"WE DANCE BECAUSE WE ARE IÑUPIAQ"

IÑUPIAQ DANCE IN BARROW: PERFORMANCE AND IDENTITY

By

Hiroko Ikuta

RECOMMENDED:

Advisory Committee Chair

Chair, Department of Anthropology

APPROVED:

Dean, College of Liberal Arts

Dean of the Graduate School

April 20, 2004

Date

"WE DANCE BECAUSE WE ARE IÑUPIAQ"

IÑUPIAQ DANCE IN BARROW: PERFORMANCE AND IDENTITY

A

THESIS

Presented to the Faculty

of the University of Alaska Fairbanks

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Hiroko Ikuta, B.A.

Fairbanks, Alaska

May 2004

Abstract

Dance, like other forms of expressive culture, is an important vehicle for creating, maintaining, and expressing identity. Founded in the early 1950s, the Barrow Dancers, with a membership of more than sixty, perform on important occasions in Alaska and outside the state for Native and non-Native audiences. For the Barrow Dancers, song, gesture, and drumming are means of creating and maintaining continuity in a community undergoing rapid social change. Collectively, the troop appears to dance with greater freedom and innovation for local audiences whereas their commoditized performances for outsiders are more formal and repetitive. The Barrow Dancers also perform at *Kivgiq* (the Messenger Feast) which was revived in 1988 after a more than 70-year lapse. Unlike community, external, and tourist performances, *Kivgiq* is intended to provide the individual Iñupiat with a more solid collective identity and enhanced ethnic pride. I will argue that Iñupiaq dance, as represented by the Barrow Dancers, embodies Iñupiaq socio-economic empowerment and objectifies its relationship with large-scale American society.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to many individuals and agencies for graciously contributing their time and expertise to help me with my research. First of all, I want to thank each of my advisory committee members: Molly Lee, Phyllis Fast, William Schneider, and Peter Schweitzer. I could not have asked for a more congenial and knowledgeable group. In particular, I thank Molly Lee, my chair, who spent many hours reading and editing my drafts and helping me formulate a better study. English is my second language – this means it takes me forever to understand anthropological theories and to write a paper that results in numerous grammatical mistakes. Molly was always there to help me with an enormous amount of patience and warm encouragement. This thesis would not have been possible without her support. I am equally indebted to Phyllis Fast who introduced me to anthropology and completely changed my life. If I had not met her in the summer of 1999, I would not have become a student in the United States, nor would I have had a chance to meet many wonderful people in Alaska. I also thank Professors Jean Blodgett, Kirk Dombrowski, Chase Hensel, Lawrence Kaplan, and Phyllis Morrow who gave me insightful advice.

I want to thank the Barrow Dancers and the Iñupiaq people in Barrow who helped me by sharing their knowledge and thoughts. I am particularly grateful to Martha and Robert Aiken, Fannie Akpik, Ora and Fred Elavgak, Jana Harcharek, Cathy Rexford, Mary and Joseph Sage, Doreen Simmonds, Russell Snyder, and of course, my Iñupiaq family, Herman and Sylvia Ahsoak, and their children Naomi and Uriah, who generously taught me the Iñupiaq way of life. I am deeply grateful for the North Slope

Borough School District that offered me housing and Tuzzy Consortium Library that allowed me to use their facilities during my fieldwork. I also thank all those at the North Slope Borough Iñupiat History, Language, and Culture Commission and at the Iñupiat Heritage Center, who supported and guided me in journey to learn Iñupiaq culture. Quyanaqpak!

I thank the boards representing the Ruth Croxton Memorial Fellowship (University of Alaska Museum), the Geist Fund (University of Alaska Museum), and the Robert L. and Virginia R Rausch Scholarship (University of Alaska Fairbanks) for their financial support. I also thank the Alaska and Polar Region Department at the University of Alaska Fairbanks, especially Robyn Russell and the Oral History Program who offered me recording equipment during my fieldwork, duplicated the recording tapes, and sent them to individual interviewees in Barrow.

I am deeply grateful to my friends and colleagues, Sperry Ash, John Bollinger, Karen Brewster, Medeia Csoba Dehass, Michele George, Angela Linn, Tadataka Nagai, Octavio Sanchez, Luke Schulze, Rose Speranza, Susan Vanek, and Tsuyoshi Wakamatsu. Without their support and encouragement both emotionally and intellectually, I would never have completed this study. Finally, I thank my parents in Japan, Katsuyuki and Kayoko Ikuta, who have endured and contributed to my efforts throughout my entire education.

Chapter I Introduction

Background

"We dance because it identifies us as Iñupiat," the full sentence from which my title is taken, was a comment made to me three years ago by one of my Iñupiaq friends from the Barrow dance group. Because he works full-time for the school district and dances only for pleasure, it seemed a doubly powerful statement. What, I wondered, accounted for the strength of his feelings?

In the interim, I have come to realize that for the Iñupiaq people, songs and motion dances, like the better-known art of story telling, have long been vehicles for transmitting history, cultural values, and traditions (Johnston 1990, Kelly 1986, Spencer 1959). Now as in the past, the Iñupiat compose songs and dances about numerous aspects of their lives in the same way that they create myths and legends (Royce 1977). For example, non-human beings such as seals and walruses, which are thought to offer up their bodies and spirits to make human life possible, are popular subjects of dance (Johnston 1990, Kelly 1986).

In the contemporary context, however, Iñupiaq dance and song far exceed their traditional functions. As my friend suggested, Iñupiaq dance is also a way to express the identity of this ethnic minority in the broader, multi-ethnic context of national and global culture (Barth 1969). Iñupiaq audiences say that Native dance embodies their tradition and shapes their identity. Similarly, Iñupiaq performers' insistence on singing in their native language allows them to construct and represent their image of an unique

way of life that for thousands of years has distinguished them from ethnic groups across the world.

The Iñupiat explain their dancing as tradition in different ways, depending on the context. Within the community context, to local audiences, for example, the Iñupiaq dancers are regarded as bearers of culture and as executors of particular rituals, while the audiences from outside the culture view the same people as representatives of the entire Iñupiaq culture. Obviously, the dancers are aware of these differences in depiction, as cultural bearers by the community and as embodying the Iñupiat as a whole by outsiders. The consciousness of both strengthens the Barrow Dancers' feelings of Iñupiaq identity.

Furthermore, consistent subsidy from state and federal agencies for public performances suggests that for mainstream audiences, Iñupiaq dance is seen as a key symbol of "Iñupiaq-ness" and Iñupiaq culture (Ortner 1973). In 1984, for example, an Iñupiaq dance group from Wainwright performed at the International Olympic games in Los Angeles (Kelly 1986). As Dombrowski (2002) argues, similarly-subsidized Native cultural activities in Southeast Alaska communicate an official view of indigenism for wider consumption. Similarly, my fieldwork with the Barrow Dancers of Barrow, Alaska suggests that Iñupiaq dance furnishes both the dancers and Iñupiaq culture generally with a sense of self-determination and indigenous political economic empowerment. Since May 2002, I have been carrying out research with the Barrow Dancers. During that time, I have made three trips to Barrow; in the summer of 2002 from May to July, during Christmas in 2002, and for *Kivgiq* (Messenger Feast) in

February 2003. There, I have worked closely with the Barrow Dancers, an amateur group of more than sixty members ranging from three-year olds to a few in their late seventies who are highly respected by both Iñupiaq and non- Iñupiaq peoples within and beyond their community. The objective of my study has been to discover whether, and how, Iñupiaq dance expresses contemporary Iñupiaq identity. My conclusion is that Iñupiaq dance, as represented by the Barrow Dancers, embodies Iñupiaq socio-economic empowerment and its relationship with large-scale American society.

Location

Barrow Alaska, known widely as the "top of the world," is the northernmost community on the North American continent. The Iñupiaq name for it is *Ukpiaġvik*, or "place for hunting snowy owls." Three months of winter darkness, the cold summer, and spectacular Northern lights are major natural characteristics of the region. Barrow is home to the Iñupiaq people, whose Native language is Iñupiaq, the westernmost branch of the Eskimo[1] language spoken from Northern Alaska to Greenland.

Today, Barrow is the largest community on the North Slope and serves as a hub for transportation, regional government administration, communications, economic development, and education in the region. In 2002, the population stood at about 4,500, approximately half of whom are Iñupiaq. Barrow has increased in population in recent years due to job opportunities offered by the petroleum industry, regional and village

[1] For a full explanation of continued use of the term "Eskimo," see the Alaska Native Language Center website (http://www.uaf.edu/anlc).

corporations, and the North Slope Borough. Despite its remote location, the community has a rich ethnic mixture of Euro- Americans, Asian, Pacific Islanders, and Central and South Americans in addition to the Iñupiat.

