “endangered species” as “any species which is in danger of extinction throughout all or a significant portion of its range other than a species of the Class Insecta determined by the Secretary to constitute a pest whose protection under the provisions of this Act would present an overwhelming and overriding risk to man.” Any recovery plan must “give priority to those endangered species or threatened species, without regard to taxonomic classification, that are most likely to benefit from such plans, particularly those species that are, or may be, in conflict with construction or other development projects or other forms of economic activity” (Endangered Species Act of 1973).

[103] This excludes the Pribilof Islands villages because they have their own organization.

> But now the sea lion is scared to come off the beach. You never see them more than twenty feet from the shoreline because of killer whales. We'd never see sea lions, when there were hundreds of thousands of sea lions, we'd never seen them in, uh, in the bays eating, or in the harbours eating from fishermen on a boat. Never have we seen it. They're coming in now trying to keep away from the sea lions, er killer whales. They're hauling themselves up on the floats. Every time a sea lion tries to leave the shoreline, he gets ate. So they're starving to death from that. Until National Marine Fisheries and environmentalists want to go do something about the killer whales, they are not being serious about doing anything for the sea lions."

In a five-part series published in the *Sacremento Bee* in 2002, reporter Tom Knudson argued that environmental organizations are "money machines," depending on steady recruitment of new members and maintaining a "constant sense of crisis" (Knudson 2002). He found that environmental groups spend half of their raised funds on overhead and more fundraising. They rely on "poster species", like the Steller sea lion, to spark emotion in new recruits and hold on to their membership. In their multitude of lawsuits, they "force judges to act as biologists", as summarized by the editor of *National Fishermen* (Fraser 2002:4). Of course, journalists themselves fuel this kind of narrative (discussed in Cronon 1996; Milton 1993, 1996), however Milton Freeman has shown that urban-based organizations' attacks on northern peoples are marked by "widespread ignorance" of their lifestyles and realities (1997:8-9).

In 2001, Maschner presented data on spatial and temporal variations in Steller sea lion distribution in the Eastern Aleutians to the Ocean Studies and Polar Research Boards of the National Academy of Sciences in Seattle. He argued, in effect, that there has never been a time on the North Pacific when humans were not impacting the landscape and natural resources. That is, as soon as the glacial ice retreated, the Aleut and the animals colonized the north Pacific and southern Bering Sea at the same time, and therefore the Aleut should be considered part of the ecosystem. A representative from NMFS stated, "Fortunately for us the Endangered Species Act does not require that we take into account indigenous peoples." Thus, indigenous peoples are not accorded any rights regardless of their history or position on the landscape. This is in part why the U.S. has vetoed every piece of human rights legislation at the United Nations; if not, the U.S. would be in violation.

In January 2003, the Ocean Studies and Polar Research Boards released their report on the findings of nearly $87 million in research funds allocated to determine the effects of the pollock and cod fisheries on the Steller sea lion (National Research Council 2003). The result was that these fisheries were having little effect on sea lions, but that Orca predation, illegal hunting, and predator-prey relations were credible causes of the decline, something the Aleut tried to tell them before they spent millions. One of the findings of the report was the need to make use of local indigenous observers (2003:154).

There is a sense that organizations like the AMMC meet federal obligations to "hear" local people, and that the Aleut can no longer complain because they have been given a forum in which they are required to communicate with NMFS. Wildlife co-management regimes theoretically include indigenous people in environmental management and conservation. Indigenous peoples provide TEK, Traditional Ecological Knowledge defined as 'a cumulative body of knowledge, practice and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with the environment' (Berkes 1999:8). TEK was originally regarded as "savage science" or based upon primitive irrational thought and never actually included in scientific environmental management. Many anthropological studies in the past few decades (e.g. Agrawal and Gibson 2001; Berkes 1999; Bielawski 1992; Collings 1997a, 1997b; Fischer 2000; Freeman 1993, 1998; Stevens 1997) have shown that TEK provides important insights into natural phenomena but also such insights regard humans as a part of nature. Rather than scold the sciences for not including their data, the Aleut are asking how they could translate their knowledge into a form that is recognizable to modern science so that resource managers, scientists, and the Aleut can use it.[104]

"Management" of the environment and its resources is an absurd concept to many fishermen in King Cove. "The weather changes, one species will go and another will come back," said a village elder. "It has little to do with humans." Lydia Black has indicated that the Aleut word for codfish translates to "the fish that stops," meaning it periodically disappears (1981:332). Many contend that state and federal regulations imposed on fishing and subsistence activities seem to follow no logic or awareness of what factors really affect different species. *Environmentalist* is a bad word and most spit it out like they have an awful taste in their mouths. "They won't listen to old timers, only to people with alphabets at the ends of their names." Regime shifts and ocean cycles are generally known by 'old timers' but have yet to be incorporated into scientific decision-making processes.

The Aleut have to fight to be recognized first as indigenous people, second as legitimate commercial fishermen, and third as a part of their own environment, possessing knowledge within it. Environmental organizations use Native peoples when their activities further the environmental agenda and deny their rights or existence when they do not (e.g. Stump and Baker 1996; Waller 1996). The Aleut recognize that commercial fishing is the only way that they can continue to live successfully in their homeland, and therefore, what might be considered Aleut conservation has merged with commercial fishermen's conservation and is thus in conflict with environmental agendas

[104] Nadasdy (1999) warns that integrating traditional knowledge with scientific agendas forces indigenous people to conform their knowledge to fit management or scientific language, giving power to resource managers. I give indigenous Alaskans more credit, since the Aleut (and many other groups) have organized commissions in which science and TEK are not separated, as one feeding information to the other, but they inform one another.

that tend to either uphold imagined Native principles of care (sustainability) or eclipse humans from the landscape. Consequently, a history of fishing restrictions has edged out the next generation of Aleut fishermen and they now must moonlight as politicians to argue for their existence.

5.4 Reluctant Politicians

In these two ongoing struggles, political demands on the Aleut are growing. The majority of Aleut rely on the articulations of a few to speak for all. Alaska is overrun with acronyms, as has been made apparent throughout this thesis (see also Appendix B). The Eastern Aleut have a plethora of political, social and economic organizations to contend with, so many that it is daunting for most people. "We have trouble getting men to talk," said a woman who manages her family's fisheries corporation. Women stand at the political foreground because they do not fish and have the freedom to travel to Anchorage for meetings when the men must fish. For some of these women, there is a fearless way that they attack political disputes. "It's cause I don't know any better so I don't get intimidated," said one woman. Meetings often coincide with fishing seasons. "Send your wives if you can't go [testify at the Board of Fisheries meeting]," pleaded a Borough representative. "At these meetings there is usually a lot of Yup'iks [sic] in their traditional clothes with a language translator and then maybe five Aleuts standing in the back." Women still choose their battles based on what their husbands, fathers, uncles and grandfathers want and need.

In his dissertation on land claims in Unalaska, Downs argued that ANCSA created new roles, opportunities, and symbols in which to express Aleut identity and renewed ethnic pride. He found that as a result of this pride many Aleut men began to behave in ways that were socially exclusionary or confrontational with non-Natives, that the pre-ANCSA Aleut is "diffident" while the post-ANCSA Aleut is "self-confident and assertive" (Downs 1985:440-1). Current political struggles are certainly changing the ways in which the Aleut engage with outsiders and with each other to some extent, but I hesitate to generalize their conduct before, during and after these events as Downs does.

The Aleut have an historical claim to fish just as much as any other Alaska Native group, and perhaps they have a greater claim to fish commercially given their historical role in global economic activities discussed above, but that might mean very little in today's political climate. Fishermen in King Cove are used to having to defend their right to fish but have yet to exercise "tribal rights" or try to block non-Natives from fishing alongside them (in Kizzia 1999). Fishermen are reluctant to encourage their children to stay on and try to make the same living, but at the same time they realize that their homes and villages will disappear if they do not.

Indigenous peoples worldwide have survived attempts to make them disappear through policy, assimilation and genocide (Perry 1996). Bureaucracies are able to reflect what they want and not the reality. One way to increase global awareness is through the creation of indigenous political

organizations. Aleuts are only marginal members of Native American and arctic NGOs designed to advance the goals of arctic peoples, whatever those might be. Their position in the Alaska Federation of Natives, which is meant to represent concerns of Alaska Natives before Congress and the state legislature, has been limited due partly to the low Aleut population (Damas 1984). The Arctic Council, meant to provide a "northern voice" was criticized by Aleuts as "hardly representative" since they "don't have a voice" in the Council (Lekanof in Tennberg 1996). With the formation of the Aleut International Association (AIA) in 1998, a pan-Aleut organization meant to protect the natural resources and the environment of the Aleut homeland, they became members of the Arctic Council, though the benefits of that are unclear. They are not considered to be *subarctic* peoples because that has become synonymous with Athapaskans, but their position as *arctic* peoples has also been disputed because they are geographically on the fringes. In short, their status is ambivalent and they have not conjoined with larger organizations to affect national and international processes.

Within the state, political power is skewed away from the region at the outset: the head of the Subsistence Division at Fish & Game is Yup'ik, and the Senator for the Aleutian region is from Bethel, the hub village of the Yup'ik region. Area M fishermen have virtually no voting power in the state and make up a small percentage of the voters in their own House and Senate Districts (Table 5.2). It is difficult to exercise block power because of their low population, and when mixed with Unalaska and Bethel, the Eastern Aleut disappear.

Registered Voters by fishery and district	**House District 40 – Carl Moses, Unalaska**	**Senate District T – Lyman Hoffman, Bethel**
S01M – Purse seine	53	53
S03M – Drift gillnet	26	26
S04M – Set gillnet	44	44
Total	123	123
Total # of permit holders registered to vote	428	1408
% Area M	**28.7**	**8.7**
Total # of permits held by registered voters	783	2191
% Area M	**15.7**	**5.6**

Table 5.2. Eastern Aleutian fishermen voters by House and Senate Districts (CFEC Election District Reports).

Local *perceptions* of many national and international events as bearing directly on the activities of the Aleut is often overstated, but are very real nonetheless. For example, between 2000 and 2003, Aleut fishermen stated,

"If Bush hadn't been elected, I *know* we wouldn't be fishing now."

> "The U.S. Government has never run a fishery that they didn't completely destroy. Big U.S. catcher-processors, they tell Congress what they want, Congress gives them the fish and they kill it off. They killed off this area with traps. It took 20 years to rebuild."

"One little island nation [Japan] sets the price for every fish in every ocean of the world."

The recession in Japan, which is Alaska's major foreign market, has affected them overseas, while the salmon farms in Norway, Chile and Canada have pushed them to the outer reaches of the domestic market. The Magnusen-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act (1996) bans the authorization of foreign-based processors in state waters even though many Alaska fishermen have lost their market. Shore-based foreign processors seem to be exempt from this act, since Peter Pan Seafoods is Japanese-owned. Several fishermen thought that the sinking of the Japanese trawler *Ehime Maru* near Hawaii in 2001, in which a U.S. Attack Submarine surfaced and collided with the vessel and killed several of the crew, could affect the price of fish.

One way the state has attempted to pacify the Aleut voice is through what many local people are calling "hush money."

> "The state is encouraging us to build roads, to pave, new bridge. They are trying to kill this town and trying to fix it up and the same time. The left hand doesn't know what the right hand's doing." (Fisherman, King Cove, 6/02).

Despite the erosion of the fisheries, King Cove's infrastructure has seen tremendous improvements. The city, the tribal council and the corporation actively attracted grants for a variety of projects, but there is also a sense that the state was so generous with "hush money" in order to ease the pain of rescinding fishing opportunities. In the summer of 2002, the new health clinic was completed, a new bridge to the harbour was put in, the road to the airport was under construction, a second harbour for large boats had been recently completed, plans for paving several roads were underway, and windows and siding were replaced on most homes. The projects also allowed crewmen to gain temporary land jobs in the hope for better fishing opportunities in the future.

5.5 Looking Forward

The Aleut have met opposition to their way of life on every front, from the Governor's failure to consider the impact of his recommendations on Area M's people to the Native American Rights Fund seemed to neglect Aleut Native-ness when defending Yup'ik or Iñupiat villages' attempts to block the June fishery in the 1990s (www.narf.org).[105] Economists have tried to predict future impacts

[105] In *Native Village of Elim v. State of Alaska*, Norton Sound villages claimed that the False Pass June fishery is unlawfully intercepting chums bound for their streams. Under the Sustained Yield Clause of the Alaska Constitution, Elim argued that the Board of Fisheries must sustain a specific yield of salmon throughout the stock's migratory range to preserve Elim's subsistence. The Native American Rights Fund filed a motion in State court siding with the Iñupiat community against Aleut fishermen to compel Fish & Game to take steps to minimize chum harvests. The NARF siding with one Native group against another raises the question of whether the Iñupiat and Yupiit are seen as "more traditional" than Aleuts and hence more deserving of salmon

of fisheries closures on Eastern Aleutian communities, forecasting bankruptcies and the loss of boats and permits (Braund *et al* 1986; Northern Economics 2000), not to mention the social ramifications of closures. The state would also lose fisheries revenues and have another disaster area to contend with. There is no evidence that closing Area M's fisheries would have any positive benefit for the Area AYK subsistence fishery since the restrictions already in place on Area M fishermen have done nothing to improve these stocks.

Under all this political weight, we might expect the Eastern Aleut to start innovating and broaden their economic options. This has not happened, but not due to a lack of creativity on their part. Some have obtained licenses to lead guided hunts and to charter their boats. Some specialize in boat building and repair while others manage stores and bars. Several have diversified their fishing support to haul and store crab pots, nets, and other equipment. Others lend logistical support to archaeologists. However, all of these activities depend on the ability of residents to fish, and thus, economic diversification is realistically limited to some relationship to the fisheries.

Dependency on foreign-owned canneries made the nearby Aleut village of False Pass nervous enough to build their own cooperative cannery. As part of the Aleutian Pribilof Islands Community Development Association (APICDA), Bering Pacific Seafoods opened in 2000 and represents a move towards autonomy. Sadly, they struggled from the start. In 2001, they honoured the strike during the salmon season (see also Chapter 3) and as consequence did not make enough money to keep operating and were forced to close down and lay everyone off for the season.

For saving the salmon fisheries, fleet reduction seems to be the favoured strategy of the state, masked as reducing harvest costs. They advocate a series of steps that include harvest cooperatives that would use less capital and less labour, permit stacking alternatives (a voluntary consolidation program where more than one permit can be attached to a vessel with all or part of the limits of each permit), and permit buyback programs. All of their proposed solutions result in fewer people fishing and fewer boats on the water. Recent talks have surfaced in King Cove for the potential of a harvest cooperative, where salmon fishermen save expenses and share profits by designating some members to fish on behalf of the entire group. The intent would be to safeguard individual fishermen against the vulnerability of the business. Some have grumbled that this is "communism," but others consider it a viable option in the future, though perhaps a last resort since it would mean "sitting on the beach" for so many. In 2002, seventy-seven Chignik seine fishermen developed a cooperative approved by the Board of Fisheries. An open, competitive fishery also occurred among 22 fishermen who did not want

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rights. The court declined the motion and referred the final decision to the Governor. In *PMA v. Rosier*,(1995), 5 Aleut tribal councils, 2 village corporations, PMA, AEB and Concerned Area M Fishermen (CAMF) sued the Fish & Game Commissioner, Elim, and the Arctic Regional Fish & Game Council for actions using "emergency powers" following the Board of Fisheries decision to reject the Commissioner's proposal to lower the chum cap. A 1999 Supreme Court ruling agreed that the Board of Fisheries is successfully managing the mixed stock and that the False Pass fishery is having little effect on the chum salmon upon which Elim depends.

to participate. The cooperative fishery had mixed results and mixed emotions about its success, with many who "missed fishing" (CFEC Report 02-6N; Knapp *et al* 2002). My own prediction, based upon conversations with Aleut fishermen both for and against a cooperative, is that it would be a disastrous alternative. Negotiating the 'open fishery' is part of their identity and status, and social problems within King Cove are blamed on fishermen not being able to "keep our nets in the water." Fishermen forced to watch others make their living for them, since the Board of Fisheries prohibits them from fishing other salmon fisheries (though they may be free to participate in other fisheries), may fuel animosity, jealousy, boredom and low self-esteem. The cooperative could, however, operate on a rotation basis from season to season.