Today, Iñupiaq people have a mixed cash and subsistence economy. Many enjoy Western foods, but they still consider products of the hunt as "real food," the same species as were recorded by John Murdoch (1892) and Robert Spencer (1959): Bowhead whale (*aġviq*), beluga (*sisuaq*), ringed seal (*natchiq*), bearded seal (*ugruk*), walrus (*aiviq*), polar bear (*nanuq*), fish (*iqaluk*), duck (*qaugak*), goose (*niġliq),* and caribou (*tuttu*) (Bodenhorn 1989, MacLean 1980). They consider hunting to be a sacred activity based on the idea of reciprocity. Prey animals are thought to offer themselves up to culturally defined good hunters, who treat the animals' souls with respect. Hunting behavior is governed by a strict code of ethics: A hunter should not be greedy and should share his catch with others. If animals are properly treated, they will return to give themselves to the hunters again. There are various taboos and rules of distributing catches depending on the particular species, such as fish, birds, land or sea mammals, and species. Marine mammals, for instance, should be offered a drink of fresh water when they are first captured, and land and sea mammals should not be processed together at the same time (Bodenhorn 1989, Spencer 1959). These beliefs remain in the contemporary Iñupiaq philosophy although they are not as rigidly advocated as they once were.

Today, however, the function of subsistence hunting has changed. During my

fieldwork, I observed that hunting operates as a seasonal ritual (Condon 1987) and that both hunters and non-hunters consider that hunting helps to maintain Native culture and identity (Searles in press). The Iñupiat, including the younger generations, do not regard hunting simply as a way of providing food and clothing. Hunting and processing large mammals in the cold Arctic climate requires hard work, experience, specialized skills, and a profound knowledge of the environment. Even so, although hunting is still actively practiced in Barrow, not everyone has time, skill, or knowledge to process the catch. During my fieldwork, my friends took me hunting almost every day (more than 100 hours total) and taught me how to butcher seals and make seal oil. Sometimes we hunted unsuccessfully by boat for more than ten hours a day. After my mentor caught one *natchiq* (smaller seal), he looked only for *ugruk* (bearded seal) and ignored the many *natchiq*s popping up near the boat. He thought he had already gotten enough *natchiq* for that season, so it was time to hunt an *ugruk*. Several people have told me that they have to hunt to feed their family. Given the diminished amount of time spent hunting in the present day, however, there are more symbolic ways of expressing Iñupiaq identity.

Among prey animals, *aġviq* (bowhead whale) is the most prized, and, without doubt, whaling is a key symbol of Iñupiaq culture, as well as the center of spirituality, ritual, subsistence, ceremony, and social organization. The Iñupiat, who converted to Christianity about a century ago, have incorporated this value into their present-day belief system. For instance, Qallu, 38 years old man, describes:

> Whaling is a way of my life for me, taught to me by my father. It ties me to

> my past and ancestors. The *maktak* [whale skin with blubber] and meat sustain my hunger in this often cold unforgiving place. We take everything from the whales that we catch, the meat and *maktak*, and feed the entire community. A time to get close to God and be with nature, a time for God to show and help us take a mighty creature for all of us to eat (Personal communication, April 2001).

From late April to May, Barrow whaling crews camp out on the ice by the open leads. Soon after I arrived in Barrow on May 28 of 2002, one of the crews landed a 60-foot *aġviq*. My friends took me to the landing and butchering place, on the ice a mile away from the land where over 100 people were at work. We stayed there to help haul the whale for more than eight hours, but the whaling crew and other community members spent more than 36 hours in completing the process.

In late July, people celebrate the end of a successful whaling season with *Nalukataq* (the Spring Whaling Festival). This event has been carried out for many generations. Rochfort Maguire, who stayed at Point Barrow from 1852 to1854, observed a dance mask with two bones in each side as rattles, possibly a symbol of flippers of whale, worn by a whaling captain during *Nalukataq* (Bockstoce 1988:205, Spencer 1959: 294). By custom, the successful *umialik* (whaling captain) is responsible for sharing the catch with the community. During the all-day event, the *umialik* ritually divides the whale among community members. The products of harvest include whale meat, *maktak* (whale skin with blubber), *mikigaq* (mixture of fermented whale meat, tongue, and *maktak* with blood – Iñupiaq delicacy), *quaq* (frozen fish and meat), soups

made out of wild birds, fruits, candies, and cakes. The distribution is followed by the blanket toss, in which whaling captains, their wives, and others in the community are tossed high in the air from stretched walrus skins. Dance performances are also a part of the event. *Nalukataq* is given in honor of the highly respected *aġviq*; it celebrates the fundamental link between humans and their key source of physical and spiritual well-being (Zumwalt 1987).

Theoretical Overview

In the formulation of my analysis of Iñupiaq dance as a symbol of identity, theorists in the fields of dance, identity, tradition, and power relations have been major influences.

Dance:

Theorists whose work has been important to my understanding of Iñupiaq dance have contributed to a number of facets of the study. In his definitive article, *Religion as Cultural System*, Geertz argues that sacred symbols function to synthesize a people's "ethos, tone, character, moral, and aesthetic style" (1973:89). Iñupiaq dance is not a religion, but there is a similarly constructed symbolic system that actually encapsulates the Iñupiaq worldview and aesthetics. Music is a metaphor for the Iñupiaq worldview; songs, sounds, and tempo came from religious beliefs and a way of life. Royce (1977, 1982) states that dance contributes to culture by virtue of its form and expression. At the same time, it is intimately bound up with the elements of religion, kinship, social

organization, politics, and economics in a culture.

Toelken argues that Native dance allows performers "to dramatize, to act out, to embody a set of ideas or values which otherwise could remain unarticulated" (Toelken 2003:80). It can reintegrate individuals within a pan-ethnic community and allow young people to learn Native worldviews and expressions, which are important for the contemporary indigenous people. He points out that dance and song provide "not only an idealized model of cultural and ethnic stability and enactment of community for American Indians but also a dramatic way to find and experience a personal place in the Native family" (Toelken 2003:107).

Many of the theorists whose work has been influential on my perceptions agree that contemporary Iñupiaq dance builds upon a solid foundation of its former manifestations, which are well represented in the earlier literature on Eskimos/Inuit peoples. Iñupiaq dance has been documented by early ethnographers (Bockstoce 1988, Jenness 1991, Murdoch 1988, Spencer 1959). Recent works by ethnomusicologists aim to understand the meaning behind Iñupiaq dance (Johnston 1990, Williams 1996). By analyzing historical documents, interviews, and the dance calendar, Johnston, for example, argues that Iñupiaq dance constitutes an important communicative system within contemporary Iñupiaq society and performs the important function to perpetuate tradition. Williams argues that the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971 fostered a stronger sense of identity for Native peoples, as they moved even further away from their "traditional" way of life. ANCSA is connected to the rise in traditional

dance and music beginning in the 1970s. Similarly, Lesser (1969) points out that changes in one domain of culture are reflected in others, including religion and rituals. He suggests that changing forms of the Ghost Dance hand games among the Pawnee encode processes of change from the surrounding culture.

In Kingston's (1998) analysis of the King Islanders' Wolf Dance, she points out that although it changed through time, the basic themes and cultural values of the dance are still evident in the present-day versions. The Wolf Dance also mirrors their perceived need to balance traditions with the new influences of the dominant society. *Kivgiq* (Messenger Feast) was revived on the North Slope in 1988. As Kingston shows, it reflects ancient cultural values but also well applies to the contemporary context.

Identity:

Iñupiaq dance also operates to create and maintain ethnic identity for the Barrow Iñupiat. Barth (1969) defines identity as a means of relating to other people and groups. Ethnic groups do not form because people are of the same race, or even because they share the same language or the culture. Rather, he argues that they coalesce because people who share such practices identify themselves as being members of a distinct group, or because people who share such commonalities are treated by outsiders as members of a distinct group. Once people consider themselves to be ethnically related, they establish rules of what they have in common, and who belongs and who does not (Barth 1969:14-15). The Barrow Dancers is an example of a group of people that share common interests and maintain their collective Iñupiaq identity through re-enacting

traditional activities.

During the modernization period in the 1970s, the Iñupiat created a sense of pan-Iñupiaq identity and an "imagined community" through negotiations with the dominant society (Anderson 1983, 1991). Anderson argues that "nation-building policies" have identified three institutions of power: map, census, and museum (Anderson 1991: 163-164). Interlinked with one another, they often illuminate the state's style of thinking about its domain, such as peoples, regions, religions, language, and past. The political significance of these tools for constructing and reifying national sentiments has had similar effects on the Iñupiaq construction of their own ethnic identity. For instance, the creation of the North Slope Borough in 1972 provided contemporary Iñupiat in the region a sense of their "territory" and "boundaries." The Iñupiat Heritage Center owned by the North Slope Borough houses exhibits, artifact collections and an art studio where people can demonstrate and teach Native arts and crafts. It is devoted to "foster local pride, a sense of belonging and a strong desire to maintain Inupiat cultural values and philosophy" (http://www.angelfire.com/ak5/inupiat/body.html). Visualizing themselves through the use of linguistic maps, archaeological evidence, and museum collections, the contemporary Iñupiat "imagine" the Iñupiaq dominion in terms of a collective identity based upon a shared "culture" (Anderson 1983, 1991).