The future of Alaska's wild salmon market is uncertain (Knapp 2000). Alaska's (former) Lt. Governor Fran Ulmer stated at an August 24, 2001, press teleconference that the cause of crashing salmon markets are "well known": farmed salmon from Chile, Canada and Norway have displaced traditional markets in Alaska's wild salmon, flooding the market and driving down prices. She declared an economic disaster again for 2001, extending coverage to Bristol Bay and the Aleutians East Borough. Still considered Operation Renew Hope, the declaration itself did not trigger the release of any funds to the region covered. Instead the Governor wrote to President Bush requesting federal funds. The state intended to pursue needed research linking local people's knowledge with science, and is seeking ways to improve market conditions. Operation Renew Hope continued with job training, Low Income Home Energy Assistance programs, and strategizing for the future.

The *Catch-process-market-consume!* cycle that seems to characterize commercial fisheries is no longer sustainable and many Aleut fishermen are discussing further changes within the industry. For example,

> "We'll have to fish differently, not getting mass volumes of fish. We'll be getting fewer fish and taking better care of them. We'll still need volume for pinks and chums, can't do nothing with them except put them in a can, but not the rest." (06/2003)

> "The Japs are broke, they're buying cheap fish. We can't sell to a Jap outfit no more. The Borough needs to do like Prince William Sound and get a market. The market can't be a broke country. I'd rather see them [Peter Pan] give up. I'd rather start World War III with the Japs than give them free fish." (06/2003)

> "Salmon prices will come up, I think. They have to." (06/2003)

Despite an uncertain future, King Cove expanded their harbour to provide protected moorage for 48 large fishing vessels between 85 and 165 feet. Their hope is for King Cove to become a central port for the Gulf of Alaska and Bering Sea. One man predicted that fishing will not disappear entirely, but it could easily be limited to sport fishing and eco-tourism.

Foreign-farmed salmon is indeed forcing change in the Alaskan industry. A visit to a Chilean operation by Aleutians East Borough representatives found it to be such an advanced system of raising and processing fish that Alaska's canneries would have to completely retool in order to compete. Much of the processing plants are automated, so they do not have to hire a large labour force, and they are highly sanitary where labourers wear lab coats, gloves and masks. The highest grade of fish is sent overnight to high-end restaurants around the world.[106] Major drawbacks of salmon farms are both environmental and economic, including the growing recognition that the farms are producing fatty fish using vitamin injections and dyes, releasing diseases to wild stocks, and polluting the waters around the farms (Barcott 2001; Montaigne 2003).

North Pacific fishermen must contend with the growing world market of fishing. Fish can be purchased from all over the world today, not just from local regions. Consumers and restaurants also focus on fish that are trendy to eat (for example, orange roughy was popular in the 1980s but not today, and grouper is now a popular fish in restaurants but was virtually unheard of 15 years ago).

The Aleutians East Borough has recently developed their own marketing scheme emphasizing a regional brand of fish called *Aleutia*. In partner with the Alaska Fisheries Development Foundation (AFDF), Trident Seafoods Corporation, and Orca Bay Foods, Inc., the foundation buys the highest-quality[107] sockeye salmon at about 95 cents/pound from participating fishermen, more than double what the canneries offered in 2002. Customers specify the type of fish and amount that they want before the fish is caught. Trident, located in Sand Point, receives about $1.60 per finished pound of fish, and keeps the roe as trade for part of the custom processing. Orca Bay Seafoods is also buying bycatch coho from the red salmon fishery. A state grant and aid from AFDF provided start-up funds for *Aleutia*. Moving fish on ice from the Alaska Peninsula to market in the Lower 48 is very expensive, most of the cost being between Sand Point and Anchorage (*ADN* 2003).

Regional product differentiation is "more than slapping a cute sticker on it and sending it away" (Jones in *ADN* 2003). Aleutia promoters hired third party inspectors to certify the quality of fish from catch to processing to transport to market. Using new language like "give the customer what they want," *Aleutia Seas* is working to develop a food business, not a fish business. It is only recently that Eastern Aleut fishermen have concerned themselves with what happens to the fish once they sell it. As I have argued, it is the fishing more than it is the fish that drives social and cultural dynamics. This new marketing plan will profoundly alter the ways in which Aleut fishermen actually fish.[108]

5.6 Conclusion

[106] These fish farms are still producing carnivorous fish, which feed on fishmeal produced in wild fish canneries.
[107] Participating fishermen are required to attend a quality training session.
[108] In December 2002, the school principal in Sand Point named his daughter Aleutia (AEB Fish News, 1/3/03).

The majority of Aleut see levels of government, policymakers and environmentalists as competing interest groups. Salmon are valuable resources, both for the state's revenues but also for the satisfaction and health of Native peoples. A precedent of dehumanisation and ignorance set by anthropologists and bureaucrats facilitated the Steller sea lion campaign against North Pacific fishermen, giving them an easy forum to tug at the heartstrings of urban environmentalists on behalf of an understudied species. Governments and NGOs are easily swayed by the notion of the 'traditional'. In the case of Federal Indian Law, indigeneity does not depend upon traditional behaviour and the Aleut have not asserted rights based upon indigeneity. The reality, however, seems to be that the more "indigenous" people seem, the more comfortable governments and agencies feel in giving them certain rights. The Aleut have been made to 'disappear' in these political processes, but have nevertheless attempted to gain a political voice with mixed outcomes.

It could be argued that much of Native Alaska is in debate over whose culture is the most ruined just as much as the debate is about whose culture is the most intact. The development of the commercial fisheries was uneven across Alaska, and the Aleut homeland has a geographic advantage because it is within both the oceanic and riverine environments used by salmon. Though "ethnic revival" is too strong a concept here, Smith's definition of its significance, that "it is at one and the same time an attempt to preserve the past, and to transform it into something new, to create a new type upon ancient foundations, to create a new man and society through the revival of old identities and preservation of the 'links in the chain' of generations" (1981:25) does apply. The Aleut may have to essentialise themselves, that is, pluck some aspects out of their cultural matrix to uphold as icons.

As Shore (1996:9) argues, "Ironically, at the very moment that many ethnic groups have turned to identity politics and highly essentialized notions of culture as ideological supports for their own autonomy and authenticity, many anthropologists have abandoned the culture concept altogether as too essentialist, preferring the more politically and historically charged concepts of discourse, interest and strategy" (see also Baumann 1996; Cowan, Dembour and Wilson 2001). This is an approach that contributes directly to a loss of indigenous community identity and political power. Wachowich's (2001) study of identity construction among the Inuit via representational media and outside attempts to document their "traditional culture" found that Inuit engagement with outsiders is itself a form of subsistence that supports traditional hunting through well-funded projects. The Inuit, she argues, use idealised iconic categories of their own identity to "produce" traditions and reap social, political and economic benefits, what Myers calls "culture making"(Myers 1994:680 discussed in Wachowich 2001:12). To maintain their roles as fishermen, the Aleut are at a similar juncture where they must develop cultural icons and "market cultural representations on a global stage" (2001:ii) to be part of the dialog on their own future.

The Aleut have lived through millennia with a distinct ethnicity and culture in relative geographic isolation. They have integrated ethnic multiplicity and have shaped the modernization of their communities. Aleut survival has been challenged throughout history, but current circumstances and conflict have triggered a heightened awareness of identity, ethnicity and culture, and an awareness that their continued existence might depend upon how these elements are perceived by the world. This is just as much a "hunt for identity" (Rasing 1994) as it is fishing for food, for social cohesion, and ethnic survival. Environmental organizations like Greenpeace also used the rhetoric of the national interest, arguing that saving the ecosystem is for the wealth of the nation. Their preservationist mindset removes humans from the equation as part of the environment while stating that humanity (a nebulous group rarely defined, but seemingly excluding indigenous or rural people) needs wilderness and animals. The Aleut have been making meaning for each other through action and interaction, but now they have to make meaning for a heterogeneous other that seeks to overwhelm them and discursively erase them from the landscape. Throughout the salmon wars and the environmental campaigns, the Aleut have continuously engaged themselves in the debates, though in low numbers. In this process, they have become painfully aware that not only do the opposing representatives have little understanding of who they are, they seem not to know why Aleuts are even at the table.

Social science has the potential to play a significant role in commercial fisheries management, but thus far in this context it has been an afterthought without provision for its meaningful inclusion in decision-making processes. Though all federal agencies signed a document that compels them to contact local communities before a project is considered let alone carried out, and to discuss all potential impacts with them, this rarely happens.[109] This neglect is deliberate, I believe, in concern that local people might introduce information that would destabilize a growing trend or perception. The Aleut are by no means "natural conservationists" but they do have a strong attachment to landscape and the ecosystem. Debates in the Aleutians are beginning to resemble Freeman and Kreuter's (1995) discussion of whales in the high arctic where resources take on an iconic mode and represent something more than food.

Throughout these processes, sets of rules have been created that the Eastern Aleut must live by but have little control over. The following chapter considers Aleut behaviour within the local as well as larger structures of power. If fishermen do not own or influence decision-making processes that have direct bearing on their daily activities, they may be reluctant to comply with the rules.

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[109] The policy document *Principles of Conduct for Research in the Arctic,* prepared by the Interagency Social Science Task Force on the recommendation of the Polar Research Board, was signed by the National Science Foundation, Environmental Protection Agency, Office of Science and Technology, National Aeronautics and Space Agency, Smithsonian Institution, and the U.S. Departments of Commerce, Defense, State, Health and Human Services, Energy, Transportation, Interior, and Agriculture. Basic guidelines require all proposals and research to be assessed for the potential human impact and the appropriate communities to be informed regularly. Most studies on the Steller sea lion issue are therefore in violation of this federal policy.

CHAPTER 6. DISENFRANSHISED ALEUTS

6.1 Aleut Identity in the Face of Socioeconomic Vulnerability

"There was a hole in my heart watching the fleet go out without me," said a seiner over coffee on the day of the first June opening. He had fished every year of his life, ending in that summer of 2002 when his stepson ran his boat with his own permit. In uttering these words, he appeared at once frustrated, angry, nostalgic, worried and sad. Life as he knew it was changing. He was losing his foothold in fishing and his identity as a first-rate seiner due to low fish prices and short openers. Fishing is the only thing he learned to do.

Crises of resource depletion and resource access have daily consequences for the Aleut. The fishing franchise, upon which the foundations of much of their understanding are built, and through which they interact, communicate, share, and make meaning, is in many respects in danger of disappearing. This chapter attempts to answer the big questions that have been asked all along. What are the consequences to individuals and villages if the commercial fisheries are no longer legal to be fished? What are the prospects for sociocultural or economic retention and recovery? What happens when the socioeconomic lifeblood of one Native group is removed in order to preserve the subsistence lifeblood of another, but both are crucial to those societies? As I have shown in the previous chapter, the conflict is not defined as one between groups, but one in which there are many players with multiple agendas, and taking from one group will not necessarily solve the problems of the other. As we have seen, fishing is a communal activity that binds the village together while allowing for individual striving and self-expression. Men have tremendous responsibilities and expectations placed upon them while more often than not being structurally denied opportunities to fulfil those expectations. Interpersonal stresses, openly blamed on fishing crises, seem to manifest as alcohol use and abuse, family violence, petty crime and mischief. A woman in False Pass once told me, "When fishing is good they [the fishermen] have pride and spend their money on themselves and toys for their kids. If the fishing is bad, they spend it on alcohol and waste away." In the absence of fishing, many Aleut face a loss of community and culture and must confront a world outside of fishing, outside the village, that they do not fully understand and sometimes fear. In this chapter, I evaluate their own hypothesis: the fewer the fish commercially caught (due to a whole host of reasons), the greater the problems within the community. I consider whether losing this crucial source of status has a measurable effect on the community.

6.1.1 Measuring social conflict: locally defined variables

The argument has been put forth time and again that the roles and ideals of the dominant society (mainstream America) are being imposed upon Native Americans (who always have unequal

access to those ideals) and is responsible for high rates of crime, violence and social ills (e.g. on the Aleut see Berreman 1964, 1978:228-230; Jones 1969a, 1976; Merculieff 1997). When Dorothy Jones wrote about Aleut health, education, child welfare and aggression, she was writing against prevailing assumptions that in rural Alaska, Native people were weak-willed, childlike, easily addicted people who could not solve their own problems, and called for reforms to take specific social factors into account in order for government agencies to provide effective services. However, one consequence of her reframing 'the problem' was the tendency to define everything as responses to white American impositions. Instead, measurements of social conflict must come from those embroiled in it within an empirically mapped social and political framework.

Social conflict in the north today is common, with high rates of alcoholism, child abuse, sexual assault, suicide, homicide, and mental health problems plaguing arctic rural communities at diverse levels (Berman and Leask 1994; Bloom 1975; Briggs 1994; Fienup-Riordan 1994; Hisnanick 1994; Lee 1995, 2000; Palinkas 1987; Shinkwin and Pete 1983; Wood 1997, 1999a, 1999b). Specific to studies of crime, attempts to investigate the reasons for high crime rates in the far north have concluded that there is little or no relationship to western variables such as joblessness or market forces, and hence no economic explanation (e.g. Wood 1997). I argue that this is because economic success is a common western measurement for social success, and success in these communities is not reducible to financial well-being. The nature of status and prestige among northern peoples is sometimes measured economically, but often is tied to other aspects of society such as hunting prowess, socio-political skills, leadership skills, artistic skills, and sometimes, deviant behaviours. Success, then, can be a combination of multiple factors that involve social, cultural, political and financial capital (Bourdieu 1977). For the Eastern Aleut, cultural success equals success in fishing, and is evaluated in terms of the captain's ability, the boat's catch, crew capacity, time spent on the water, sharing networks, as well as income. Income increases the ability to pour their earned resources back into their symbols of identity and empowerment, and increase their social position. When these means are inaccessible, sources for gaining status and recognition must be sought in new areas.

Disenfranchised men who have no alternatives to social and political status often find themselves in conflicts. This is clear from data on village-based societies (e.g. Chagnon 1992; Robarchek and Robarchek 1998;), nation-states (Daly and Wilson 1988, 1989, 1994; Wilson and Daly 1985), inner-city gangs (Jankowski 1991), and it is present in the arctic as well (e.g. Palinkas 1987). Young men are the most likely participants in homicides, suicides, spouse abuse and other forms of violence (Daly and Wilson 1988) as well as the most risky behaviours (Wilson and Daly 1985). However, risk is also culturally defined (Douglas and Wildavsky 1982), and has possibilities that can often be calculated; uncertainty, on the other hand, cannot be calculated and can generate different reactions (Giddens 2002).

As stated in Chapter 1, my research was instigated in part by several local Aleut and the Aleutians East Borough making a speculative connection between crime in the community, especially among youth, and problems in fishing. There are assumptions implied in the use of crime data to measure social unrest. I have saved this discussion for this final data chapter because I did not evaluate the crime data until the very end of fieldwork and it is critical that the field experience informs the data, and not the other way around. Statistical data reveal provocative correlations, which can then be grounded, analysed and challenged qualitatively. Crime data provide longer-term information than allowed in two years of fieldwork. For the Aleut, crime or social deviance is defined as the violation of codified laws, as well as the violation of social or cultural rules beyond the state's definitions.

Caveats to examining crime data were outlined in Chapter 1, where most of the published data are quantitative, the collection and interpretation of which are fraught with biases (e.g. Moyer 1992; Wood and Trostle 1997), given the often vast discrepancies between inside and outside understandings of legal systems and these behaviours (e.g. Blurton and Copus 1993; Morrow 1993, 1994). Natives have been recruited as law enforcement, putting them and their families in difficult positions, and the officers are often called upon to perform duties beyond their job descriptions (Wood 1999b; Wood and Trostle 1997). These individuals are often judged strongly by the community yet welcomed over a State Trooper. Aleut adjudication methods (outside the law) are also examined for whether there are village councils or local leaders who have authority within and between families. In nearly all village-based societies, the severity of the crime (although it is unclear if the concept of crime actually applies) is determined to some extent by the relationships between the participants, especially the degree of consanguinity (Daly and Wilson 1988). Resolution tactics chosen by many lineage societies are determined by relatedness, with disputes between lineage members adjudicated within the lineage, and disputes between individuals in different lineages requiring more formalized adjudication methods. Handling disputes at the family or village level without involving the police could be viewed as a means of self-preservation against the over-arching state or that it is none of the police's business. In King Cove, there is a strong police presence, but there are also less formal familial and community influences. An analysis of the justice system would require a thesis all its own; here, I consider how some Aleuts get into the system and why.