Iñupiaq dance is a shared symbol of culture and tradition for the contemporary Iñupiat, but each generation perceives its meanings differently, and performances in different contexts change their meanings for both performers and audience. Cohen

(1985) argues that symbols do not always have a set meaning but allow for the construction of meaning. The most ambiguous symbols exhibit a variety of meanings that can be subsumed and shared by a community, but the exact definition of the symbol in question is constructed individually (Cohen 1985: 15). He continues, "the symbols of community are mental constructs: they provide people with the means to make meaning. In so doing, they also provide them with the means to express the particular meanings which the community has for them" (Cohen 1985: 19).

Analysis of interviews and observation carried out during my fieldwork suggest two points: 1) issues of identity are revealed in performance venues; 2) dancing by three specific age cohorts reflects their different collective experiences and ethnic identities. In both cases, as Cohen suggests (1989), dance as a symbol has shared meanings in the Iñupiaq community, but the interpretations of the meanings are different depending on individuals, generations, and contexts.

Tradition:

The Iñupiat I worked with frequently said that Iñupiaq dance represents Iñupiaq tradition. As I will argue later in this thesis, the word "tradition," however, encapsulates many constellations of connotations. The Iñupiat have adapted many celebrations from Euro-Americans, such as Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, and Christmas. These celebrations have been practiced in Barrow since missionaries introduced them more than 100 years ago. The Iñupiat have integrated these new traditions into their own

culture, and they gradually became occasions to perform Native dance in the community. The resulting amalgamation might be considered what Hobsbawm terms, "invented traditions" (Hobsbawm 1983). *Kivgiq* (the Messenger Feast) revitalized in 1988, for example, is both "invented" (Hobsbawm 1983) and "revitalized" (Wallace 1956) tradition. It aims to represent as unchanged one aspect of social life and contribute to the construct in self-esteem of the Iñupiat as being based on their past.

Graburn (1986, 1987, 2002), Horner (n.d.), and Ostrowitz (1999) study expressive forms of "tradition" and "tourism." They all agree that Native people choose an image of their culture that they want to promote. Non-Native audiences validate the image to some extent. Nuttall argues that Native-owned tour companies in the Arctic construct and represent indigenous views of the environment and culture that operate to confirm the tourists' beliefs and expectations of wilderness, last frontiers, and untouched traditional cultures (Nuttall 1998: 125-148). In narratives during performances and tourist shows, the Iñupiat are in effect choosing a way to represent their culture and tradition, such as subsistence hunting, whaling, dancing, singing, and clothing.

Power Relations:

Bourdieu argues that "the conditioning associated with a particular class of conditions of experience produce *habitus*..., principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends..." (Bourdieu 1990: 54). Western governmental, commercial, educational, and religious institutions, each brought with

them their own essential framework of European and American political operations. The Iñupiaq and mainstream cultures exist in asymmetrical power relations in just such an unbalanced political framework which contributes to ethnic disharmony between the two. As exemplified by life experiences and dancing ability each generation of Iñupiat obviously reflects its *habitus* and different power relations with the outside world. Iñupiaq dance as performed by each generation recapitulates this collective historical experience.

Many recent scholars discuss indigenism, although the meaning of the word has changed over time: indigenism as national movements (Churchill 1996), as a government policy in Mexico called *indigenismo* that includes a sense of cultural hierarchy (Niezen 2002), and as international movements (Dombrowski 2002, Niezen 2003). The most recent works address indigenism as contemporary indigenous claims toward historical precedent in the dynamics of power struggles with the dominant societies under global industrial development (Dombrowski 2002, Niezen 2003, Searles 2001). Today, for purposes of cultural survival, Native people have insisted on involvement in the political decision-making process, economic independence, and their own form of hegemony to respond to external forces of culture change, large-scale resource management, and the threat of environmental damage (Nuttall 1998:15). Iñupiaq people in Barrow who are directly affected by international politics like the bowhead whale quota decided by International Whaling Commission (IWC) strategically manipulate large-scale economic institutions such as the petroleum industry

and tourism to promote cultural events (Dombrowski 2002, Niezen 2003). In such a way, as I will show, *Kivgiq* (the Messenger Feast) and Iñupiaq dancing embody indigenism and socio-political empowerment among Alaska Natives.

Methodology

With some of these ideas in mind and, with the permission of the Barrow Dancers, I began my research in 2002. Since then, I have made three extended visits to Barrow; in the summer of 2002 from May to July, over the Christmas break of 2002, and for the *Kivgiq* (the Messenger Feast) celebration in February 2003. During these visits, I worked closely with the Barrow Dancers, an amateur group of more than sixty individuals highly respected inside and outside their community. Since 1999, I also have participated in the World Eskimo Indian Olympics and the Festival of Native Arts, both annually held in Fairbanks, to observe Native dance performances in the public context. In April of 2003, I also was able to visit Bethel, a Yup'ik community, for the *Cama-i* Dance Festival. There, I could compare and contrast an important dance festival held annually by a different Alaskan Eskimo group, one in which subsistence activities and language proficiency are thought to more closely replicate the earlier Iñupiaq way of life than now pertains for the Iñupiat.

My research methods have included participant observation in dance performances, recording and analysis of conversations with numerous group members, and the elicitation of extended life history during formal interviews. Knowledge of a wide range of Native laws, economic situations, historical contexts, Native interactions

outside the community, and oil development are also essential aspects to this analysis of the Iñupiaq lives and identities in Barrow.

Chapter II Historical Overview

Prehistory ~ Commercial Whaling ~ Missionary

A brief history of Barrow and its contact with Europeans provides important background for understanding Iñupiaq representations of contemporary culture. Archaeological records suggest that human habitation in the Barrow region goes back more than 10,000 years. The Thule people, the immediate ancestors of the current Iñupiat, however, are considered to have inhabited to the area for only a millennium (Blackman 1989:7, Bodenhorn 1989: 15-16).

Before the Barrow Iñupiat first encountered Europeans in the nineteenth century, several explorers traveled the coast of southwestern Alaska. In 1776 to 1780, James Cook explored the coast between Bristol Bay and Icy Cape to search an ocean passage across North America. Between 1790 and1795, George Vancouver sailed up the coast of southeastern Alaska as north as to Cook Inlet. In 1815, Otto von Kotzebue explored the sound that bears his name. In 1820, Russian navigators Mikhail Vasiliev and Gleb Shishmarev managed to travel 35 miles north of Icy Cape (Blackman 1989, Bodenhorn 1989, Schneider 1991).

The British admiralty was committed to navigating the Northwest Passage. In his second voyage (1825-1827), John Franklin, a British explorer, traveled overland from the east coast of North America to the mouth of the MacKenzie River in northwestern Canada. He then headed west by boat along the coast hoping to reach Icy Cape and to meet Frederick Beechey. In 1826, Beechey and his crew traveled along the northern coast of Alaska (Blackman 1989:7-8, Schneider 1991: 160, Worl and Smythe 1986: 87-

88). His crewmember, Thomas Elson encountered Iñupiat near Point Barrow, but the Iñupiat were hostile and the crew decided against landing. In 1838, Aleksandr Kashevarov and his shipmates reached a point 30 miles east of Point Barrow by traveling in skin boats. In 1848, Yankee whaler Thomas Roys sailed through the Bering Strait in search of the bowhead and found them in large numbers. In 1849, 50 whaling ships came to the area for whaling and, in 1850, 130 ships followed (Bodenhorn 1989:24 citing Backstoce 1986: 15, 93-95, 131). In 1852, John Simpson and his party in the British ship were the first Caucasians to winter over in Barrow. Simpson made the earliest population estimate in the area, counting 250 residents and 40 houses at *Utqiaġvik* (Barrow), 309 residents and 54 houses at *Nuvuk* (Point Barrow), in total of 559 residents and 95 houses (Blackman 1989:8, Bodenhorn 1989: 24, Simpson 1875, Worl and Smythe 1989:89).

John Murdoch, (1988) who participated in the International Polar Expedition from 1881-1883, was another observer of the early Native life in Barrow. He is the earliest ethnographer to have reported the *qargi* (men's/ ceremonial house), where dancing took place in the old days: "At Utkiavwin [sic.], there are twenty-six or twenty-seven inhabited houses... Besides the dwelling houses, there are in Utkiavwin [sic.] three and in Nuwuk [sic.] two of the larger buildings used for dancing, and as workrooms for the men, so often spoken of among other Eskimo" (Murdoch 1988:79).

Three years after Murdoch's fieldwork, Charles Brower, a well-known non-Native pioneer, came to Barrow as a commercial whaler and trader and settled there for the rest

of his life. The Iñupiat considered him a white whaling captain. As a non-Native man who married into the community and operated a trading post, he played an important part in bridging the Native and Euro-American worlds and in stabilizling Western supplies (Blackman 1989, Brower 1943).

Contacts with commercial whalers between 1848 and 1914 brought about the earliest and most radical changes for Iñupiaq communities. Because the Iñupiat enjoyed a larger supply of Western goods, some of these items entered the indigenous trade and distribution networks. On the other hand, the consistent and interethnic contact diminished subsistence resources. Further, the Barrow people suffered from introduced flu epidemics and other diseases (Bockstoce 1988). After 1888, with the introduction of steam-propelled whaling ships, some Yankee whalers settled in Barrow on a year around basis and employed the local Iñupiaq people in commercial whaling (Blockstoce 1986: 275, Bodenhorn 1989: 28). Such over-wintering dramatically intensified the social interactions between insiders and outsiders, indigenous economic systems, Iñupiaq social organization, and traditional whaling practice. By 1914, with the serious depletion of the bowhead whales and the invention of baleen substitutes, such as early forms of plastic, commercial interests in the North Slope area had shifted from whaling to furs. The 1920s was the era of good trapping conditions and high fur prices.