In previous chapters, I have examined the King Cove community using what medical anthropologists call 'positive deviation', that given a population, it is useful to study the healthy segment to find out what they do differently from the unhealthy ones instead of just focusing on those with the problems. In the following sections, I focus on young adults and household relationships and consider the role of alcohol, which some Aleuts have stated "drives the community," fuelling both positive and negative aspects of community life. Within this, I consider how the Aleut model their

own problems. I then describe aspects of community structure, from bars to law enforcement, and how they are perceived in the community. I turn to civil and criminal data at the end, since the village data are meant to inform the interpretation of the crime data first, advocating a more culturally and socially specific approach to social problems.

6.2 A Generation Adrift

Change is difficult to establish in a few years of fieldwork, but baseline data must come from the Aleut themselves and from a history of regulatory intensification. For them, there has been a rapid erosion of the customary lifeway since 1995. This is not generally regarded as a cycle this time. One man observed, "Younger people don't really understand the significance of these short openings. When I was young, they started fishing in May and didn't have any closings throughout the season." Another man declared, "We used to fish year round. Salmon all summer, then we'd jump on a crab boat for the winter. We never had to wait very long." Limited Entry, by definition, cut off succeeding generations from full membership in fishing. Fishermen before them have been mentors, with young men in apprenticeships. All the incentives (financial, social and cultural) have been there for them to stay in the fisheries and yet, few can hope to own their own boats and permits. This is a generation who still often lives with their parents and crews for whomever will hire them. In many instances, these young men are fathers and their children are being raised by their girlfriends in her parents' homes. To extend the nautical metaphor, most of the current generation is drifting between transitory roles in fishing and a kind of social "Sargasso sea" of idleness.

Despite the difficulties, there is significant pressure on boys to fish coming from both adults and their peers. Wage employment starts early for children where, as crew, a boy can make upwards of $10,000 in one summer (As a consequence, it is not uncommon for teens to owe thousands of dollars in income tax). An elder warned, "They see dollar signs. They think it's gonna last."

In a discussion of youth's behaviour with King Cove's tribal council members, there were disagreements in the severity of their situation. "They have a different mind set [than we did growing up]. Every one of these kids will get in trouble with the police department before they graduate from high school. It was different when I was a kid," stated one man. A woman retorted, "You just didn't get caught. There were no police back then, just _____ and that's it. [referring to the Aleut man who was the only community police officer after King Cove became a 2nd class city] Now there are all these damned police running around." The man continued, "We used to fight, hit and get hit. Knock each other down. I've seen kids fight now and knock each other down. They'll get someone down and they'll *stomp them*. I've seen it." They cited media exposure as an influence, but with regard to what was ultimately responsible, they did not know. In the vein that Bourdieu critiques the effects of media and television as reproducing dominant cultures in others, media exposure has certainly influenced

social interactions among the Aleut, but must not be implicated as 'causing' young men and women to be aggressive or create mischief.

The liminality between rites of passage that Turner described, in which there is freedom in behaviour and relationships with few expectations or roles in society (1967:101), partly applies to the liminality of Aleut youth. Young men have more freedom to engage in recreation, drinking binges and parties, have sexual partners with no expectations, and for whom penalties for breaking laws are less strict because they are considered to be "acting their age," 'age' being flexible depending upon the responsibilities and expectations taken on or put upon the person. For some, however, enormous expectations have already begun in terms of providing subsistence and care for members of their families as described in Chapters 3 and 4. For these young men, there is a frantic element to their lives where they just want to get on with the next stage of life, but have nothing to get on with.

On several occasions, young men's limited role in fishing seemed to affect their interactions with me in that they were fairly confident until it became apparent that I was well aware of the fishing situation and their plight within it. Simply asking if they fished or whom they fished with was loaded with meaning. At one interview at an elder's house, while I was still learning the ins and outs of fishing, this was first made apparent. The elder was extremely hung over and did not remember our phone conversation at 3 o'clock in the afternoon the day before during which I set up the interview and he offered to cook me a salmon patty dinner. "That was just about when the lights started to go out," he said. A young, sometimes-crewman in the neighbourhood (though it had been two years since his last hire) came into the house and settled in on the couch with a beer. After a long chat about mundane topics, the conversation suddenly turned antagonistic.

Neighbour:	You white people should stay the hell out! This is our state!
Elder:	Ah! Don't pay any attention to him. He's a drunk.
Neighbour:	The United *State* of Alaska, that's what I'm talking about! We support you guys down there. You'd be nothing without us!
KR-M:	Could be. *(long pause*) Are you a fisherman?
Neighbour:	Okay.
KR-M:	You don't fish?
Neighbour:	Okay. *(long pause)*
KR-M:	What do you do?
Neighbour:	I used to fish with _____ and _____!
KR-M:	What do you do now?
Neighbour:	I build HUD houses sometimes. *(drained the beer and left).*

This transcript excerpt does not adequately convey the hostility of this conversation. My asking about whether the neighbour was a fisherman was taken as a direct threat to him. Where he had been belligerent and haughty before, he withered almost immediately and left the house. Though he is married and has a family to support, he is intermittently employed and such an alcoholic that he is less

known for his performance in fishing than for his drunken foibles. During the next visit, only after I accepted a beer from the elder, did this man decide that I was okay to talk to again.[110]

Similar problems face young women. For example, after their 18-year-old daughter spent another night in jail for drinking and almost running an officer off the road in her car, the advice this couple got from an elder was, "Get her outta here!" The elder had already sent his daughters out ('out' means 'to Anchorage'), the last one rather recently. "There's nothing here for them to do except drink and get into trouble." Some have gone to Anchorage to start college but many of them returned just as confused about their lives as when they left. A young woman received a full scholarship to a technical college, but decided that she would miss her friends too much and will not leave. And yet, "I've got to get outta here," was a mantra for so many young women.

The issues that plague young Aleut men affect women in different ways. "Women can make themselves feel useful having babies," a health worker observed, and they do. Teen pregnancy was listed as the fourth greatest concern for youth in a survey of health workers, law enforcement, schools and community residents conducted by EATS in 1999 (Table 6.1).

1. Alcohol Abuse	4. Teen pregnancy
2. Lack of alternative activities	5. Lack of motivation
3. Lack of after-school activities	6. Too much idle time

Table 6.1. Survey Results Regarding Community Concerns for Youth. Source: EATS, 1999.

Young Aleut women prefer to partner with successful Aleut fishermen. Mate preferences have been strained in recent decades because these basic criteria are harder to find in young men. When one young woman told me, "I don't normally like white guys, unless they're really, really tan", I asked if she preferred Native men. "Yeah," she said, "but the ones around here suck." The lack of potential Aleut mates outside of King Cove was a real concern for many young women. A young woman was disgusted with the high school in Palmer, Alaska, (north of Anchorage) where she spent a year because "there weren't any Native guys up there." A significant trend in many rural Alaska Native villages is for young women to marry non-Native men and leave the village (Hamilton and Seyfrit 1994a, 1994b), which may have to do with access rather than with preference. This trend does not affect Aleut villages in a measurable way and though women are able to find Aleut mates, it seems that they prefer those men who are not just fishermen, but who may stand to inherit a permit and/or a boat.

The future aspirations of many youth are conflicted. So many of them simply stay home, torn between wanting to live and fish in the village and discovering a life outside of it. The following was

[110] Whether or not you drink alcohol can be a measure of someone's willingness to associate with you, and turning down libations can be seen as a value judgement or snub. Declining a beer, for example, can be an insult to your host.

said by a relative speaking of a young woman who had ideas about going to college but started to get into trouble with drugs and alcohol within a few months before the time she was to start.

> "It's a communication thing with your parents, you know. You don't say nothing. We all grew up with that. She was trying to fill out her scholarship paperwork and her parents wouldn't help her. She's lost like so many kids. So many are in the same boat. They're just out of high school. It's frightening out there. She's in a rut, like so many kids in this town." (07/01)

This scenario is not uncommon. Young people who are presented with opportunities outside the village begin to sabotage their prospects before they even leave. This young woman was sent to an alcohol and drug treatment facility in Anchorage for six weeks, where she was in counselling and on medication. By and large, youth tend not to speak out to parents and other adults, especially to assert goals that their parents may not support. This passage also presents the conflict that many parents feel: they do not want to teach their children how to leave the village but do not want to see them struggling if they remain.[111]

Many adults recognize that youth need experiences outside the village in order to successfully protect fishing rights and ensure their future. One mother was able to take her children to Anchorage and outside the state on a regular basis, but was deeply concerned about the rest, and stated,

> "Few kids are interested in college. Money is good fishing, they're here, they're comfortable. It's scary out there. They're intimidated, don't want to confront the newness because it is such a contrast. If the school would send kids out on trips it might alleviate it."

Another mother was conflicted: "Out there, you know (*shakes head*). They're so protected right here. When kids leave, I hope they come back and I hope they don't." Adults have cited mass out-migration as a concern for young people, yet the reality is that so many continue to stay in the community, if not at their parents' homes, in difficult times. A police officer speculated that they grew up with such closeness, both living together on the boat and at home, and that they will not leave that comfort. "When I give a 24 hour sight and sound order," said the officer, "it's not difficult [to comply with] because they live together." One young man owns his own house in King Cove, but continues to live in his parents' home. The next generations are presented with a division between local versus global ideals. One woman from False Pass said, "I told my kids, 'this is a little place and look at all the bad things that happen. Can you imagine what happens out their [in cities]?'" She despairingly added, "I hope you find some good things here."

So what are the alternatives? After a few weeks of little return in fishing, one fisherman said, "Fall back on the stuff I learned in high school, I guess." Another said, "Guess I'd better look for a welding job." (Welding is one of the few alternative skills taught in the high school.) In most Native American societies, joining the U.S. military is a viable alternative for many young men (and

[111] Parental ambivalence towards education has been recorded in other Aleut communities (Kleinfeld 1971).

sometimes women), giving them renewed respect (e.g. Hackenberg 1972; O'Neill 1999). For as militarised as the Aleutians are, it is remarkable that Eastern Aleut youth tend not to consider this an option. In previous generations, a high number of King Cove men were drafted into the army during the Vietnam War, and one man joined the Air Force.[112] World War II's generation of Aleut men ran army transports, supply ships and cargo ships for the military. This was before a draft, but also before Native Americans were fully considered viable for military duty and still had second-class status (except, perhaps, the Navajo code talkers). But today, few look to this kind of alternative.

Among the Innu of Labrador, Hugh Brody found that increased political activity is related to a decrease in violence (personal comm., 3/00). Disadvantaged or deprived individuals sometimes try to redress their situation through political action, but this can depend upon the type of deprivation, such as economic, health and welfare, social or political (A. Smith 1981:28). Eastern Aleut young men are politically inoperative right now. As more young men find themselves disenfranchised, they might channel their frustration into politics since, "existing data suggest that political and status deprivations are more closely related to political action than economic or service wants" (A. Smith 1981:28).

Reinterpreting Harrison's *The Mask of War* (1993), Bowman found that in the villages of the Manambu lineages in Papua New Guinea, men's cults were interrupting peaceful trade and gift exchange between communities by performing rituals that compel members of their villages to perceive cooperative exchange as aggressive, creating an "us" (often kin relations) and a "them" (distantly related kin or neighbours). These "warriors in waiting" created new identities for themselves, as well as for members of their communities. The male organizations "produced" war in order to give themselves a particular identity, plucked out of a larger, peaceful network of social interaction (Bowman 2001:33-34). Similar to men Bowman described as "warriors in waiting," (2001:34) these young men are "fishermen-in-waiting," seeking ways to affirm an alternative identity with new distinctions and new prestige. An "imitate-the-high-in-status" mechanism was proposed by Barkow where the status conscious adolescent follows behavioural strategies that result in social prestige by imitating popular peers (1994:130). Abbink adds that this mechanism fails when young men stall their own initiations and changes in social status (2001:132). Not unlike a graduate student's completion anxiety in an unfavourable job market, many young Aleut men deliberately hold themselves back and delay any possibility of upward social mobility. While young Aleut men have tried to create alternative identities for themselves, they have been less creative in finding new routes to status and even less successful at compelling the rest of the village to recognize these as legitimate.

[112] In the context of fighting over salmon rights, several Yupiit publicly accused the Aleut of being draft-dodgers during the Vietnam War. Aleut veterans were greatly offended. That the Yupiit would consider this a valid line of reasoning to introduce to the conflict is interesting, almost as if they did not consider the Aleut to be "good Americans," and another reason why they should not be allowed to fish. Based upon my own interviews, a disproportionately high number of Aleuts have served in the military beginning in World War II.

The new routes to status that Eastern Aleut youth have created border on illegality and often include defiance of laws, drinking, vandalism, and seemingly trivial altercations. Youth are torn between what they see on television and perceive outside the community and fishing, yet they cannot fully participate in one or the other. I attempt to quantify their plight in Section 6.6.

6.3 Family

There is a collective sigh of relief among women as soon as the men leave for fishing. In the salmon season, they normally do not see the fleet for the whole month of June. This is a time for women to do things that they might not do when their husbands or fathers are in the house, such as start craft projects, go to the bar, and visit friends more often. A few women had affairs during that time with non-fishing men or transient tendermen. Women are also bracing themselves for the potential consequences of a bad fishing season or even a good fishing season. Bad seasons could lead to tension, abuse, or anger. Good seasons have been implicated in hedonistic behaviours of men, making them feel invincible, chasing women other than their wives or leaving to party in Anchorage.

Women have said that they have counted on that time apart, on that respite from their spouses. With the June fishery severely curtailed, fishermen continuously return to the harbour between short-term openings, reducing these breaks to only a few days at a time. Constant homecomings required women to remain alert to their husbands' needs, and often produced rising tension after each poor fishing opener.

At the start of this chapter, I began with a man in the process of being edged out of fishing due to financial, political and personal circumstances. Whether edged out entirely, or just for a season, several fishermen were forced to stay home in the course of my fieldwork. One fisherman stuck at home in 2002 said, "Look at me! I'm sitting ashore! Even if I were out there [fishing] I'd be fighting for a crew. It's impossible and I'd go backwards [further in debt]." They were angry, and spent time explaining their situation as beyond their control.

Uncertainties abound, from opening to opening, season to season, year to year. People are always looking for alternatives to disappointing seasons, whether it is to insert themselves into different fisheries, or to compensate for the current setbacks with explanations. These compensations can also take liquid form, which produces other concerns.

6.4 Good Fishermen are not Drunk Fishermen

> "I made my beer money anyway. I brought in seven reds this trip. Better to have the fish in my house than selling it this year." (Crewman 7/02)

The only places to buy alcohol in King Cove are the Native-owned liquor store, the Native-owned bar, and the Native Corporation-owned bar. The liquor store goes from being fully stocked to

virtually empty in the first week of June as fishermen supply their boats for the salmon season. Most captains have a 'no drinking' policy on board, except between openings and when not on duty.

An elder in King Cove recalled major changes in the village after the first bar was built in the 1970s. People used to go from house to house celebrating with home brews such as salmonberry wine. Now that there are public drinking venues, he said, household parties have become less frequent, and seem to occur most when money is tight because the bars are more expensive than buying from the liquor store. One King Cove couple averaged their yearly bill for alcohol, cigarettes, and paying babysitters to watch their children while they go to the bar at $23,000. "It costs a lot to drink out here," many people have noted, but the high costs seem not to be a deterrent.

Like many towns and neighbourhoods, the bars tend to act as community centres. For men in King Cove, the bars are a kind of secondary social centre after the Harbor House. For women, the bars are second to each other's homes. Between openings, fishermen and crews will crowd the bars, sometimes before they have even showered. It was rumoured that the Corporation Bar would not cut people off if they were too drunk anymore because they were losing money. They used to have a policy that if you were thrown out of the bar for your behaviour, they would not let you back in for 30 days, but that policy no longer applies because they were losing money. Young women are hired to tend bar and sometimes cannot handle obnoxious drunks. The way this bar is managed was under heavy community criticism throughout the span of fieldwork. At the Native-owned bar, however, the owner watches out for her relatives drinking there. One night, when a non-Native visitor tried to buy a round of shots for several of the owner's uncles sitting at the bar, she told the man that one had a bad liver, another had already had too much, and the other needed to go home to his wife.

Among many adults and teens in King Cove, including the non-resident fishermen and their crews, the state of drunkenness is an almost daily experience. One elder, pointing at a sheepish young man hovering in his doorway, complained, "This guy here was banging on my door at 4:30 this morning looking for beer. Somebody's always looking for beer." While some whites will mention alcoholism as a problem and one that should arouse guilt, reference is seldom made to alcoholism among Aleuts. This can have devastating effects. In the mid-1990s, a woman had been at a party drinking all night long. She decided to walk home with her baby in her arms and her young son walking next to her. A bear attacked them and killed the little boy. I heard this story approximately ten times from ten different people before anyone included the fact that the mother had been drunk. Talking to this woman years after the fact, she told of her husband's continued abuse over the incident. "*I'm* the killer," she said.

'Alcoholic' is rarely used but there are a large number of King Cove residents that fit the medical definition, which is a person who habitually drinks alcohol to excess. The overwhelming majority of reported crimes and domestic violence involve alcohol between one or both parties.

Almost all calls at the King Cove Police Department are alcohol-related; in the 16 months one police officer has worked for the force, he only had one call that did not involve alcohol. "If it wasn't for alcohol, we wouldn't see minors in here [the police station]," said the Chief. He was relieved, however, that minors were mostly drinking instead of using drugs, even though a growing concern for him is local people going out to Anchorage to buy drugs and bring them back to sell.

Some parents buy booze for their children and condone them drinking and driving. Many teenagers in King Cove have DWIs (Driving While Intoxicated) on their records and their drivers' licenses revoked. One 17-year-old had a DWI and drove all the time anyway. His mother asked me not to let him borrow any vehicles from the residence where I was staying. He later got drunk one night and wrecked the family car by driving it into the pilings of a house. Several grown men have numerous DWIs and cannot drive as well. In one family, a 40-year-old man was having to ask his young niece for rides around town on his 4-wheeler, since he was not allowed to drive even that.

There are a few cases of people in King Cove who drink in the morning and then clean up and try to hide it for work or for a fishing opener. Excessive drinking is implicated in reduced participation in fishing because it slows efficiency. Captains are frequently 'beached' because their crew was drunk or severely hung over. The state of drunkenness can be quite dangerous on boats and is the reason for a number of accidents, 'man overboard' emergencies, and deaths.

A discussion about alcohol in False Pass found one man linking problems of drinking with the harsh environment. "Look around you. There are active volcanoes all around. People are responding to the wind and the weather." Others argued that people drink because of a lack of activities. During a long discussion with a woman in False Pass about drinking she said that men do not like to drink at home but will go off with other men. "People here don't just get drunk for a day, but for a week." She continued, "I ask drunks, 'why do you hate yourself so much?'" Nancy Lurie proposed pan-Native American drinking as the "world's oldest on-going protest demonstration" (Lurie 1971).

One man was concerned that in poor fishing years, gambling would be seen as a potential money making activity. I observed two women spend approximately $500 each one night on pull-tabs, the legal cardboard slot machine introduced by the tribal council.[113] These women set a garbage can between them and pulled the tabs as fast as they could. One woman let her cigarette burn all the way down to her fingers and scorched her hand because she was so engrossed in pull-tabs.

There is variation in the extent to which people within King Cove identify drinking as a problem, but it is clear that drinking, gambling and problems in fishing are intimately related. As one elder said during the poor salmon season of 2002, "No way will I be going to the bar tonight. Too

[113] Alaska's current charitable gaming program allows virtually any organization, from labour unions to political parties, to raise money through pull-tab permits. Pull-tab game pieces are sold for $1 apiece at the bars. Here, this money goes to the Agdaagux Tribal Council, and is used for financial assistance to needy tribal members (see also Riches 1982 on redistribution).

many fishermen. There'll be lots of fights because it's a bad season." As seasons open and close, fishermen race to the bars to celebrate or commiserate, their performances on the water easily discernable by their behaviour.

6.5 Culture and Crime

Among villagers, *crime*, for the most part, is a term reserved for the behaviour of transient cannery workers. Deviance and crime are locally defined based upon what constitutes acceptable behaviour. For example, the truck I had rented had a smashed windshield, no signal lights, one headlight, windshield wipers that turned on and off at whim, and the passenger door and windows would not open. The engine died at every turn or if going downhill and the key was stuck in the ignition. An Aleut woman riding with me joked, "I don't think this thing is even King Cove legal!" "King Cove legal" was used to describe anything from driving drunk to battered vehicles with expired license plates to hunting caribou out of season.

There can be a clash between state and Aleut definitions of crime for some depending upon the situation. In many instances, those about to be arrested for petty crimes told the police that since they were "local" their behaviour was acceptable. A police officer described how some people he has just arrested will sit in jail in total disbelief, saying "Man, I can't believe I'm in trouble." Even though they were arrested, they still did not believe they did anything wrong.

A disproportionate number of Alaskan Natives, adults and youth, are found in the justice system; Alaska Natives make up 36 percent of the prison population but only 15.6 percent of the state's population (Alaska Dept. of Corrections, 2000 Offender Profile; Census 2000; Schafer, Curtis and Atwell 1997). The reasons for this are contested. Alaska is under Public Law 83-280, known as federal statute P.L. 280, which, in 1953, extended civil and criminal jurisdiction of the state to include Natives on Native lands (Case 1984:14). Alaska Native self-government is now limited by or concurrently shared with the state. The law has been interpreted to give more extensive jurisdiction in criminal matters rather than civil (Case 1984:27). While I have argued that the Aleut have local definitions of crime, they are also citizens of the State of Alaska and the United States, which have codified descriptions of what culturally constitutes crime. The Aleut are intimately aware of these external conditions and participate directly in the American judicial system. It is critical that quantitative data collected as a by-product of Aleut interaction with the more global judicial system be used in comparison with the local constructions of criminal behaviour identified during fieldwork.

Social service agencies merge the Aleut with larger entities, for example the Indian Health Services (IHS) and the Division of Family and Youth Services (DFYS) combine the Aleutians with the Anchorage regional service centre, skewing the data to the urban population, or mixing them with Alaska Natives in general and making the Aleut disappear in the statistics. Studies involving violence

and crime in Anchorage lump Eskimo, Athapaskan and Aleut ethnicities in their survey findings (e.g. Huelsman 1983). To the statistical researcher it seems, Native is Native and the separation of ethnicities would be less impressive. Though these studies indicate that there is a great deal of unreported crimes among Alaskan Natives on Anchorage's "skid row", they are not particularly useful to one asking whether people from Aleut villages commit crimes in Anchorage and, if so, what are the circumstances at home and 'in town'?[114] Where law enforcement places strict rules on the availability of data, the legal system treats most of their records as public information (excluding some juvenile records). As introduced in Chapter 1, much of the crime data in Anchorage and in King Cove comes from public records made available by the Alaska Court System in Anchorage. In addition, the King Cove Police Department provided statistical summary information for a five-year period (1997-2001), including monthly breakdowns of incidents, activities, and calls.

6.5.1 Law enforcement in King Cove

The composition of the King Cove police force changed several times during the course of fieldwork; the force generally consists of a chief and three officers. Throughout most of fieldwork the police chief was a local Aleut man born and raised in King Cove, and was a member of one of the largest lineages. The officers were usually from outside the community or outside Alaska and had only been in King Cove a relatively short time. "All the good ole boys are gone," one woman lamented, stating that they would have given a drunk driver "a good talking to" instead of arresting him/her. There is also a Village Public Safety Officer (VPSO) who doubles as the Fire Chief of the volunteer fire department. The purpose of the VPSO program is meant to provide a police presence to remote villages of Alaska that cannot afford conventional police, ideally hiring local people to fill the roles, and is funded in part by the state. There is some tension between the officers and the VPSO, partly due to a blurring of jurisdictional duties between them.[115] The village's budget crisis, due to lost revenue from the fishing predicament, resulted in the police department losing an officer and the

[114] The Division of Records and the Division of Information Services and Criminal Analysis of the Anchorage Police Department provided no answers: they do not break down their database by ethnicity, sex, village of origin, or even distinguish victim versus suspect. I was referred instead to their annual statistics report on their website, www.anchorage.ak.us, which offers only general information. The Alaska Department of Public Safety also provided statistical information for Aleut villages, collected as part of the Uniform Crime Reporting system (UCR), created to ensure comparable data at the state and federal levels. The King Cove Police Department is a "non-contributing municipal agency" in the UCR system (only St. Paul and Unalaska provide annual data), though they did participate in 1999. Ideally, these crime data include offence description, data/time, alcohol/drug involvement, age, sex, race, and victim-offender relationships, however there were huge gaps in their database. More specific information is protected in both the Alaska Constitution, Alaska Statutes and the Victim Rights Act of 1991. Data older than 1987 has been purged from their files. The extracts that were provided to me represent only crimes reported, not calls for service.

[115] VPSOs have a high turnover in villages across Alaska, and Aleut villages are no exception (Wood 1999b; 2000). They are ranked according to the date of original hire. King Cove's VPSO is ranked #24 of 80, having been hired in 1995. Akutan's VPSO is ranked #3, having been on the job since 1981; all other VPSOs in Aleut villages have only been in those positions for a few years or less.

position in July 2002. “A three man department is tough because of the burnout factor,” said the Police Chief. “We can’t afford to lose any more. They are very expensive to replace.”

Community members described a love-hate relationship between the community and the police force. “Cops are harassing their kids when they are in trouble, but if something happens to them they ask, ‘Where are the damn cops?’” according to one woman. Several teenagers noted that people behave in different ways depending upon which officer is on duty because they know they can get away with certain things. “There’s some of the ‘white man’ stuff,” she said, that some consider the white police to be targeting Aleuts. She stated that when she was younger (just 10 years ago) the cops would “make fun of Aleuts.” My interviews with non-Native officers indicated an ‘us versus them’ attitude, with them referring to Aleuts as “these people,” for example, out of earshot of Aleuts. None of the officers I interviewed are still employed with the department since clashes with the community resulted in them being fired. The Aleut Chief of Police experienced difficulties of his own, saying he had to arrest family members in the past, putting him in a difficult, but sympathetic, position.

King Cove’s jail is more of a “holding facility” with two cells. Some jail guards make prisoners sit alone in the cells, but mostly they watch television outside the cells in the holding pen. Microwavable meals are provided by the state and they have access to bibles, comic books, magazines, and a shower. For the local inmates, family members “baby them” and bring them food. They can bring in their own blankets and even their own television if it makes them comfortable. Prisoners from the cannery are watched more closely and not let out of the cells. Those arrested watch a video that advises them of their rights and all arraignments are done by telephone to Anchorage. The nearest magistrate is in Cordova. Security is somewhat lax: young Aleut women and men still on probation from their own offences were hired to guard prisoners from the cannery.

Law enforcement is mixed, experiencing constant employee turnover, and operating on a strained budget, but by and large, the King Cove Police Department is an effective, respected group, whose place in the community is understood as necessary, if at times difficult. The city mayor has hiring/firing entitlement, and officers are sometimes in difficult positions with respect to community leaders’ families in which enforcing laws, or even mishandling a situation as defined by a leader, can cost them their jobs.

6.6 Court and Criminal Data

As stated, *crime* is used most often with reference to cannery workers. Many recorded crimes in King Cove occur at Peter Pan Seafoods. “A fresh crop of cannery people might make me want to lock my door,” said one local man. Prior to 2000, there was a poor to non-existent security screening system for workers at the cannery. They have hired convicted murderers, escaped convicts, and people with long ‘rap sheets.’ In the spring of 2000, Peter Pan hired an escaped convict from Kansas

and the state had to extradite him. That same year, the cannery hired a permanent security guard for the first time. He tries to handle the problems before they become criminal, but the police deal with them after that point. The Police Chief was relieved that "the whole picture has changed now." They have a screening system that includes background checks on potential workers. "It's costly to bring a person in here. They were losing manpower and money having to ship them out. And it was a strain on city services, both the PD [Police Department] and clinic…They have a different management. They don't fool with troublemakers now."

Peter Pan is fairly isolated from the rest of the community such that there is not much conflict between their workers and local residents. They work around the clock and rarely have time off, but when they do, it frequently happens that cannery workers will take over the bar such that local people will leave. Cannery workers and community members occasionally will get into fights over women or other matters, but these almost always occur at the bar and involve alcohol.

The call ratio between the city and the cannery for the last few years indicates that a small percentage of the total calls to the Police Department are made by the cannery, but a large percentage of the total arrests are related to Peter Pan Seafoods (see Figure 6.1).

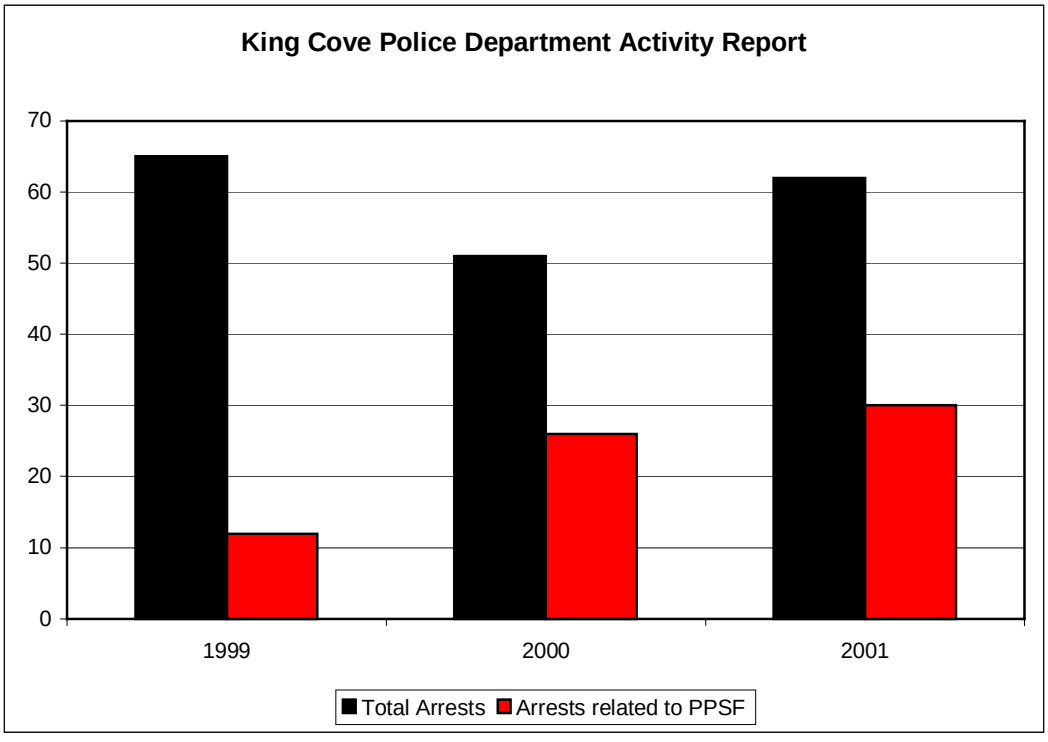
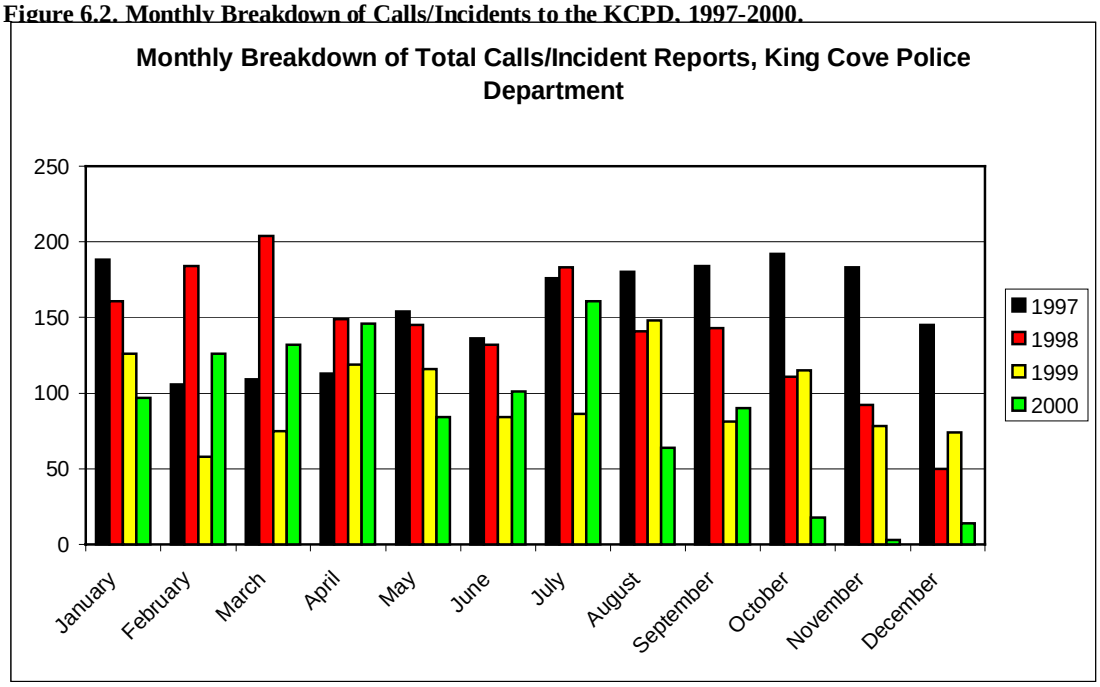


Figure 6.1. Three-year activity report. 2001 data only include 10 of the 12 months. Source: King Cove Police Department

Figure 6.2 illustrates the calls and incident reports by month for the King Cove Police Department. Note that during the last half of 1997 and the first half of 1998 there is an increase in the number of calls, a point that I will return to later. If we revisit the monthly schedule of activity and economics illustrated in Chapter 3, January to February are spent crabbing and groundfish fishing, March is busy with another groundfish opener such as black cod, April is for herring fishing, May is salmon preparation, June to September is spent salmon fishing, October is for King crab, Permanent Fund Dividends are distributed in November,[116] and they may fish groundfish IFQs again in December.