Following on the heels of the Yankee whalers were the missionaries. The first Presbyterian missionary arrived in Barrow in 1890 (O'Connell 1999). The main aim of missionaries was conversion, but at the same time they helped to improve healthcare and

education. The first missionary, L.M. Stevenson, was concerned about the whalers' illegal sale of alcohol to the Barrow people. Stevenson also began a school in the U.S. Government Refuge Station (Blackman 1989:16-17). Ever since, the impact of the missionaries has been all-pervasive. As part of global missionary assimilationism, Iñupiaq children were forced to speak only English in school; more positively, Western medical practice impacted the population, saving lives from disease and difficult childbirths; Iñupiaq people were persuaded to convert to Christianity. By the winter of 1901, the last *qargi* (ceremonial house) was abandoned (Blackman 1989:19, Larson 1995:215, both citing Brower n.d.: 573). Today, the Iñupiat do not view their Christian beliefs as being in opposition to their earlier form of religion, but see them as overlapping and interacting with Native epistemology (Fienup-Riordan 1994, Toelken 2003).

The replacement of shamans with missionaries was not all negative. According to Spencer, "shamans were a constant source of fear and anxiety among the people," thus, people were ready to accept the new beliefs (1959:381). Where missionaries offered free and effective medications and treatments, shamans would have imposed huge payments on their patients. If the parent refused to pay, the shaman would put a curse on the patient and his or her family. According to Henry Griest who lived in Barrow as a medical missionary in the 1930s: "before missionaries came to the region, shamans had grown rich in the practice of their 'art'" (n.d.). The last shaman in Barrow retired and starved to death while on an inland hunting trip in 1939 (Spencer 1952:381).

Modernization~ "Nativistic" Movements of the 1960s ~ ANCSA

Between 1940 and 1960, Barrow experienced rapid bureaucratic changes and interactions with the outside world. As a result, between 1939 and 1950, the population in Barrow increased 300 percent (Blackman 1989:26). At the end of World War II, the proximity of the Soviet Union and oil exploration opened up wage labor to the local Iñupiat, as Barrow was considered to be a strategically important area. In 1947, the U.S. government built the Naval Arctic Research Laboratory (NARL) to conduct biological and geological Arctic research. In 1954, the Distant Early Warning (DEW line) an integrated chain of radar and communication systems in the Arctic from Alaska to Baffin Island in Canada was established. One DEW Line station was constructed in Barrow to protect against air attacks from the Soviet Union (Blackman 1989: 23-29, Bodenhorn 1989: 37-40).

The roots of the present-day Barrow Dancers can be found in the post-war period. That same year in 1954, Wien Airlines began air service to Barrow. To fill up empty seats, the company brought in 300 tourists from Anchorage and Fairbanks to Barrow during the first summer (Blackman 1989:28). Since then, the Iñupiaq have benefited financially from the sale of arts and crafts and from dance performances (Blackman 1989:5). These events provided local people wage labor opportunities and have contributed to the shift from subsistence to wage economy.

The land-claim era of the 1960s was another watershed for the people in Barrow. Max Weber argues that "[ethnic membership] only facilitates group formation of any kind, particularly in the political sphere..... it is primarily the political community...that

inspires the belief in common ethnicity (Weber 1978: 389). This theory applies to the "nativistic" movements that emerged during the land-claim decades of the 1960s and 70s (Lantis 1973:99), including the 1966 formation of the Alaska Native Federation of Natives, a statewide inter-ethnic organization dedicated to land-claim issues (Blackman 1989:29, Lee 2002, Pullar 1992: 182-183). For the Iñupiat, the 1960s were an decade of growing "ethnic consciousness" (Blackman 1989:29) due to extensive interactions with the more powerful outside world. For example, in 1961, the year of the "Barrow Duck-in," the Iñupiaq people successfully protested enforcement of the Migratory Bird Treaties of 1916.[2] In 1967, the discovery of oil in Prudhoe Bay, east of Barrow, forced the federal government to negotiate with the Iñupiaq people about land claims along with the rest of Alaska Native peoples. As a result, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) was passed in 1971.

Without question, ANCSA was the major factor propelling the Iñupiat onto the world stage. ANCSA acknowledged that the federal government had never made a formal treaty with the Alaska Native groups whose land it appropriated, and so the agreement was designed, thereby to legitimize the presence of oil companies on the North Slope. Through corporations, the act provided $962.5 million and title to 44.1 million acres throughout Alaska. The law was passed 1) to resolve unsettled or new

[2]This act prohibits the taking of waterfowls "out of season" from May to September, the only time when the people on the North Slope can hunt the migrating birds. The schedule of the hunting season, however, did not align with the hunting season in the Arctic. 300 Barrow Natives submitted a petition to the White house after about 150 residents arranged to hunt the birds and were arrested. Eleven days after the incident, the Secretary of the Interior upheld the law, and Iñupiat are now legally allowed to hunt ducks (Blackman 1989: 180-183).

land claims; 2) to resolve land-ownership disputes quickly in order that development of oil resources could begin; 3) to shift the government's burden of costly social welfare programs for Alaska Natives onto profits from the private sector (Dombrowski 2002:1064, Lee 2002:5).

Under ANCSA, Alaska Native lands were apportioned into 12 regional corporations (which mostly coincided with indigenous culture areas) and one non-landed corporation. The regional corporations acquired subsurface rights and became for profit organizations. Within the regional corporations, more than 200 village corporations, which acquired only surface rights to the land, were created as profit-making concerns. Eligible people, mainly based on Native blood quantum, became shareholders in these Native corporations. This in turn soon created a rising interest in ethnic identity among Alaska Natives (Berger 1995, Dombrowski 2002, Mason 2002, Pullar 2002).

ANCSA, however, also created divisiveness among Alaska Natives. Most regional and village corporations have had a difficult time making profits. Exceptions, however, include the North Slope, with its development of oil reserves, and Southeast Alaska with a large timber industry (Berger 1995, Dombrowski 2002). On the North Slope, the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (ASRC) received about 5 million acres of land (Blackman 1989:29, Bodenhorn 1989:41). Because ASRC owns subsurface rights to the land, the petroleum industry must lease it to drill for oil, making ASRC wealthy and powerful. Under ASRC, there are eight village corporations including Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation (UIC), the village corporation of Barrow.

In 1972, the state of Alaska recognized the North Slope Borough, giving the

Iñupiat greater control over decision making (Blackman 1989:30). In 1974, the state granted the Borough significant powers that were not forbidden by state law, including "tax collection, education, planning, and zoning" (Blackman 1989: 30 citing Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co.1978: 284). Thus, the North Slope Borough began accumulating an extraordinary high amount of tax revenue from the petroleum industry. This attracted many Iñupiat and non- Iñupiat to Barrow because of the possibility of job opportunities with the Borough and ANCSA regional and village corporations. Hence, while ASRC is owned and controlled by the Iñupiat, the Borough is less so.

A growing number of interactions and the integration with American mainstream culture brought the Northern indigenous societies into the nation-wide system, and the cultures changed dramatically. In the early days, the important components of Iñupiaq identity were kinship ties and local knowledge. The Iñupiaq leadership could not be exerted beyond their small-scale regional boundaries, and hostilities among neighboring villages came about as the result of as "otherness" (Burch 1998). Following the increased amount of contact with the dominant society after World War II and ANCSA, however, information made available by anthropologists has encouraged a shift from a pattern of the leadership emphasizing Iñupiaq identity based on local kinship ties to a collective identity based on linguistic and large scale-regional identity (Mason 1996: 45-55). As result, the neighbors who were once regarded as enemies became a single "imagined community" with the Iñupiaq (Anderson 1983), which created pan-Iñupiaq identity on the North Slope.

Historical Impacts, Traditional Dance, and Generation Gaps

Since the ANCSA settlement, there has been a dramatic increase in both the number of traditional indigenous dance groups and regional dance festivals. Today, music and dance have become choreographed performances, though there are differences between certain types of performance (see Chapter IV). The degree to which song and dance are now re-packaged, however, suggests that they have become key symbols (Ortner 1973), expressing and redefining Iñupiaq identity.

Another illustration of the official nature of contemporary Iñupiaq dance is sponsorship. Since the ANCSA settlement, the number of traditional indigenous dance groups and regional dance festivals has vastly increased. Most events are sponsored by Native corporations: in 1983, the first *Quyana Alaska* the annual festival for all Alaska Natives sponsored by the Alaska Federation of Natives Convention was held; in 1985, the first *Cama-i* Dance Festival for Yup'ik in Bethel followed; and in 1988, the first *Kivgiq* (Messenger Feast) was held for the North Slope Iñupiat (Williams 1996: 152-156).

Moreover, it was not merely by chance that the Iñupiaq dance group from Wainwright was invited to perform at the International Olympics held in Los Angeles in 1984. Iñupiaq dance groups have often been selected to represent the United States at such events as part of the ethnic inclusiveness that has characterized the American view of itself during the part of two decades (Graburn 1986). Graburn (1986) argues that because they share mainstream-Western culture with England and the U.S., the

Canadian government uses Inuit art as a symbol for Northern-ness to distinguish itself and to represent nationalism. Similarly, the United States has begun looking beyond the dominant culture for a source of national identity and a symbol of integration of peoples from different cultures (Berkhofer 1978). America has also incorporated the Iñupiat into its vision of national identity.

As Barth (1969) has shown, ethnic boundaries are formed in relation to other people and to other groups. I will argue here that Iñupiaq dance performed by different generations reflects the diverse historical experiences and representations of Iñupiaq identity, and is one means the Iñupiat have employed as a boundary mechanism. As I will point out in detail later, one striking feature of community dances is that the middle-aged people who were born before the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) and the cultural revitalization movements of the past quarter century on the North Slope were far less proficient at Native dancing than the older and younger generations in general (see figure 1).

One example of an excellent dancer was the former leader of the Barrow Dancers, Robert Aiken Sr. (1920s – 2003), a representative of the oldest living generation at the time of my fieldwork. He was knowledgeable about songs and dance motions and established his own unique style of dancing. He was a charismatic dancer; his large body powerfully and harmoniously moved with drumbeats. Whenever he stepped forward to dance, there was great excitement amongst the drummers, the singers, and the audience. The performers smiled and sang songs uniformly and loudly. The audience

clapped and whistled even before he started dancing, which is unusual for the Iñupiat, since they usually applaud dancers after performances. In both younger and older generations, however, standard ability of Native dancing among the Barrow Dancers is generally high and some are as outstanding as Aiken.

To analyze historical impacts and traditional dance, I divide the dancers into three age cohorts (see figure 1): Group I (60 years old and above) – accomplished dancers, Group II (36-59 years old) – less proficient dancers, and Group III (under 35 years old) – accomplished dancers.

	Group I (Over 60 yrs)	**Group II (36-59 yrs)**	**Group III (Under 35 yrs)**
Dance Ability	Accomplished	Less proficient	Accomplished
Language	Iñupiaq dominant or bilingual	Bilingual or English only	Mostly English only
Childhood	Subsistence Sod house	Transitional period	Modern conveniences
School Education	Assimilative Local/Boarding	Assimilative Boarding school	Native activities taught in local school
Knowledge & Lifestyle	Leaders during the ANCSA era	Familiar with monetary economy & politics	Born after ANCSA & cultural revivalism of the 1980s.

Figure 1. Impact of History on Different Generations

Group I (Over 60 years old born before 1943): grew up in sod houses without electricity and running water and lived a subsistence life style. To be successful, acquiring the life skills of early times, such as hunting proficiency for men and sewing for women, was important. At that time, many children were subjected to assimilative education in local or boarding schools, though they were still fluent Iñupiaq speakers. Acceptance of the Christian religion is also important feature of the identity of this

group. The Iñupiaq language is spoken in the church services on Wednesdays and Sundays, and it is this generation which has translated hymns and the Bible into Iñupiaq (personal communications with several elders).

At the time of the land claim movements in the 1960s, many people of this group were over 30 years of age. It was from them that the ANCSA leadership was drawn. They were main negotiators with governmental agencies, with other Alaska Natives, and on behalf of their own people. In the cultural revivals of the 1980s, this group had a crucial role in bridging the gap between the knowledge-bearers of elders and the younger people who had little experience of the old way of Iñupiaq life. Today members of this generation are recognized as whaling captains, culture bearers, and spiritual, religious, or political leaders. In community celebrations, it is they who voluntarily and happily participate in dancing *atuutipiaq* (invitational dance songs).

Group II (36 to 59 years old born between 1967 and 1944) that is, between World War II and the passage of ANCSA. The dominant characteristic of this age group is that many of them were sent to boarding schools. Consequently, Western mainstream culture played a more prominent part in their upbringing rather than did Iñupiaq culture. In their childhood, many in this group were either discouraged from participating in customary activities such as dance or were not interested in doing so, although there are many exceptions, middle-aged people are the least proficient at Native dancing in general. Their language abilities vary; some are bilingual, others speak only English,

but only a small percentage are monolingual Iñupiaq speakers.

In Barrow, the decades between 1944 and 1967 were a transition between unacculturated and acculturated ways of life. After the ANCSA settlement, the sudden wealth from the petroleum industry in Prudhoe Bay leases brought improved housing, subsidized utilities, and modern schools to Barrow. Many of this group work for oil companies, the North Slope Borough, or Native corporations, such as Arctic Slope Regional Corporation and Ukpeagvik Iñupiat Corporation, and have adapted well to a way of life based on the monetary economy. Today, people of this generation are acquiring political leaderships in Native corporations, in the International Whaling Commission, and in the Inuit Circumpolar Conference. Many are skillful at negotiating with non-Natives and have been able to balance achieving Native sovereignty with customary roles, such as that of *umialik*.

Group III (Under 35 years old born after 1968): This group was born after the ANCSA settlement, during the cultural revitalization of the 1980s, or later. This generation is more familiar with reinterpreted Iñupiaq cultural activities, such as dancing, which is frequently taught in schools as part of cultural awareness programs. Many of them never lived in the old way but grew up in comparative convenience with running water, public transportation, taxis, airplanes, snow machines, and high-speed boats. Quite a few have attended college for at least a semester. Given their interest in cultural revitalization, it is not surprising that some in this group attended language immersion

programs in Barrow, but many in this group do not speak the language. Iñupiaq speakers in this generation enjoy higher status than English-only speakers.

My interviewees in Group III suggest that people of this age group are more comfortable with being Iñupiat based on Native skill and values acknowledged by the mainstream than the two older generations. Not surprisingly, many members of the Barrow Dancers are in this age group. Several dancers proudly told me that they dance because they want to pass their language and tradition on to their children. As Krupnik and Vakhtin (1997) suggest, younger people have reinterpreted a ritual and its purpose, but the fact of the practice and its root are well preserved.

To summarize, the middle-aged people, who were born before the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) were generally far less accomplished dancers than the older and younger generations. Iñupiaq dance performed by the different generations reflects generationally diverse historical experiences which affects their ways of representing Iñupiaq identity through dancing. I suggest that the function of Iñupiaq dance has changed from being primarily entertainment to a more identity-creating based importance. This may be what has kept Native dance alive since most active members are young.

Chapter III Traditional Dance and Individual Perceptions

Description of Iñupiaq Dance

> There are a lot of hunting motion dances, elders have composed songs about things that they have experienced like happiness with family and during hunting expeditions (Personal communication with Qallu, February 2001)

As my informant Qallu said, for as long as is remembered, the Iñupiaq people have used song and dance as media of communicating with non-human beings, such as walrus, seals, geese, swans, polar bears, airplanes, and snowmobiles; and traditional subsistence activities, such as berry picking, seal hunting and tanning skin dances. An individual can recapitulate an ancestral tale through a family-owned dance and/or story.

Iñupiaq music and dance are accompanied by a large tambourine drum, that is, a skin stretched over a hoop and bound to a handle. In earlier times, the drumheads were made of the membrane of a walrus, whale, or from caribou stomach, but more recently, many are made of a tough nylon fabric used for parachutes. Today, only a few Iñupiaq dance groups, such as King Islanders, *Suurimmaaŋitchuat* (Barrow), and Point Hope Dance groups, use traditional drums made of animal membranes. Most dance groups including the Barrow Dancers use nylon drums.

In general, the groups that use traditional drums dance to a slower tempo. Since King Islanders beat a much slower tempo than others, some members of the dance groups that use nylon drums jokingly complained that they could not dance because the King Islanders' tempo was "too slow." The difference in tempo between group whose

drummers use membrane drum heads and those who use nylon is widely acknowledged among the Iñupiaq dancers but seems to have escaped wider attention. The tempo of the drumming reflects implements of modernization and influences of the outside world. By comparing several performances in videos from different times, it is possible to see that the tempo of the music today has been increasing.[3]

Among Iñupiaq dancers, drummers hit the rim and head of the instrument from the backside with wood sticks in unison. The drum leader, who is knowledgeable about songs, begins the song and establishes the tempo and tone. Then the others join in. The number of drummers depends on the size of the dance group. As a rule, drummers are supposed to be men. They form a line in the back of the performance area, and women sit down behind the male drummers. When they dance, they emerge and take their places in front of the drummers.