Figure 6.2. Monthly Breakdown of Calls/Incidents to the KCPD, 1997-2000.



The monthly breakdown in the number of calls coincides in large part with the schedule of workers arriving for the cannery. Based on these data, the King Cove Police Department indicated that there was almost a schedule in which criminal activity could be predicted. The Department ranked the top three problems as: "alcohol, assaultive behaviour, and domestic violence assaults." What accounts for this?, I asked. "The textbook answer," said a police officer, "is that work here is seasonal. People go out, they make a pile of money, then they don't have work. And there's nothing to do here. So then they start drinking. They get new rigs, spend it all fast. The money runs out. That's when the problems start. They start fighting. It's a cycle that repeats itself and they can't get out of it."

Violations during fishing seasons do occur. During crabbing seasons, one man complained that the crab fishermen are "like a bunch of pirates" and told of a crabbing crew that stole a quarter of

[116] There were no dividend checks issued in 2003, the effects of which require a separate study.

a million dollars from Peter Pan in 2000.[117] "The state troopers came in and caught up with them in Dutch. They bragged to the wrong friends, I guess, with a $10,000 reward out." In October 2001, the *Anchorage Daily News* reported a crab boat stranded in Cold Bay that had been burgled of crab pots and crab. Within the King Cove fishing fleet, small fishing violations are generally overlooked among other fishermen *if the violator does not get caught* and *if the violation does not impinge on others*. If he or she does get caught, then the ramifications can be socially more devastating because the behaviour reflects on the status of the entire fleet, particularly in the chum war, and the fishermen share the same fate. In the span of fieldwork, the only admission of dumping chum salmon was by one crewman's mother who felt her son did not have a choice. Small transgressions are usually ignored, otherwise they tend to police one another on the water for incidents such as robbing each other's subsistence nets.

Enforcement of fishing violations can both be cooperative and antagonistic with Fish & Game authorities. As I have argued, if people do not own, or at least influence, the decision-making process with regards to rights and regulations, they are more likely to ignore the rules. In McCay's "Pirates of Piscary" article (1984), she found that piracy in New Jersey, defined as fish and shellfish poaching, is a cultural response to a long history of restrictive fisheries legislation and intensified enforcement of restrictions, sustained by a myth that the government discriminates against commercial fishermen and that they are justified in illegal fishing. Piracy is considered a "natural law" and "unalienable right" of the commoners to access the commons (1984:34). Compliance is at issue, and people that do not agree with the laws may not follow them.

6.6.1 Local transgressions, public and private

Most recorded crimes are petty larceny, and often connected to the cannery. Even these are few and far between and almost all involve alcohol. A mental health provider predicted that I would not detect the crimes that he sees in the crime statistics, and that there are more interpersonal crimes than any other type. He knew of no reported rapes, but that they do occur, particularly date rapes, adding "men out here don't want to get you drunk because they like to see you happy." Other kinds of rapes occur that are also unreported, as are child abuse and child molestation. Others in the community agreed with this assessment. One woman personally knew of assaults, underage drinking, vehicle accidents, and sexual abuse that were not reported. "I don't know if it's just because it's a small town or what." King Cove is not an anonymous place, which plays a role in the type of crimes that are most prevalent and reported.

"Nothing ever gets reported," stated one young woman, who spoke of her friends being raped by local young men when they were all drunk at parties. A health worker believed that there is a

[117] Many crab fishermen also described themselves as 'pirates'.

pervasive feeling that nothing will be done about these crimes, and their justification for this is a history of police isolation. "The police live in an isolated social enclave; they are in the community but not a part of it." The police, he argued, did not pursue many of the more serious crimes. He saw every kind of drug entering King Cove on fishing boats from all over the North Pacific, but believed that the law enforcement makes little effort to curb this. Drugs come in "helter-skelter", he said, mostly marijuana, some cocaine and hybrid drugs, but alcohol is preferred. He added, “Adults buy booze and give it to the kids. They’re not prosecuted. You won’t see this in the crime stats.”

Non-Native, non-locals have informed on child welfare problems to police and welfare agencies in the past (Jones 1969b:299) and there is some evidence that this continues today. A False Pass woman complained to me about “non-Native Christian women” informing the Division of Family and Youth Services of problems in her family. At the time of our conversation, she was waiting for a DFYS investigator to arrive as a result, and was extremely resentful: “They won’t take my kids away or they’ll have a fight!”

Most crimes are “private”, meaning they are not openly discussed or reported. There are, however, also many “public” crimes, those that occur out in the open and thus are on everyone’s lips. The crime of the decade seemed to have occurred just before I arrived to begin fieldwork in the spring of 2000: a man stole a taxicab. He was drunk at the bar, called a cab, and he was waiting in the car while the driver went back inside to look for more rides. He got bored waiting, jumped into the front seat, found the keys in the ignition, and drove around and eventually home. His sister called him to tell him that the cops were looking for him so he locked himself in his house. The police had to “kick the door down.” He had only been out of jail for a day or two when I met him. “From 8 to 10, I’m in the pen,” he joked. His family brought him food and doted on him while he was in jail. “Hard time,” he laughed. Thus, crimes discussed out in the open are often less serious, with no victims.

6.6.2 The Angry Young Men and Women

The crime data for young men and women are difficult to quantify because most crimes for those fewer than 18 years of age are either not reported or unavailable because the records are closed. Looking at age-sex specific data, significant patterns emerged. In the database of crimes compiled from court records, looking just at criminal offences such as DWIs, Assault, Theft, Disorderly Conduct, Attempted Sexual Abuse, Malicious Destruction of Property, and Violating Domestic Violence Restraining Order, I considered the age of the defendant at the time of the incident and separated them out for males and females. Figure 6.3 illustrates a type of ‘young male syndrome’ as described by Wilson and Daly (1985) but also a ‘young female syndrome’. However, for the men, two patterns of criminal activity are in evidence: the first occurring for those between the ages of 17 and 23, and the second occurring for those between the ages of approximately 27 and 40. This could

reflect an extended ‘young male syndrome’ where men who have tried to enter the fishing industry as more than crewmen have not been successful, and engage in behaviours that they might not otherwise.

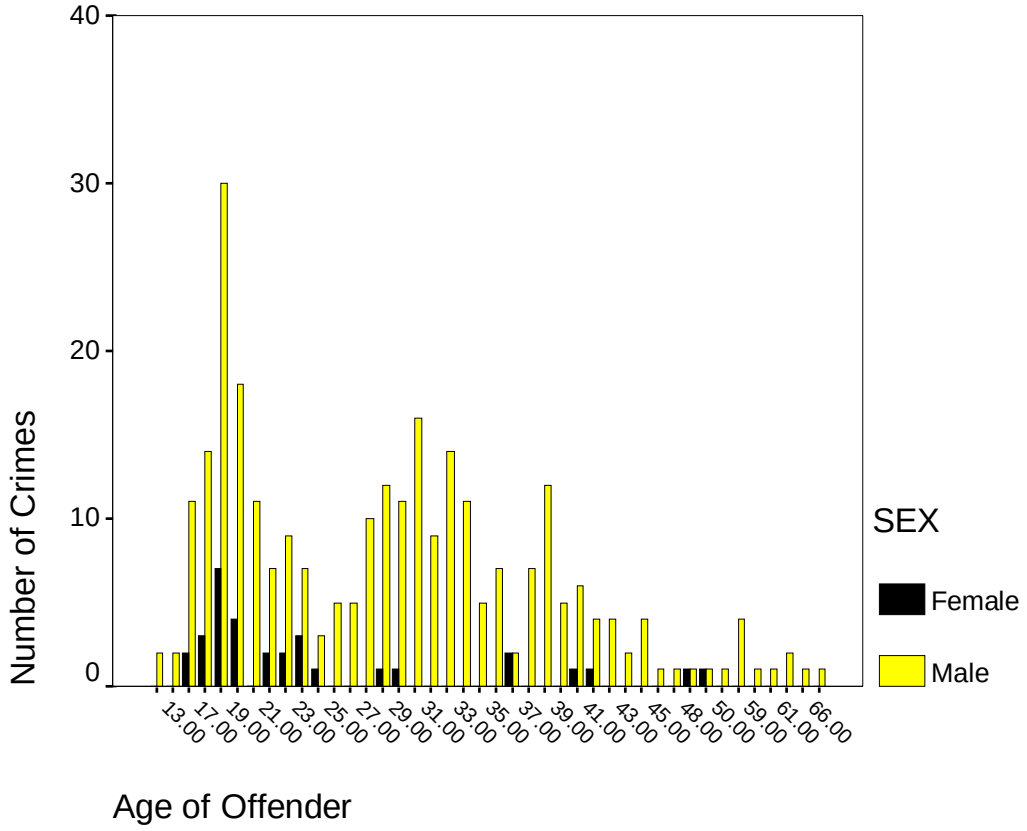


Figure 6.3. Offender sex and age data for numbers of crimes between 1900 and 2002, King Cove.

6.6.3 Men and Women

There cannot be a "'gender-free' interpretation" of crime (Archer 1994:6). This is not to suggest that crime and violence are male problems rather than human problems, as some feminist writers propose (Archer and Lloyd 1985), but rather that there are significant sex differences in homicide, crime, domestic violence, sexual assault, and same-sex violence. Statistically, there are vast gender differences in overt acts of violence, which overwhelmingly find male perpetrators (Archer 1994; Daly and Wilson 1988; Dobash and Dobash 1992), but of course acts committed by women often go unreported more than acts committed by men, which is a primary reason why I started in the communities before I explored patterns in crime data. If the prevalence of certain types of crime is related to negative constraints on cultural and social identity or individual success, then central to sex

differences are questions of male/female roles and interactions. The relationship between aggressors and victims is also crucial.

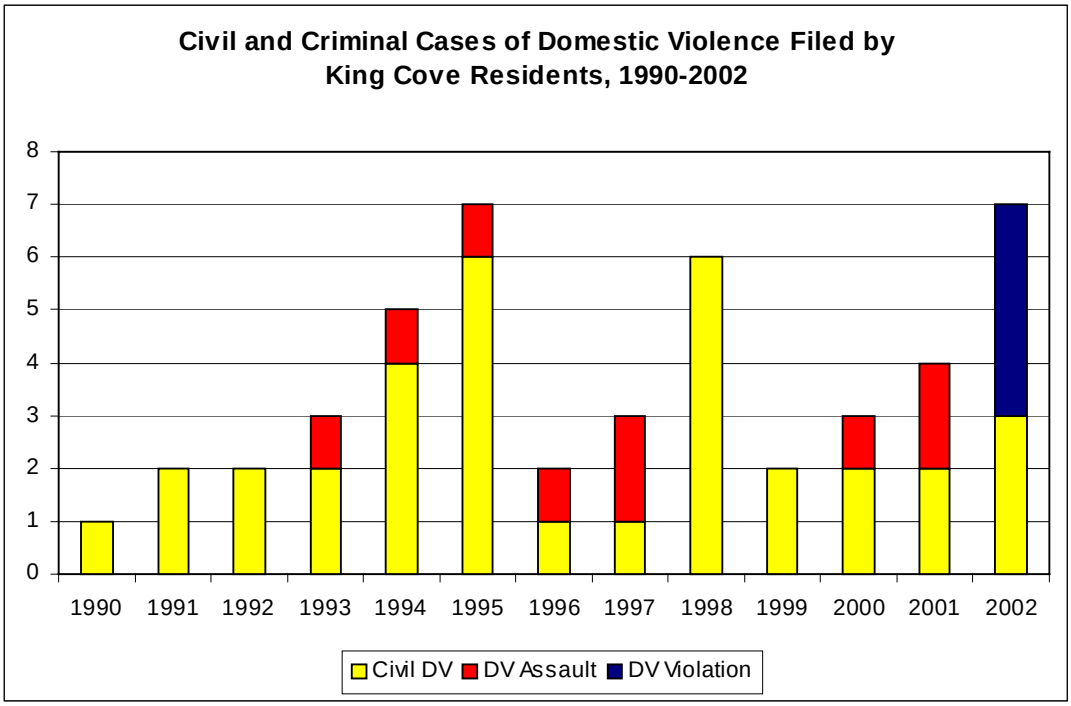


Figure 6.4. Civil and Criminal Cases of Domestic Violence filed by King Cove residents, 1990-2002.

In examining court cases of domestic violence, only 14.9 % of Plaintiffs/Petitioners in domestic violence cases were male. Instead, men were Defendants/Respondents in 85.1% of the cases (see Table 6.2). The cases where men filed as plaintiffs often involved children and endangerment to them.

	Civil DV	Assault DV	DV Violation	Percent
Female Plaintiff/Petitioner	27	9	4	85.1
Male Plaintiff/Petitioner	7			14.9

Table 6.2. Number of Male and Female Plaintiffs/Petitioners in Domestic Violence Cases filed, 1990-2002.

A health provider stated that "violence is prevalent," and often related to alcohol. "Violence is not seasonal *per se*, but it changes with fishing," she argued. She knew of court-mandated alcohol counselling cases as a result of domestic violence.

The location in which the crime appears in the court system is significant when considering domestic violence. So few cases reported in King Cove actually made it as far as the Magistrate in Cordova. Cases of domestic violence committed in Anchorage were more likely to involve the courts. This could indicate that domestic violence among people of King Cove was more prevalent when they

were staying in Anchorage. My sense, however, is that victims of domestic violence were more willing to involve the police in Anchorage than the police in King Cove. One elder told me how her husband used to beat her, to unconsciousness on several occasions, and when she called the police, they would take him away just long enough for him to sober up, and then they would bring him right back to the house. Another woman stated that when she called the police on her abusive husband, they took him to his mother's house instead of arresting him. There is little alternative for police either. Both of these women were speaking of incidents that were ten or more years old, but still very fresh in their minds. In one case, a woman described the situation is her family, as "My kids seen him beat me, but this last time they saw me fight back." She and her children had moved out of the house two weeks earlier, but were still spending a lot of time in the house with her husband. "I moved out for one year before, but _____ started sleeping over and eating there [at her new house]." The bidarki reference made in Chapter 4, in which men are stuck to their spouses and hard to pry off, seems accurate for these relationships. These stories also illustrate the absence of alternative social service organizations such as shelters or safe houses.