Iñupiaq songs consist of two closely related sequential parts sung by both men and women. The first part is sung softly and accompanied by gentle, fluid dance movements. Drummers lightly tap on the rims of the drums. The second sequence is louder and more dramatic. For this, the female dancers use their arms and upper bodies gracefully, bending their knees deeply. While they dance, their eyes are cast downward, and their feet are close together. The men's motions are similar to the women's, but more energetic. They stand with their feet wide apart and stamp one foot to the beat of the drum with *qasak,* which literally means "to burst out with yelling and cheering when

[3] This is also planned as a topic of future research: Is the tempo of drumming influenced by the modern materials, mainstream American pop music, or anything else?

dancing or coming home from a successful hunt" (Fannie Akpik, personal communication). *Qasak* is thought to imitate the walrus, an animal closely associated with Iñupiaq maleness, to exert masculinity.[4]

For the most part, Iñupiaq songs occur in two different styles, *sayuun* (motion dance songs) and *atuutipiaq* (invitational dance songs). *Sayuun* are usually danced by a solo dancer or a group of dancers with synchronized movements. *Sayuun* songs and motions tell stories. Since Iñupiaq dance movements emphasize gender roles and the division of labor, men's motions portray both subsistence hunting activities and the prey- animals themselves. The movements of women depict domestic activities such as berry picking, tanning skin, and chopping wood. Thus, although several songs are danced by men and women together, most of them are performed by a group of the same gender.

Atuutipiaq, on the other hand, are also called "fun" or invitational dance songs. Both men and women get up voluntarily and dance in their own way to express their happiness. Interestingly enough, Bodenhorn (1993) argues that *atuutipiaq* also is a statement about social connections between individuals who see themselves as closely related, and my research confirms this (Bodenhorn 1993: 204). During the first sequence, people who feel closely connected, such as offspring, siblings, spouses, and namesakes, join the person who has stood up to dance. By the second sequence, the group is augmented by others who wish to recognize some connection with them and

[4] The traditional men's house, *qargi*, where most ceremonies were held, had limited space. This is probably the reason that the Iñupiaq dance developed in a stationary way (Johnston 1990, Williams 1996).

join in (Bodenhorn 1993:202).

The contexts of Inupiat dances and songs are best illustrated by the two following songs. The "Polar Bear Shake Song" is sung by people in Barrow on many occasions. Nungasak, a young male dancer, explained "[the] Polar Bear Shake is about depicting how strong the animal is. He is so strong. He is number one. He will shake you down, and you back away from him" (Personal communication, April 2001). The following song is from Shishmaref:

Su-liaga-suaq-sima-vik lpnasaag-mun (Why did I come to Deering?)

Nuna-giaq-su-langa sisua-mik (I want to go to the land for beluga)

Igalu-ksrag-mik imaa (They are working for fish there)

Sawag-iit-miunga (I don't have anything to do)

Samma su-li-guu-kaa kuiaq (There is always coffee down there)

While some songs have words, the others are only chanting, which means entire songs can be filled with something like *ay-yai-yanga* (Johnston 1990:242). Interestingly enough, one of characteristics of Iñupiaq dance performance is that in many cases, words in songs are not the narrative of the story. It is the dance motions that tell the story.

At community dances, people dance without special regalia although some wear *kamik*s (skin boots), and women may wear *atikłuk*s (calico shirts). Many Iñupiat consider that dancers, especially in public performance, are supposed to wear gloves. Some say this is because spirits easily travel through the hands. Since hand gestures are important for dancing, people cover them to prevent bad spirits from entering their

bodies. Others say that people wear gloves as gesture of respect for the audience.[5]

Many Iñupiaq songs and dances are widely shared throughout the community, even though it is acknowledged that they are owned by particular individuals or extended families. In general, a composer has ownership of the song, and he or his descendents must give permissions to his family members or others to sing it. Ownership of music is a metaphor of boundaries within and among communities to sing it. The cultural events, such as *Kivgiq*, became occasions for Iñupiat to express ownership, borrow and exchange the songs and dances within and among communities. Dance group membership emphasizes social cohesion; a large percentage of group members consist of related extended families. Performing in a particular dance group, then, is an expression of social network that affirms alliances with a group of people in the community. Many dance groups have their own uniformed *atikłuk* and flags that signify their regional and group identities when they perform in public. As we shall see in the following sections, contemporary Iñupiaq dance has developed from these "traditional" features providing a foundation for Native dance groups.

[5] Fienup-Riordan (1996) discusses the same custom in Yup'ik dance: "The hands of the dancers also receive special treatment during both traditional and contemporary dance performances. Yup'ik dancers never perform without either covering hands with gloves or holding a pair of dance fans. The fans simultaneously protect the performer and transform the human hand into a supernatural one" (Fienup-Riordan 1996: 185).

Self-Consciousness and the "Imagined Community"

Native Dance in the Historic Period:

According to those whom I interviewed, historically, Native dance had three main functions: entertainment in everyday life, shamanic association, and ceremonial functions. Several elders told me on different occasions that there was no notion of a "dance group" nor a "cultural heritage event" when they were young. At gatherings or feasts, individuals who wanted to dance or knew particular songs and dances simply stepped out dancing. People danced solo or with few other family members or friends but not in synchronized motions in a large group as happens today. Dancers in earlier times faced the drummers, not the audience as they do now. Dances and songs were a more individualized interaction among small numbers of people.

Many early explorers observed traditional dance. During the International Polar Expedition to Barrow in the 1880s, John Murdoch observed Iñupiaq music with admiration and commented that dances and songs were performed in everyday lives: "They [the Iñupiat] are fond of civilized music, and having usually very quick and rather acute ears, readily catch the tunes, which they sing with curiously mutilated words" (Murdoch 1988: 389). In 1883, according to Murdoch, children sang a particular song when they danced to the Northern lights introduced by Iñupiaq men from a different region (Murdoch 1988:388-389). Murdoch's observation, dance as everyday life for the Iñupiat, was confirmed by the observations of Mark Wartes, a son of the non-Native Presbyterian missionary who lived in Barrow during the 1950s. When he and an

Iñupiaq elder went to fish camp, he saw an elder danced in front of his fish net to bring in the fish (Personal communication with Mark Wartes, March 2002).

Iñupiaq dances and songs also had important religious elements and were performed on ceremonial and spiritual occasions. For example, Spencer (1959:341) argues for a relationship between whaling and Iñupiaq dances and songs. He suggests that although the metaphor of whaling and dancing is apparent in *Nalukataq* (the Spring Whaling Festival), whalers sang during all stages of whaling. *Umialik*s, harpooners, and shamans were expected to know songs associated with their functions. For instance, harpooners sang special songs to ensure the power of every piece of equipment, such as harpoons, the lances, lines, and for floats. These special songs, usually about non-human beings, were owned by individuals. There were also songs "to open leads, to prevent them from closing, for favorable winds, and to attract whales" (Spencer 1959:341).

Iñupiaq dances have also been performed at gatherings and celebrations, such as *Nalukataq* (the Spring Whaling Festival), *Kivgiq* (the Messenger Feast), and after the introduction of Christianity, on Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year's Day. Today, it is also performed at numerous cultural events outside of the community, such as the World Indian Eskimo Olympics, the Festival of Native Arts, and for the Alaska Federation of Native Conventions. After ANCSA, as part of heightened ethnic consciousness, Native dance groups were formed all over Alaska, but the Barrow Dancers appears to have the largest following among them.

Formation of Dance Groups in Barrow:

Before Wien Airlines began air service to Barrow in 1954, there was no formal dance group in the region. At the suggestion of the airline, the Barrow people began performing for tourists, and some of them, such as Jane Brower and Rhoda Pikok, are still actively involved in the modern tourist show. In the 1960s, local newspapers published articles about the tourist show and about Native dance in Barrow. For example, the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner of 1968 wrote:

> Barrow Native dance club depicts a crew rowing out to harpoon and capture a bowhead whale, which is followed by a celebration. The entertainment activities take place on a Wien Consolidated Airlines building... Frank Roland of Anaktuvuk is shown here working on Eskimo masks made of caribou hide...Nita Ahnupkana demonstrates old Eskimo skin-sewing. She is showing how caribou sinew is split and made into thread for sewing *kamik*s and parkas (Frank Whaley in *Daily News-Miner* July 30, 1968: 8).

In the late 1950s, some members of the tourist group founded the Barrow Dancers. From the 1960s to 1970s, several outstanding elders were involved in the dance group. Vincent Nageak, the highly respected elder and dancer who is knowledgeable about early life ways, for example, is considered to have transformed his skin color. When he hunted a polar bear, it was severely cold. He put his hands into the bear liver to get warm, then he put the hands near his mouth to breath warm air on them. His skin turned white from the darker skin color, and he looked like a white man for the rest of his life.

Claybourn Tunik, another pioneer of the Barrow Dancers, was a great composer.

His songs are widely shared by Iñupiat on the North Slope and actively performed today. One of his well-known songs is "Beautiful Swan." This song like many others does not have words but is filled with *ay-ya-yang*. It was originally created as a male dance, but after the King Islanders sought permission to sing it, they added female motions. Today, throughout the Iñupiaq region, both male and female enjoy dancing this song together.

Ernest Frankson Sr., who now leads the *Tikiġaq* Traditional dance group in Point Hope, was also a popular dancer in the Barrow group while he lived in Barrow. Frankson participated in the group and introduced many songs and dances from Point Hope. In turn, when he went back to Point Hope, he took several Barrow songs to introduce them there. People in Barrow still talk about Frankson as a great dancer as well as the songs he introduced (Personal communications with Fannie Akpik and Merrill Nashoalook, June 2002).

During the ANCSA period, individual perceptions of Native activities also began to include Eskimo dancing. According to Merrill Nashoalook, in the mid-1970s, younger people began to involve themselves in dancing. At the same time, elders Roxy Ekowana and Helen Kenton were hired by the North Slope Borough School District to teach students *sayuun (*motion dance songs).[6]

At the time of this study, there were four Native dance groups in Barrow: the

---

[6] Interestingly enough, Bodenhorn argues that the Barrow Dancers is "a relatively new group" since the group was founded through the community education program primarily to encourage young people to learn their traditional dances (Bodenhorn 1993: 203). As several dancers said, the foundation of the Barrow Dancers has reached back to the 1950s. I believe, however, that the community education program gave the group a more solid shape.

Barrow Dancers, *Nuvukmiut* ("People from Point Barrow") who separated from the Barrow Dancers in the mid-1990s, *Suurimmaaŋitchuat* ("I don't care") who was created by the staff of the North Slope Borough Mayor's office for *Kivgiq* in 1988, and an unnamed dance group which performed for tourists. Membership in each group seems to be open to everybody but is usually based on kinship. Sometimes a father and son participate in different groups. In highly visible cultural events such as *Kivgiq* (see chapter V), however, if the father orders his son to dance with him, the son is expected to do so and cannot dance with the group where he is originally a member.

The Barrow Dancers and the Formation of Iñupiaq Identity

The Barrow Dancers:

The Barrow Dancers is an amateur group of more than sixty members. Based on audience responses during cultural events I have witnessed, they are one of the most popular Native dance groups in Alaska. The group performs Native dances on different kinds of occasions: 1) in the community for special occasions such as New Year's day, at *Kivgiq* (the Messenger Feast), at *Nalukataq* (the Spring Whaling Festival), during the Forth of July celebration, on Thanksgiving, and during Christmas; 2-a) in external context such as at the Festival of Native Arts in Fairbanks and the World Eskimo Indian Olympics in Fairbanks, and the Alaska Federation of Natives Convention in Anchorage; 2-b) in national or international cultural events in the U.S., and in foreign countries such as Canada, Russia, and Japan; 3) in tourist shows (see chapter IV).

In these events, enthusiastic audiences welcome the popular well-trained group.

Being established as a group requires practice. Contemporary Iñupiaq dance consists of a large number of people who must dance with synchronized movements. In general, the dance group practices for three hours, three times a week before events. Since many members are students or have full time jobs in Barrow, dance practices are held in the evenings or on the weekends in the Native Heritage Center or at the Borough fire department. Practice is started with *atuutipiaq* (invitational dance songs) as a warm up. During practice, dancers face the drummers and singers in two rows: in the row nearest male drummers and female singers in the row behind. Usually, the songs begin with the leader starting to sing a song of his choice. Then the other drummers and dancers join in. The dancers are divided into four groups based on gender and age, and the groups take turns practicing. The order is 1) young girls, 2) adult females, 3) young boys, and 4) adult males.

During my fieldwork in 2002, the highly respected elders Robert (1920s-2003) and Marta Aiken, led the dance group as the traditional leaders. They greatly influence the group decision-making process. As a general rule though, the group makes decisions based on consensus. They also occasionally have meetings to discuss various topics such as whether to accept invitations to perform, for nominations and elections of officers,[7] or how they should deal with conflicts. If the members cannot agree, the elders give them advice that often results in a final decision.

In addition to the Aikens, who retired that same year, Aqak, a man in his late twenties, was also a leader of the dance group. He was elected as such by the elders and

[7] Officially, the Barrow Dancers have a register of elected officers. In reality, the leadership structure is more fluid.

the other dancers for the following reasons: 1) he has been involved in the dance group since early childhood; 2) he has extensive knowledge of dances and songs; 3) he is a good dancer. Being a good dancer means, in his case, that his style is dynamic and charismatic yet adheres to customary standards. When Aqak is not dancing or singing, he is a shy and quiet man. When I asked him how he became a leader, he said, "Two guys [elders] used to let me sit down between them. One of the guys encouraged me a lot. He said, 'you will be the one who passes on the knowledge.' Then, now I sure became the one" (Personal communication, May 2002).

Theoretically, membership in the Barrow Dancers is open to everybody in the community. All members but one, who has participated for more than 25 years, are Iñupiaq. Almost all active members are either teenagers or in their twenties. Many young couples participate along with their small children. Four-year-old David, for example, is a star dancer who is approved to dance solo in front of sizable audiences. His mother, Manuluk, in her early twenties said of her small children's love of Native dance:

> I have taken them to our practices since they were babies. My youngest, I brought him to the practice when he was only five days old...They find all kinds of toys to use as drums. Anything they can find, they make it (Personal communication, June 2002).

Similarly, Qayuuttaq in his late twenties said:

> My daughters love dance. Even my two- year old daughter cries if she is sick and cannot go to practice. She just wants to be there all the time

(Personal communication, July 2002).

While some people grew up with dancing and are taught by their elders or dance group members, others asked permission to join the group. Qayuuttaq said:

> I always wanted to participate in the Barrow Dancers, for five years, but I was too scared to ask them if I could join. After my daughter was born, I wanted to learn how to dance, so I could keep the tradition going and learn all the Iñupiaq songs because they are so strong (Personal communication, June 2002).

Many members of the dance group consider dancing not just as a leisure pastime, but also as a source of identity, of self-determination, and for some, of recovering. Since many dancers are in their twenties, it is remarkable how these individuals perceive Native dance and its relation to the past. Qallu, for example, said:

> The reason that I like to dance is my ancestors, my grandfather was drummers for the Barrow Dancers. It has been in the family and in my blood to dance... There is another reason to dance. It makes me that I can identify myself as Iñupiat (Personal communication, June 2002).

As some find part of their identity in Eskimo dance, others engage in the activity of dancing as a form of "healing." Healing is a concept that is mentioned increasingly often as a benefit of dance-group membership. By it, they seem to mean that they use dance-group activities as a way to combat alcohol and drug problems. The role of recovering as a determent to substance abuse is a new one to Iñupiaq dance. Since Yankee whalers brought alcohol to the region in the end of nineteenth century, the

Iñupiat have battled a complex pattern of addiction to alcohol and illegal drugs. As a group, the Barrow Dancers has a no-alcohol policy, which they often announce proudly when they perform. The elders encourage younger people to be sober when they dance and point out to them that drinking while dancing is not part of their tradition. Several members told me that if someone under influence wanted to perform, the other members would politely ask him to leave.

When I asked group members and others about the equation of Iñupiaq dances with healing, they referred to its collective aspects as a way of combating contemporary social problems and substantial abuse. For instance, one active dancer said:

> Before I started dancing, I used to go out and drink with my friends and got into trouble. But after I started dancing, I quit drinking and drugs. I focus on dancing and keep my family together. It healed me a lot (Personal communication, June 2002).

And another dancer explained:

> [Dancing as a group] heals a lot of us. We like to be together to laugh. It [dancing as a group] is a good thing to get together to laugh, bring memories back, talk about the trips that we went to, how seasons go by since we performed for. For the people who are having tough time like alcoholism and drug abuse, more we get together, more they stay away from troubles, if they choose to get together (Personal communication in June 2002).

Finally, one dancer told me several times, "In the dance group, we are really strong."

Today, Iñupiaq dance has developed different functions than it had in the old times. The Native people see it as a way to express the identity, a tool to preserve traditional knowledge, a path to recovery, and as I will argue later, a potential means of self-determination.

Dance and the Iñupiaq Language:

Today, knowledge of the Iñupiaq language fashions representations of social status in society. Bourdieu's (1991) analysis of the relations among language, power, and politics provides helpful insight here. He argues that in addition to a means of communication, language is a code of power through which individuals pursue their own interests and display their competence (Bourdieu 1991). Since few fluent Iñupiaq speakers are left, some are making efforts to maintain the language. For them, speaking the Iñupiaq language creates a form of symbolic power.

Knowledge of the Iñupiaq language indeed seems to operate as a symbolic code in Barrow. According to North Slope Borough Economic Profile and Census Report in 1998/99, only 8% of the local households speak primarily Iñupiaq, and overall only 23% of individuals in the community speak the language. Few young people under 35 years old are fluent Iñupiaq speakers. However, membership in the Barrow Dancers requires that they be familiar enough with it to sing in Iñupiaq. It seems that Iñupiaq is highly valued and, for many younger people, a metaphor of Iñupiaq identity (Kaplan 2001).

On the North Slope, extensive effort is made to keep the language alive. Announcements and news are broadcast over citizens band, public radio, and television are in Iñupiaq as well as in English. Iñupiaq, along with English, is also spoken in conferences, festivals, and ceremonies sponsored by the Borough and people in the community.[8] Since all songs are sung in the Iñupiaq language, local audiences regard group members as Iñupiaq culture bearers.

Among the Barrow Dancers, almost all active members are either teenagers or in their twenties, and many of them told me that developing the ability to sing in Iñupiaq was one of the most important means they have to learn the language. Some of them explained that learning Iñupiaq in class at school[9] or attending Iñupiaq church service requires great effort. Singing songs in Iñupiaq, on the other hand, is much more enjoyable.