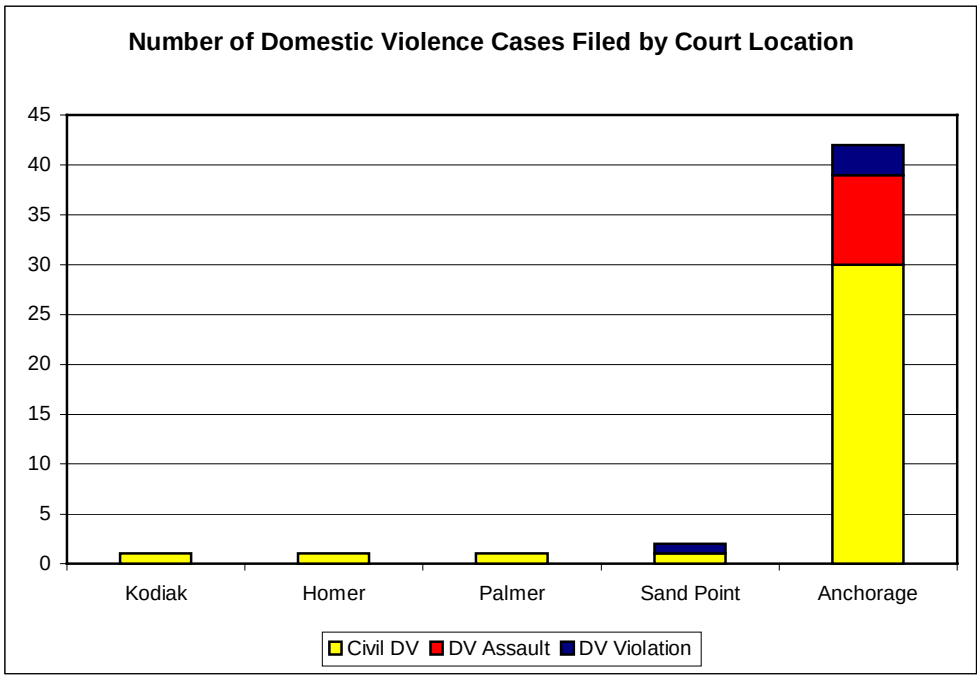


Figure 6.5. Number of Domestic Violence Cases involving King Cove residents filed by court location, 1990-2002.

6.6.4 Conflict Resolution and Punishment

There are counselling services to turn to, but no women's shelter or youth halfway house. There is a great deal of movement of children and adults between homes, and much of this is in avoidance of conflict, though it is rarely stated. Children and youth would sometimes sleep on my

couch because their parents were fighting. I was told of one woman with two children who often waits outside her home in any kind of weather holding her children against her for warmth waiting until her abusive husband turns off the lights so she knows it is safe to go back inside.

In Nelson Lagoon (pop. 80), there is a community-wide 'zero tolerance' policy for spousal and child abuse, according to the VPSO. Anyone that violates this policy will be expelled from the village. This type of policy works in a place of so few people and limited social services. In King Cove, with ten times the population of Nelson Lagoon, this does not exist as a policy, and it might not work because of village size, the influence of certain families, and structures in place to legally and socially deal with family violence. However, some individuals have been banished, and is probably the strongest form of punishment imposed community-wide. In some hunter-gatherer societies, banishment was believed to be tantamount to spiritual or physical death (e.g. for the Inuit, see Briggs 1970). In King Cove, it is tantamount to losing one's identity, even though they are not formally stripped of tribal membership. Banishment means no longer being able to visit or to fish, and limited contact with family. Two cases of banishment were reported to me, one of the alleged perpetrator of sexual abuse of a minor and the other involving vehicular manslaughter of a young man. My sense in these two cases was that banishment from the village has more devastating consequences than any sentence the legal system could impose. King Cove is evaluating prospects for creating a tribal youth court within the provisions of P.L. 280 in hopes of effectively adjudicating youth matters locally and keeping offenders in the community.

6.7 Social conflict and fishing?

Are problems in fishing responsible for social conflict? Running numerous paired correlations using variables associated with fishing and crime, a number of relationships emerged. I expected rates of crime and deviance to increase as opportunities to fish decreased. In Greenland, the number of criminal court cases increased in villages where fisheries landings decreased, and in villages where landings increased, crime rates were below average (Hamilton, Lyster and Otterstad 2000:207). However, I found no relationship between any of the crime statistics and red, chum, king, or pink salmon harvesting. As access to salmon decreased then, the need to fish alternative species increased. Thus, fluctuations in access to these alternatives should coincide with changing crime rates.

Figure 6.6 shows that as the number of vessels fishing decreases, and wealth is in fewer hands, the number of reported and prosecuted crimes, violent and non-violent, increases. Between 1997 and 2001 (data for 2002 were incomplete), there is a linear increase in reported crimes.

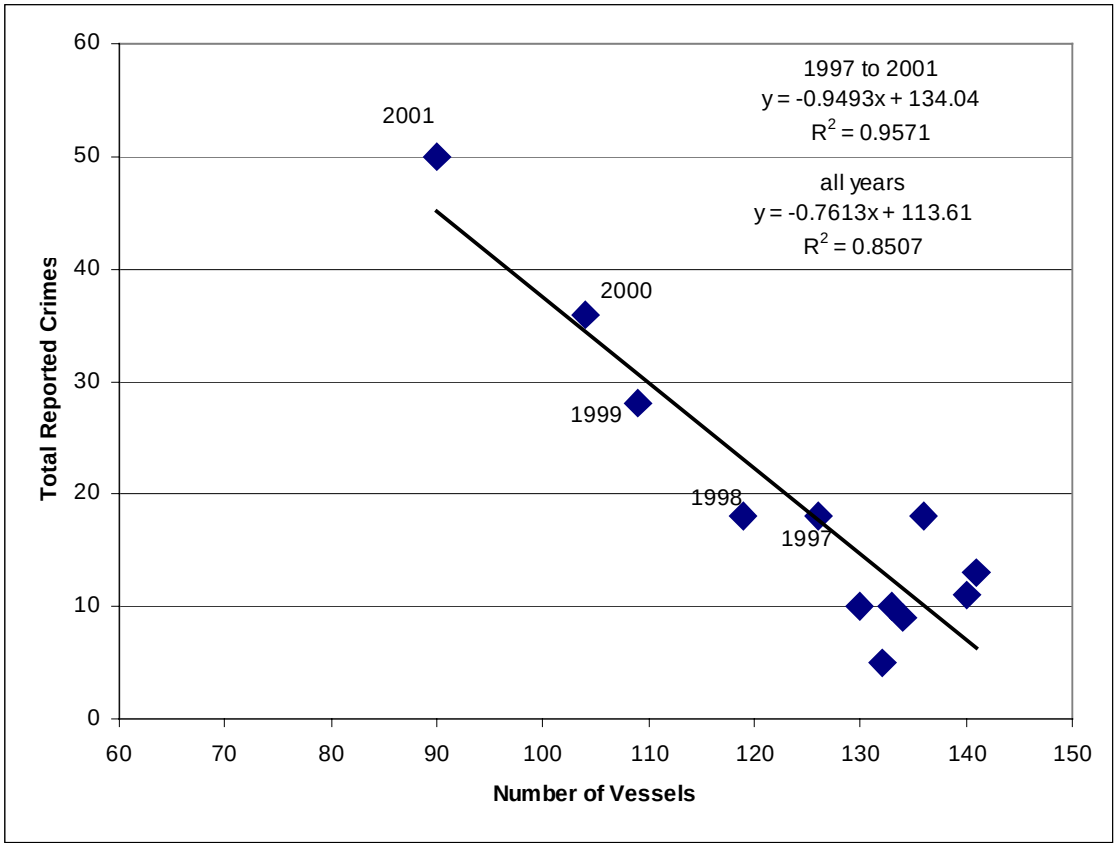


Figure 6.6. Total reported crimes versus number of fishing vessels. As the number of fishing vessels in King Cove decreases between 1997 and 2001, crimes filed in the Alaska Court System increase.

The number of decreasing vessels and increasing crime may be spurious, and simply a by-product of the reduction in the fleet through time and increasing crime through time. However, it may also mean that the fewer people fishing, the greater the amount of crime. It could also reflect the greater disparity between the haves and the have-nots as being relative rather than absolute, that there are decreasing opportunities for recognized status.

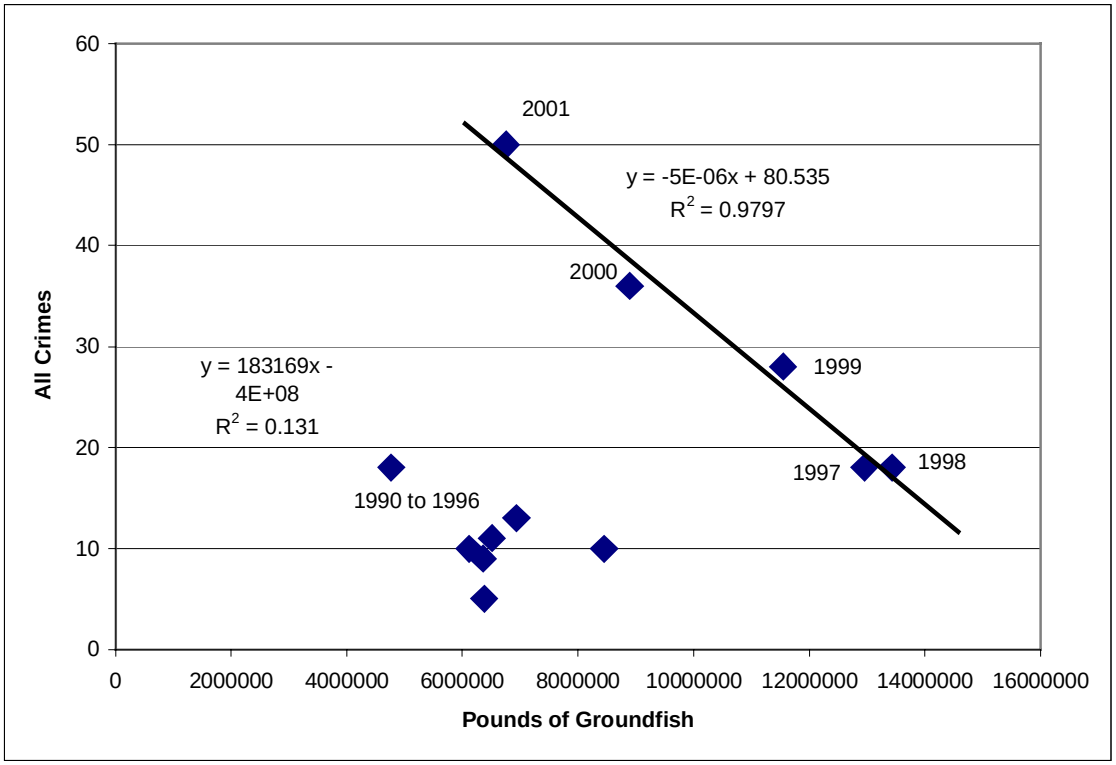


Figure 6.7. Relationship between pounds of groundfish harvested by the King Cove fleet and crimes found in the Alaska Court system.

Figure 6.7 illustrates the intensification of groundfish fishing, the latter being their reserve strategy, fished more intensively if the salmon season was poor. Groundfish fishing requires IFQ (Individual Fishing Quota) shares to participate; in other words, you have to have been assigned shares for the right to fish based upon historical catches for the vessel owner. These quotas fluctuate with the total allowable catch set by the North Pacific Fisheries Management Council. When expansion is restricted, then crime rates seem to follow the numbers of fish landed in reverse. Recall from Figure 6.2 showing the monthly breakdown of calls/incident reports to the King Cove Police Department that the last half of 1997 and the first half of 1998 there is a strong increase in these calls and incidents. This time coincides with the data above during which the numbers of crimes break away from the cluster of the previous years and increase linearly. Though these are two different datasets, and *calls* appear to decrease in the years to follow, read together they might indicate a significant event contributing to the rise in crimes.

As we saw in Chapter 5, restrictions on groundfish fisheries began in earnest in 1997 in relation to endangered species. Again, between 1997 and 2001, there is a linear increase in numbers of crimes with the decline in pounds of groundfish harvested. Thus, groundfish appear to be related to crime rates from 1997 to 2001, but not in the six years before in which crime floats independent of the amount of fish harvested. Communities with lower populations along the North Pacific have shown an

out-migration in quota shares since the program was implemented in 1995, possibly indicating their frustration with restrictions or the sale of shares to satisfy immediate financial needs.

6.8 'Anchorage's Next Street People'?

> "We'll all have to move to Anchorage, it's cheaper to live. We'll be Anchorage's next street people." (Seiner 10/00)

This Aleut seine fisherman and elder could see no opportunity for financial recovery in the absence of a full salmon fishery, and feared that he and his relatives would be forced to find a life in Anchorage in the near future. Anchorage's Fourth Avenue has become a kind of skid row for the city's street people. Often these are Native people that did not succeed in their home villages and have come to Anchorage where they panhandle and live in shelters (Huelsman 1983). Though Huelsman's data are lumped for all Native peoples on the streets of Anchorage, in my own experiences there are noticeably few Aleuts (so far).

A white, male health provider stated:

> "I feel a personal sense of burden to kids to look beyond the fishing industry. There are physical limitations too. There's a kid here with knee problems. His brothers both fish and he feels left out, angry. -I tell him he can do lots of other things. You don't have to live here to be an Aleut." (King Cove, 6/00)

But maybe you do. Aleuts pride themselves on their continued survival in their traditional homeland. Fienup-Riordan sees the mobility and urban migration of the Yupiit to be an expansion of the Native community and a sharper affirmation of Yup'ik identity across boundaries (2000:Ch.5). In contrast, the Aleut do not have the population or village numbers that the Yupiit have, and out-migration is seen more in terms of a trickling away of their relatives and their society. While some maintain second homes in Anchorage, the physical connection to the village and the annual return to fishing are essential to their lives.

Once you leave the fisheries, there is almost no chance of re-entry,

> "There's no chance for us, none whatsoever down here. And they've taken from people that were doing really well too, all on their own. They've stripped down, right down to the-. This community will be a welfare community if anybody stays here the way it's going. I'm not sure Peter Pan will even open without the June fishery." (Seiner 10/00)

Other Alaska Natives have asked plaintively if they stop being Native because they moved away from the village. I have never heard urban Aleuts mention this. There are an estimated 600 Aleut Corporation shareholders residing in the Lower 48, primarily in Washington and Oregon.[118] It would be interesting to discover how many of them maintain connections to Aleutian villages.

[118] Pacific Northwest Aleut Council (PNAC)

A health provider interviewed in 2000 (now no longer employed by Eastern Aleutian Tribes) described a "weird blend of traditions" in the village where "a lot gets swept under the cultural rug." He saw culture, however it is defined, being used as a "convenience thing, especially with younger ones", used only when it is to their advantage to be *cultural*. It costs a lot of money to live out in the bush, and housing subsidies, full medical coverage, and other such benefits are granted to locals solely because they are Native. When one has the option to leave the community to work, he says, they state that they do not want to abandon their family or their culture. But, he argues, "are they concerned about culture or is it simple economics?" "What's the difference?" I asked. True they get benefits in the community that they would not receive elsewhere, but this man believed that these benefits were largely financial. He flatly believed that culture is portable without acknowledging that it is tough to be Aleut outside of an Aleut village, that being Aleut is to fish, to relate to the community, to share foods, and to live on the landscape.

6.8.1 Suicide

As a final point, I want to include a discussion of suicide. The suicide rate among young men in their late teens and early 20s is high for all of Alaska,[119] but it is extraordinarily high in Aleutian communities. Since I began fieldwork in May 2000, there have been two suicides in the Eastern Aleutians, and I have personal knowledge of two others within the three years prior to my starting the research, figures with are strikingly high in a small population. Whereas in some arctic societies elders choose their own moment for dying (Balikci 1970; Mary-Rousselière 1984:439-40), suicide here is an offence against the community, and is usually committed by young men in complicated circumstances.

In the first month of fieldwork in 2000, a teenage boy whom I have known for a few years committed suicide in Cold Bay. He was living with his grandparents and had warned his mother in Sand Point that if she married her fiancé, he would kill himself. He did just that the day before the wedding. There was a funeral service for him at the small chapel (a converted Quonset hut) with pictures and candles, almost like a "shrine," as one man described it. His younger brother was already described as having suicidal tendencies, and this man was concerned that he would see the funeral as a way of achieving some measure of fame or glory and might follow his brother.

One elderly couple told me about their 40-year-old son's suicide during the winter of 2000. He had been a Marine, stationed all over the Pacific. His parents said military service "messed him up" and he shot himself shortly after a friend of his, who had also been a Marine, killed himself in the same way. In False Pass, one woman who has lived there 15 years counted six suicides in that time.

[119] Suicide is the 5th leading cause of death in Alaska as opposed to the 9th in the U.S., Alaska Bureau of Vital Statistics 1995; it is the 2nd leading cause of death for 15-24 year old American Indians and Alaska Natives, American Psychological Association Congressional testimony, May 1999.

She said one 16-year-old boy who used to work for her killed himself when “some guys got him drinking all night and he shot himself the next day.”

Most suicides in the Eastern Aleutians involve alcohol. According to a village health provider, the classic theory for the occurrence of suicides is that people get alienated and isolated from the community. However, she stated that it is practically impossible for that to occur in these communities because they are very "close knit" and "nobody’s really alone." Another woman, an Aleut elder, expressed concern that I was staying alone in a hotel room and made sure that I had her phone number and knew that I could drop in anytime. “Don’t let yourself get closed in, especially in bad weather.”

Another health provider believes instead that young men feel “stuck”. They go to Anchorage and find that they do not fit in and cannot make the same money that they made fishing. It is not unusual for there to be 13 and 14 year olds who have yet to leave King Cove and 50 year olds who have never been beyond Anchorage. She knew of no suicides committed by women at that time (however, after our conversations, in January 2001, the health aide in Nelson Lagoon, wife and mother of three, committed suicide). She said “women can make themselves feel useful by having babies and raising families.” She found a high correlation between alcohol and depression, "but the question is, what comes first?" Alcohol is a depressant but people also self-medicate with alcohol. She gave a lot of credit to the theory of lack of light causing depression. Light stimulates the pineal gland that produces seretonin. The Eastern Aleutians see an average of 60 sunny days each year. False Pass's Health Aide estimated that 1 in 3 adults in the Aleutian chain are on some type of anti-depressant, and she also linked this to the grey weather, given her own experiences.

Several authors have posited that suicide and violence are common in arctic societies because these hunting cultures are “experienced in killing” (Pentikäinen 1983:135) or “children are conditioned to a predatory life from the time they can toddle” (Lantis 1960:24). I find these notions preposterous; knowledge and skills in hunting do not make people violent or more prone to take their own lives, they simply make them good hunters. However, using the framework of life history in which to examine behaviour, it is significant that morbidity and mortality are constant threats. Life expectancy for whites in Alaska is 75.2 years versus the 68.5 years for Alaska Natives (Alaska Bureau of Vital Statistics 1995). It is my sense that low life expectancy has a profound effect on people’s behaviour, with individuals engaged in more risky behaviours if there is a chance their lives will be cut short anyway. Sex differences in risk-taking behaviour are evident, where young men take greater risks in behaviour such as driving too fast, fighting, showing off, and are more likely to die in the process (Barrett, Dunbar and Lycett 2002:114). There are lots of behaviours for women that could be defined as risky, but are often less likely to be life-threatening. Rites of passage for young men achieving manhood often involve risky behaviour; this is a kind of “social puberty” (Van Gennep

1960:65) as well as "competitive advertising" of their maturity and prowess (Barrett, Dunbar and Lycett 2002:115). I should add that there were unconfirmed suggestions of homicide in two of the suicide cases and in one accidental death case. These statements were made by family members in disbelief over the circumstances of the deaths.

There are old stories of young Aleut women jumping from Russian ships into the freezing sea or young men cutting their throats to avoid enslavement or grief over being forcefully removed from their families and villages (Sauer 1802/1972; Hrdlicka 1945:208). Veniaminov wrote in 1840 that mourners of family members who died an accidental death might commit suicide or give away most of their possessions (family members who were killed by another person were avenged instead). Veniaminov attributed suicide to the oppression of the Russians, that one would rather take his or her own life than suffer their persecution, what one scholar called "ethnocide" (Pentikäinen 1983:127). Wife exchange gone awry was also reason for suicide: a husband might kill himself if he did not get his wife back (1983:127). Jones wrote that suicide was preferred over "receiving a physical blow" (1976:14); in other words, instead of enduring humiliation, young men would rather die.

Aleutian villagers are actively seeking causes and prevention of suicide. King Cove's school received a Suicide Prevention grant, which funded a Teen Center, built in the 1990s, and provided training to faculty and staff to help them identify warning signs of suicide. Most Aleut villages have a Suicide Prevention Coordinator, but unfortunately for Nelson Lagoon, their Community Health Aide, who was the main counsellor for the community, took her own life in the winter of 2001. I hesitate to speculate on the reason for frequent incidents of suicide, but in the cases that I am aware of, family members of the victims variously cited a sense of hopelessness about them, uncertainty about their future, lost love, and past regrets, but ultimately could not fathom a reason for their decisions.

6.9 Conclusion

Returning to the hypothesis, that restricted access to fishing and fewer fish caught amounts to an increase in social problems, it appears that fishing is a double-edged sword for many individuals. In 'good' fishing years, there is an increase in alcohol problems, drug use, adultery, and divorce. In 'bad' years, there is an increase in depression and anxiety, alcohol use, family violence, and relational problems. When there is a surplus of money, there is hedonistic behaviour. When there is a deficit, there is a lot of anxiety, tension, irritability, and people looking for someone to blame. But it is not sufficient to link these problems solely with economic highs and lows. A 'good' fishing year means more than there just catching a lot of fish and a lot of money made.

Salmon fishing is the primary identity for King Cove's fishermen and families. When this is restricted, the first step is to intensify salmon fishing further. The second step is to expand into fishing

for other species, notably groundfish. The third step is to intensify fishing for other species. When these options fail, an increase in problems community-wide problems is revealed.

Conditions where there are no alternative outlets to status in the Eastern Aleutians are developing in the context of changing social systems that, by default, create limited entry systems and place the possibility of achieving status in the hands of a few individuals. Thus, we can predict that in cases where we remove social, political, economic, or other culturally prescribed means to status, men will seek alternative routes that might include criminal activity and aggression. But contrary to the prehistoric and ethnohistoric periods in the far north, violent behaviour today does not lead to success in arctic communities, although there may be some individual perception that it does. Today, when an individual has a choice or opportunity for alternative forms of competition, such as Native arts, hunting, or, in Alaska, village basketball games, many of the same accolades formally given successful warriors are now given to the most celebrated artists or sports stars (Blanchard 1983; Collings and Condon 1996; Condon 1987, 1995; McDiarmid 1983). Sled dog racing is encouraged as an alternative to drinking and substance abuse in Yup'ik villages because it requires a good deal of time and energy and there is no time to get into trouble (Hensel 1996:198-9n.8). Eastern Aleutian village-based juvenile delinquency and suicide prevention programs include funding to increase culturally appropriate creative outlets and sports participation (EATS, personal comm.). But even among these alternative roles and identities, some individuals are left behind. In a broader sense, King Cove residents are nervous about their future, and there is an element of lost control over their livelihood in the discourse.

I argue that all societies have some individuals who strive for status along culturally prescribed avenues of social success. These routes to social success in King Cove are tied directly to the fisheries. In many cases, a loss of access to these outlets of status and prestige, especially for young men, has resulted in a sense of disenfranchisement that often leads to social deviance. Suicide, spouse abuse, assaults, and non-violent crimes are seen as symptoms of a growing sense of hopelessness among Aleut youth. A sense that no matter how much effort one puts into the socially prescribed behaviours that signify what it means to be a 'good' man or women, they will never be able to acquire the rewards that should come from such a social investment. They are torn between a desire to participate in their heritage, and the recognition that it may be fruitless. The result? Teenage pregnancy, alcoholism, spouse abuse, and petty crime. Why these behaviours? Because they are seen, at least among their peers, as possible outlets to status. Access to alcohol, sex, and violence are the only means that some individuals have to stand out among their contemporaries. If it can be shown that the root of decisions to participate in socially deviant activities is proportionate to alternative outlets to status and prestige, then new social mechanisms oriented toward these outlets can be implemented.

Local Aleuts share to some extent a conceptualisation of criminal or anti-social behaviour with that of the larger western society. But the Aleut also perceive these behaviours through what they believe are the explanations, linking them continuously to fishing. People model problems within the village, their households, and their personal lives in relation to fishing, and there is powerful language in the healing powers of subsistence and commercial harvesting. Healthy fisheries and full involvement in fishing, sharing, and relating is crucial to the social health of the community.

CHAPTER 7. IDENTITY IN CONTEXT

"Many men go fishing all of their lives without knowing that it is not fish they are after."
–Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862)

7.1 The Land From the Sea

Eastern Aleut villages at the turn of the 21st century are intimately intertwined with a volatile way of life on a volatile landscape. The Eastern Aleut not only maintain access to the resources upon which they have traditionally depended, but they have translated this access into a contemporary commercial economy through both active and passive conditions, creating an unusual cultural continuity and a social system dependent upon participation in the industry.

A great deal of arctic anthropology privileges subsistence over commercial aspects of life. At the same time, there can be a default mode assumption that "progress" moves from subsistence to commercial economies. Here, commercialisation is neither a threat to traditional ways nor is it a natural progressive stage, but is instead part of the sociocultural processes that are the foundation of the community. Aleut fishing activities are sometimes similar to non-Natives or other Alaska fishing communities, but there are aspects that give worth to the Aleut that make this fishery their own. For a boy to be a man, he must fish, and strive to one day have a boat, crew, stable marriage, and large family. Thoreau's observation in the 19th century suggests that the lifestyle is the draw, not the actual fish (which may explain why catch-and-release fishing is popular). For the Aleut, however, it is both a way of life and the fish. Fish are both sold and eaten. Fishing represents what Bourdieu outlined as identity through practice, in which fishing is a franchise that allows the Aleut to maintain individual identity, social relationships, and collective identity.

The fishing industry did not happen to the Aleut; rather they have taken control of what they can. They voluntarily migrated away from smaller villages to the more profitable amalgamation villages. Fishing was by no means a new activity and local knowledge was expanded through participation in the industry to include a broader fishing range and more species. It is this industrialization that has provided an occasion for the Eastern Aleut to live in their homeland and emphasize cultural distinctiveness. Commercial fishing is by no means the "wage-gathering" of the foraging Naiken of South India, where jobs were exploited for their wages and incorporated into customary foraging strategies (Bird 1982); nor is it practiced in order to maintain the subsistence base as found throughout much of the arctic (e.g. Rasing 1994; Wolfe 1984). Commercial fishing is, instead, the practice of culture itself and is interrelated with individual identity. The activity is never referred to as a job or a career in the way that "land jobs" are, and "land jobs" are always considered temporary until opportunities for crewing on a boat improves. The Aleut do not perform rituals surrounding fishing; the fishing itself is the ritual.

The first chapter outlines the major arguments in which status is brought to the forefront of identity development and maintenance. Changes in fishing have major ramifications for Aleut identity. The only way to understand the problem is to 'define the terms' using culturally-salient categories. Anthropologists have argued that identity is a stable phenomenon in modernity, but in a postmodern world, it is believed that we can avoid fixation and keep our options open. Assuming every individual has equal opportunities available to him or her, the postmodern ideal would allow them to freely choose identity classification tailored with individual style. We are, however, unevenly bound by the unconscious and by the social world. Culture is shaped simultaneously by psychological processes that influence thought, motivation and emotion, and by social processes that influence social interactions, motivation, and choice.

The Aleut define themselves in an unconventional way. This way is unrecognised by government and bureaucracy as a "way of life" for indigenous people. They are most often acknowledged as having a "mixed" economy, but lumped with other groups as being subsistence based when acknowledged. Otherwise, the Aleut are whitewashed. Thus, there is variability in Alaska Native economic exchange, and thus in their self-definitions. These are understudied and misunderstood people. This dissertation, I hope, challenges ways in which many anthropologists examine hunter-gatherers and Alaska Natives. It outlines the development of commercial industries within a Native population and looks at how we measure success and failure specific to a society, employing a methodological mixture depending upon what the research questions have called for.

In Chapter 2, I produced a vibrant history of the Eastern Aleutians out of a historiographically difficult record, one that is particularly sketchy for the lower Alaska Peninsula. My reading of Aleut history suggests cultural complexity and a marine identity through several major units of time. The living generations of Aleuts are in some ways disjointed from history due to their ancestors' estrangement of painful 20th century events. Recognizing the potential of the fishing industry, Aleuts migrated away from smaller villages to build profitable towns. This was a progressive move without a rejection of the past. Participation in the fishing industry raised the standard of living among Aleuts. I argue that this was the intention of the Aleut, that they recognized the potential of commercial enterprise.

My reading of history is important for today's events. The development of commercial industries was mutual among Aleuts and newcomers. History has important implications for current political battles, but is as yet untapped. This history is likewise critical in matters of status and pride in being Aleut. To be a "kayak hunter" in the Russian era was to be sought after, conscripted and transported because of the specialized skill one possessed. The desired skills of power and accuracy in sea otter hunting transformed into skills of running a boat, organizing a crew and bringing in fish. These skill requirements were later accompanied by a system that limited participation and put

automatic capital in the hands of some, and actively stripped others of their identity and often their ability to live in their village.

In Chapters 3 and 4, I tried to show how closely connected subsistence and commercial fisheries are, and continue to build my argument that being Aleut is the practice of combining these systems. The fishing franchise is a system of interaction, complementarity of men and women, prescription and obligation. This is not a system of equality, and depending upon one's *habitus*, it is experienced differently. Limited Entry added a layer of proscription that set the stage for future relations and opportunities, such that there are multiple limited entry systems, and access to fishing assets allows for access to many social and cultural resources. Women are within men's public sphere, and through sharing and fulfilling obligations, are critical for the men to be successful.

There are no absolute rules of sharing, nevertheless, disputes can arise when someone feels stinted. As Gluckman wrote, "It's not the beer that counts: the invitation to drink is a symbol of recognition of kinship" (1965:45). Fish distribution forms the fabric of a range of social relationships and etiquette. Some feel more justified in receiving fish, some feel burdened by the obligation to provide the fish to certain people but not others. In Chapters 3 and 4, I illustrated the burdens placed upon crewmen and captains, and how they must negotiate status. Most crewmen cannot work their way up to being a captain, which goes against the grain of a lot of social organization. This phenomenon is crucial to an understanding to variability in men's status. The distribution is presented before the production because it is important to know the demands placed on people engaged in various aspects of fishing before we can examine how recognized fishing assets are obtained.

The Aleut captains are commercial fishermen and out for profit, but they hire kinsmen (not necessarily *the best* fishermen). Thus they are average capitalists, but better family men. I showed how, in making crew selection, Aleut boat captains maximize productive effort sometimes, but more often they consolidate productive effort. In this way, I hope to have shown how the evolutionary propositions of Maynard-Smith (1964) can be used to explain some aspects of indigenous societies in a modern economic context. The state blames resource exhaustion on the perceived capitalistic drive and competitiveness of Area M's fishermen, but these data show that their decisions are not based on maximizing profit. Nadel-Klein examines "how capitalism can create and then dismiss a way of life" in Scottish fishing communities (2003:1), and in many ways, the Aleut have been encouraged by capitalism, only to have their fisheries access eroded. The U.S. economy is based upon growth, not sustainability. The Aleut simply want their present affluence to be a permanent condition.

The current fisheries system is set up to exclude many people from fishing and gives unequal access to indigenous commercial fishermen. With the Limited Entry system, the rights of the person and the rights of property became set apart. Prior to this system, the fisherman had rights in the open fishery based on his own initiative and his known negotiable position within the society. His status

depended upon his participation in fishing (or sea otter hunting, or fur seal hunting) as a routine group event visible to the rest of the society. Limited Entry added The State, creating a sharp divide between those with fishing capital and those without. As described in Chapter 1, the quest for status is itself a "limited entry system," in which the defined prestige-allocation criteria can only be filled by some, not all. The imposed system put the majority of the resources in the hands of a few, further limiting options for upward social mobility. Those with the resources have rapidly intensified fishing effort through the technology of extraction. The fish buyers, necessary entities for the Eastern Aleut to do business, represent another conflicting group interest, and are controlled by (disguised) foreign corporate interests.

In Chapter 5, I move from intercommunity to international relations and consider differential government and bureaucratic perspectives on indigenousness through two major ongoing struggles: the salmon wars and environmental dehumanisation. The idea of indigenous peoples in commercial economies is not fully recognized in Alaska. Contrary to the Aleut, the Yupiit sell themselves as authentically indigenous. This notion of 'the traditional' has held sway with government regulators and anthropologists. The Aleut have taken a different track, arguing that they have rights as commercial fishermen. Indeed the Aleut took on the term "Area M" as it became synonymous with their fisheries, with every player in the salmon wars speaking the same terms but with vastly different meanings. I also consider the effects of listing the Steller sea lion as endangered, and ramifications on the Aleut depending upon how the problem is defined. Millions of dollars have been appropriated to study the sea lion decline, but these studies often start with assumptions about commercial fishing. The Aleut are desperately seeking to avoid governmental dependency. The state, whose social services are already stretched, should share in their fears.

Chapter 6 considers those who are being left out of the fishing system and asks what is happening to them. Young Aleut men are not turning to crafts or sports, but to alcohol and petty crime. Here, I attempt to explain why criminologists cannot find western correlates of crime in indigenous communities, that correlates must be locally defined. Aleut well being, measured through fishing access, sharing, and family relationships, seems to have an inverse relationship to fishing.

On the occasions in which I found myself on boats, the crews of fishermen were often acting tough, showing off, and berating one another for the benefit of their audience. When it came time to tie up to a dock or load gear, all the individualistic behaviour disappeared, and they began moving in concert, understanding the tasks and each other with nods and mumbles over the loud engine. There was solidarity and mutual understanding in their actions. However, both before the task and afterwards, the individualised and competitive aspects came to the forefront of behaviour again. The culture of fishing provides cohesion, often between kin members on the boat and on land, as well as

community vitality and cultural continuity, while allowing for individual expression, success, and identity.

7.2 Fishing for Identity

Following Rasing's discussion of "hunting for identity" among the Iglulingmiut (1994:170-172), the Aleut are fishing for identity. However, fishing does not have dual meaning in this headline: they are not in search of their identity, but they are desperately seeking to be accurately understood as legitimate commercial fishermen and as indigenous peoples. Area M is not a fishery of "outsiders," as the majority of the State of Alaska believes; they are local, Aleut men and women with long-term vested interests in continuing their livelihood and securing rights for future generations.

Change is seldom witnessed in the course of fieldwork. This is not the case here. The social health of the Eastern Aleut is directly related to commercial fishing, especially to status roles within the system. Fishermen who are currently active in fishing are reluctant to admit that certain fisheries need a moratorium or reduction in order to recover or grow to a healthy population. It is mostly the retired fishermen who will discuss options for restoring fish stocks. One retired fisherman was frustrated that Fish and Game was opening a Tanner crab season "and not letting them come back before opening the fishery full force." Younger fishermen believe that populations have to rebound too, but there is too much at stake socially and economically to admit it.

Celebrations surrounding it are changing, for example, during the Fourth of July, which is perhaps the biggest community-wide celebration of the year, fishermen used to do a "boat parade" and run their boats out in the bay in a queue. "Not no more," said one woman. "They don't want to waste the fuel, I guess."

The theme of Aleut culture is expressed in ritual by means of the symbols connected to the social and cultural context of the daily life of Aleut fishermen. Cultural transmission is the process of passing on culturally relevant knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values from person to person or from culture to culture. The Aleut maintain a profound relationship with the sea, so strong that, especially for the younger generations, it partially excludes broad knowledge and experience of the interior land, except for good places to hunt caribou and waterfowl. Even the first community clinic was a ship that made annual visits that patients would skiff out to meet in the bay.

Fishing is an ensemble of beliefs, sentiments and practices that is visible and tangible. The small, close community of King Cove shares, to some extent, emotional characteristics. Problems within fishing are challenging at the emotional level; for example, when a boat sinks or someone is lost at sea, the whole community claims the loss. In one case in the early 1990s, a boy was killed by a bear in town and for months after the incident, others in the community shot and killed every bear that they saw as a kind of retribution. When the price of fish is low, when the fishermen are not catching

enough fish to satisfy their needs, the entire community shares in the stress and frustration that that brings, but the extent to which individuals feel that difficulty is uneven, and depends upon factors of prior assets, household need, family networks, and expectations.

Part of identity is to have a future. The fisheries are a forward-looking enterprise. Fishermen are always thinking about what is on the horizon: the next opening, the next season, and the next year. The future, I argue, is a way in which identity is renewed. Fishing as "in my blood" implies continuity, where this identity is renewed seasonally as well as generationally.

A behavioural health clinician no longer employed with Eastern Aleutian Tribes once told me that their individualized treatment modalities have got the cart before the horse, that they should be focussing their efforts on "community self-definition and identity development." Only after these were better established would they have some foundation upon which to build individualised interventions. He emphasised "unresolved grief" (masquerading as a whole host of things and manifesting in a significant amount of drug and alcohol abuse) both confounded with and maintained by dependence upon unpredictable government funding streams. In combination, he argued, these create "marked psychological inertia." A number of other non-Aleut social or health service workers, though temporary, emphasised contact with "white civilization" as having the most significant impact on Aleut society because of the cultural discontinuity it created. At the individual level, these workers all pointed to a sense of self that is adrift in an unpredictable socioeconomic environment driven by forces outside local control, but they did not really know what "type" of sense of self was appropriate or, in their words, "adaptive" to the Eastern Aleut. One health worker pointed to the fact that local people have "evolved to cope with unpredictability." He even proposed that alcohol abuse could be the norm, and "would best be studied in context before simply being 'changed' as an expression of transient majority culture values." Statements from the Alaska Rural Mental Health Director's Association support the idea that behavioural health services should be responsive to local realities.

There are elements of Eastern Aleut culture that seem to hold great tenacity whilst other elements seem to be so fragile that their culture and society could easily vanish. They are dependent on unreliable resources and unreliable government funding sources while enduring a cumulative series of regulations meant to preserve the rights of other indigenous people. In the future, the cannery could realistically operate independent of the local fleet. The disconnect with difficult 20th century events, in which one woman said, "We grew up not knowing any of this. Our parents never talked about it," as well as the uncertainties of the fishing industry indicates that the Aleut might not be able to fully grasp either the past or a future, putting them in a vulnerable position. The past, however, seems to be crucial to maintaining their lives as fishermen, establishing legitimacy. Cultural awareness/revival is becoming a survival strategy.

7.3 The Cosmopolitan Aleut

Worldwide there are many cases in which industry has become a cultural construct, both a livelihood and a cultural foundation intertwined with every aspect of society. For example, when Margaret Thatcher closed the coal mines in Britain, the Great Miners' Strike of 1984-85 was an unsuccessful fight with the government in which they were struggling to maintain the only life that they knew (Beynon 1985). And in the Copperbelt, after the bottom fell out of the copper market, Zambia miners experienced rapid decline economically, socially and culturally, having intertwined significant aspects of their lives with the copper industry (Ferguson 1999).

Modernity is assumed to be corrupting. Here, I have examined various forms of social disease, but do not uphold a Golden Age of Aleut past life. The Aleut are not outside modern times: they watch television, play basketball, speak American English, drive trucks, listen to Top 40 music, and argue over events in Iraq and Washington, D.C. They are very much a part of American life, even if sometimes it can be an uneasy fit. A young Aleut woman was coming down to Idaho where we live to go to university and, in talking about Idaho, where most residents do not know much about Alaska or its Native peoples, she said, "I'm gonna get a lot of igloo stuff, huh?"

The Aleut have a mixed Russian heritage (often Creole women) and Scandinavian heritage and it is the descendants of foreigners who are the living Eastern Aleut. The Aleut homeland does not border with other Native groups and hence Aleuts do not express Native-ness with they same intensity as in other parts of Alaska. They have developed a successful economy but the fisheries change yearly, given both natural and human activities. Business diversity is not likely or feasible. Population increases have been small but significant due to economic limitations, and the village has continued to expand along the edge of the bay. Realistically, this could be the last generation of fishermen in King Cove, and perhaps the last generation of village residents since they have been excluded from receiving federal community development funds *because* of their relative economic success in fishing.

7.4 Conclusion: Traditional indigenous commercial economies

Ultimately, our appreciation of hunting, gathering, and fishing societies must be thought about in terms of "the customary practice of change" (Bodenhorn 2000/2001:25). The irony of the Aleut case is that they are being pushed into simplifying their complex cultural matrix and essentialising themselves in order to gain recognition as indigenous people and survive in their homeland. In Victoria, Australia, Minnegal *et al* (2003) show how commercial fishermen turn to "conventional props of tradition" to establish themselves generationally in a landed community with a specialized knowledge to combat threats to their place in the industry, even though they are sometimes only first or second generation fishermen who relocate frequently, thus creating a politicised identity of person, place and practice. The Aleut stand firmly in historical, generational,

and experiential tradition, but are learning to reshape this as their identity to present to outsiders. Sahlins (1976) wrote that economic models are sometimes taken as deterministic or as common sense such that the social and cultural data are ignored. For the Eastern Aleutians, the subsistence model does not capture the range of beliefs, behaviours, and practices. "Indigenous commercial economies" captures more of that range, including changes in skill requirements, from training as youth in harpoon throwing with power and accuracy out of baidarkas to running large, powerful boats and organizing crewmen. After all, the world's hunter-gatherers are people "who hardly seem to hunt and gather anymore" (Myers 1988:273).

It has been shown that identity development in the Aleut village of King Cove is a process involving both lived experience (i.e. "I'm Aleut, I'm a fisherman.") and outside forces and perceptions (i.e. "this is not a *real* village") simultaneously combined with symbols of status and prestige that relate to the past and present. Socioeconomic change will not be detrimental if it enables identity to expand around core principles that are maintained. Nothing is static; internal and external factors have an impact on identity. The Aleut show that social conflict may produce common symptoms but arises from culturally salient causes. I hope to have shown that these issues are very complex even in small places.

APPENDIX A. SUBSISTENCE TABLES

Terrestrial Mammals	Marine Mammals
Caribou (*Rangifer tarandus*)	Harbor seal (*Phoca vitulina)*
Domestic cow, feral (*Bos taurus)*	Steller sea lion (*Eumetopias jubatus)*
Porcupine (*Erethizon dorsatum)*	California sea lion (*Zalophus californicus)*
Red fox (*Vulpes vulpes)*	Sea otter (*Enhydra lutris)*
Brown bear (*Ursus arctos)*	Northern fur seal (*Callorinus ursinus)*
	Whale (multiple species)
Fish	**Marine Invertebrates**
King salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha)*	Red king crab (*Paralithoides camtschatica)*
Sockeye salmon (*Oncorhynchus nerka)*	Dungeness crab (*Cancer magister)*
Chum salmon (*Oncorhynchus keta)*	Tanner-opilio crab (*Chionoecetes opilio*)
Pink salmon (*Oncorhynchus gorbuscha)*	Tanner-bairdi crab (*Chionoecetes bairdi*)
Coho salmon (*Oncorhynchus kisutch)*	Butter clam (*Saxidomus gigantean)*
Pacific herring (*Clupea harengus*)	Pacific littleneck clams (*Protothaca staminea)*
Dolly varden (*Salvelinus malma)*	Razor clam (*Siliqua patula)*
Pacific cod (*Gadus macrocephalus)*	Octopus ("cuttlefish") (*Octopus dolfleini)*
Black cod (*Anoplopoma fimbria)*	Black chitons ("bidarkis") (*Katharina tunicata)*
Pacific halibut (*Hippoglossus stenolepis)*	Mussels (*Mytilus edulis)*
Red rockfish (*Sebastes alutus)*	Snails (*Fusitriton oregonensis)*
Walleye pollock (*Theragra chalcogramma)*	Sea urchin (*Strongylocentrotus droebachiensis)*
Sculpin (*Myoxocephalus sp.)*	Sea cucumber (*Bathyplotes sp.)*
Greenling ("Pogies") (*Hexagrammos sp.*)	
Waterfowl and eggs	**Plants/Berries**
Canada goose (*Branta canadensis)*	Salmonberries (*Rubus chamaemorus)*
Brant (*Branta bernicla)*	Cranberries (*Vaccinium uliginosum)*
Emperor goose (*Philacte canagica)*	Mossberries (*Empetrum nigrum)*
Pintail (*Anas acuta)*	Blueberries (*Vaccinium uliginosum)*
Mallard (*Anas platyrhyncos)*	Wine berries (*Cornus suecica)*
Willow ptarmigan (*Lagopus lagopus)*	Petrushki (*Ligusticum hultenii)*
Seagull eggs	Pushki (*Heracleum lanatum)*

Table A. Local species commonly used by the people of the Eastern Aleutians, based upon interviews and dinner invitations.

1985	4201	**1991**	5699	**1997**	7277
1986	2889	**1992**	5856	**1998**	6458
1987	4525	**1993**	6865	**1999**	6939
1988	3721	**1994**	6588	**2000**	6460
1989	4942	**1995**	8137	**2001**	7060
1990	4542	**1996**	9905	**2002**	7543

Table B. Subsistence salmon harvests (numbers of fish) in King Cove per year, 1985-2002. Source: Annual Salmon Management Reports (ASMR), Fish & Game, Kodiak.

APPENDIX B. ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ABWC	Alaska Beluga Whaling Committee
ADF&G	Alaska Department of Fish and Game
ADN	Anchorage Daily News
AEB	Aleutians East Borough
AEBSD	Aleutians East Borough School District
AEWC	Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission
AFDF	Alaska Fisheries Development Foundation
AHA	Aleutian Housing Authority
AIA	Aleut International Association
AMMC	Aleut Marine Mammal Commission
ANCSA	Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act
ANILCA	Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act
APICDA	Aleutian Pribilof Islands Community Development Association
APCFA	Alaska Peninsula Coastal Fishermen's Association
A/PIA	Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association
A.S.	Alaska Statute
ASMR	Annual Salmon Management Reports
ATC	Agdaagux Tribal Council
AVCP	Association of Village Council Presidents
AYK	Arctic – Yukon – Kuskokwim
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
BOF	State Board of Fisheries
BOG	State Board of Game
BP	Bering Pacific Seafoods
CAMF	Concerned Area M Fishermen
CDL	Commercial Driver's License
CDQ	Community Development Quota
CFEC	Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission
CHA	Community Health Aide
DCED	Department of Community and Economic Development
DFYS	Division of Family and Youth Services
DPS	Alaska Department of Public Safety
DWI	Driving While Intoxicated
EATS	Eastern Aleutian Tribes
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone, 200-mile limit
EFH	Essential Fish Habitat
ESA	Endangered Species Act
F/V	Fishing Vessel
GOAC3	Gulf of Alaska Coastal Communities Coalition
HUD	Housing and Urban Development
IFQ	Individual Fishing Quota
IRA	Indian Reorganization Act
KCC	King Cove Corporation
LLP	Limited License Program
Lower 48	The 48 contiguous continental United States
MMPA	Marine Mammal Protection Act
M/V	Marine Vessel
NARF	Native American Rights Fund
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NICWA	National Indian Child Welfare Act
NMFS	National Marine Fisheries Service

NOAA	National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
NPFMC	North Pacific Fisheries Management Council
NWR	National Wildlife Refuge
PAF	Pacific American Fisheries
PFD	Permanent Fund Dividend
P.L.	Public Law
PMA	Peninsula Marketing Association
PNAC	Pacific Northwest Aleut Council
PPSF	Peter Pan Seafoods, Inc
RAC	Regional Advisory Council to the Federal Subsistence Board
RATNET	Rural Alaska Television Network
RSW	Refrigerated Sea Water
SFA	Sustainable Fisheries Act
TEK	Traditional Ecological Knowledge
UCR	Uniform Crime Report
USCG	U.S. Coast Guard
USF&WS	U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service
VFR	Visual Flight Reference
VHF	Very High Frequency
VMS	Vessel Monitoring System
VPSO	Village Public Safety Officer

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