Group members have developed a number of strategies for the language learning required of them for dance performance. Aqak said, "[Iñupiaq] is easy for some people and difficult for others. Right now, that's what they have been working on as a group. Learn our language" (Personal communication, June 2002). For example, one of the dancers listened to tapes of Iñupiaq songs whenever he drove his car around town. Some brought in flash cards of lyric lines in Iñupiaq to dance practice in order to

---

[8] I have observed that when the majority of the audience is Iñupiaq speakers who are middle aged or above, they speak Iñupiaq. In situations where younger people are speaking in front of outsiders, their Iñupiaq is usually confined to a few sentences that they have memorized.

[9] North Slope School District offers immersion programs for elementary students in Barrow.

memorize the words and looked through cards whenever they had extra time. Occasionally, Iñupiaq speakers transliterate the words of songs for less proficient speakers. Though many have mastered the skills for singing songs and have memorized a few sentences identifying themselves Iñupiaq when they speak in public, judging from the time I spent with them, it does not seem that they have begun to use the language in an every day sense.

Memorization of the songs is an activity that occupies considerable time and energy on the part of the dance group members. Though the dancers represent the activity as a means of reviving the language, in fact they make little effort to extend their knowledge beyond what is required for performance. I argue that their efforts result more accurately in the creation of a ritual language based on the ancient Iñupiaq songs and dances than actually advancing the cause of active language learning (Bloch 1974, 1976). This ceremonial form of the Iñupiaq language, much like Catholic mass given in Latin, has become an ethnic marker of the dance group members in their quest for ethnic pride and therefore a key marker for Iñupiaq identity (Kaplan 2001).

Contemporary Native Clothing:

Like language, clothing has been a marker of regional, ethnic, and cultural identity for Native people. It reveals individual life stages and social status, such as age, gender, occupation, origin, and childbearing status (Chaussonnet 1988, Hall 1994, Martin 2001). For every day, Native-style clothing has been replaced by commercially manufactured

European style clothes, but indigenous peoples often wear "traditional" regalia when they represent their cultures or when they wish to communicate traditional values to others (Martin 2001, 2003).

Many Iñupiaq people wear *kamik*s (skin boots) on special occasions such as *Kivgiq* (see chapter V). The Barrow Dancers, for example, wear *kamik*s and uniformed regalia during performances: For men, this consists of white shirts, black pants, bolo ties with small ivory carved clamps (optional), and Athabascan-style of beaded gloves (optional). For women, regalia consists of uniformed *atikłuk*s made of the same fabric. The male European style regalia of the Barrow Dancers is unique; male dancers of all other Iñupiaq dance groups wear group uniformed *atikłuk*s. For the Iñupiaq people, these regalia may represent formalized forms of everyday clothing; pants and shirts for males and *atikłuk*s for older females.[10] Today, Iñupiaq clothing, however, also reflects other values such as education, personal aesthetic values, social status, and subsistence activities.

For the modern-day Iñupiat, traditional clothing is closely linked to contemporary subsistence activities (Martin 2001, 2003). In reality, most popular materials for *kamik*s are cowhide and store-bought tanned skins, rather than seal, caribou, wolf skins acquired by subsistence activities. Likewise few women in other parts of the world seldom spin their thread or weave their own fabrics, some Iñupiaq seamstresses use dental floss and

---

[10] In Barrow, while some older ladies wear *atikłuk*s in everyday life, many young women do not wear them. This contrasts those of the Yup'ik culture in which many women of all generations wear *qaspeq*s (calico shirts) in daily base.

cotton threads instead of sinew. For women, the introduced materials are easier to acquire and to process than those made in the old way. Hunting is still widely practiced in the community, but some do not have the time, skill, or knowledge to carry out the steps necessary to converting it into raw material for clothing.

The acquisition of sewing skills in school reflects a change of the educational system in Native communities, like Barrow. While elders learned sewing skills from their female relatives as a means of survival, many women under 40 years old today learned basic skills of sewing in school. Sewing *atikłuk* on a sewing machine, for instance, is a common assignment for female students in junior high school. Some public schools in rural communities teach basket making and skin sewing as their traditional skills in culture classes (Mason 1996:82-83). Several women said, "I did not know how to sew without school." While school education has negatively impacted several generations, the young Native people whom I worked with perceive the school's attempts at culturally relevant education positively as a means of acquiring Iñupiaq cultural knowledge.

Even though *atikłuk*s, *atigi*s (parkas), and *kamiks* are made of introduced materials, women continue to design and sew small pieces of skin to form objects and make unique patterns on trim by following cultural, regional, and individual styles based on their aesthetic and traditional knowledge (Lee 1985, Toelken 2003). Leach suggests:

> Almost every human action taking place in culturally defined surroundings has a technical aspect which does something, and an aesthetic, communicative dimension which says something (Leach 1968:520).

The uniformed *atikłuk*s worn by the *Nuvukmiut* dance group, for example, are designed to communicate Iñupiaq subsistence, knowledge of animals, and gender roles. The *atikłuk*s have large white triangular collars and hoods that represent: 1) walrus flippers; 2) the white stuff that develop around a whale mouth when it is aging. While bodies of the male *atikłuk*s, made of black fabric, exemplify *maktak* (black whale skin and pinkish white blubber), the bodies of the female *atikłuk*s made of red cloth, symbolize whale blood. (Personal communication with Kuutuuq, June 2002). As Martin (2001, 2003) argues, their *atikłuk*s mediate the physical and spiritual relationship between humans and animals, and the discourses between tradition and modernity that defines contemporary Iñupiaq identity.

As another example, Inuquyuk, a woman in her early thirties made *atigi*s (parkas) for her husband and son. She told me that the coloring of the trim on their parkas she made represents the flag used by her husband's whaling crew. As a product of the sewing activity, *atikłuk* encodes the women's role in subsistence (Martin 2001: 109). The design, use of materials, decorations, and coloration of sewing are icons of the Iñupiaq worldview and women's skill and knowledge passed on from generations to generations.

Among the Iñupiat, clothing also communicates the owner's social status. The *atigi* is a means of visually representing information about people as individuals. The garment is made of cotton fabric which are relined with mouton, rabbit skin, or other

materials, and wolf pelts for male hoods and wolverine pelts for female hoods. To acquire such a fancy parka, the owner has to have a sewer within his or her extended family and to be able to afford the materials. Today, in addition to a shortage of skin sewers, the *atigi* is too expensive for many people, especially in younger generations. According to several informants, a single *atigi* may cost at least $2,000 although it depends on materials and seamstresses. The person who owns the parka, as well his or her family, who poses the traditional knowledge to make it and can afford the luxury of buying the materials, communicates their success in both the Iñupiaq and the Euro-American societies.

Iñupiaq Dance and the Transmission of Traditional Knowledge

As noted before, among the Barrow Dancers, language and clothing are important signifiers of rank. Mass media has been an important also has new important instrument for gesturing, sharing, preserving, and transmitting Native values, traditions, and cultures. For Inuit in Canada, for instance, video and television provide opportunities to negotiate their culture among themselves and with the rest of the world (Evans 1999). This trend is true of people in Barrow generally, not just for the members of the Barrow Dancers. The "Eskimo Channel," a television program broadcast nightly, is popular among the Iñupiat in Barrow. It often airs documentary videos about Inuit and Iñupiaq peoples and traditions that were recorded by the Canadian government in the 1960s. Several people told me that if I want to learn about "real" Iñupiaq, I should watch videos,

such as *Netsilik Eskimo Series* (1968) and *Eskimo* (1934).

Similarly, at the individual level, several members of the Barrow Dancers and their families devote considerable time to recording videos of the group performances and practices and enjoy watching them later. Occasionally, while I was in Barrow, more than ten members of the dance group gathered in a house and spent as long as seven hours watching old dance videos performed by Iñupiat in Barrow between the 1970s and the 1980s. For the long hours, children danced and mimicked the dancers' movements in the videos, while adults talked about young appearances of elders and old songs and dances that they do not perform nor know. They also appear to enjoy mistakes made by dancers and occasionally rewind the scenes to joke and laugh.

Some young parents teach Iñupiaq dance to their children by showing videos. Manuluk and Aqak,[11] for example, always encourage their children, the boys aged four and two in 2002, to watch Eskimo dance videos and listen to Iñupiaq song tapes while they are playing at home. The parents tell the children, "Look, you know this song. Show me [your dance]." I have also witnessed young people learning and memorizing movements of dance, words of songs, and peoples' faces and names in different communities through videos.

Both older and younger generations told me that they learned dancing by watching, but the subjects that they watch are vastly different depending on generations. While elders learned dancing mostly by observing older people in the community, younger

[11] Like any other names, Aqak is a common name among the Iñupiat. Manuluk's husband, Aqak, is the different person from Aqak, the president of the Barrow Dancers.

people watch videos, older people in the community, and Inuit and Iñupiaq peoples from other communities in cultural events, such as *Kivgiq,* the Alaska Federation of Natives Convention in Anchorage, and the World Eskimo Indian Olympics in Fairbanks.

Chapter IV Native Dance in Different Contexts

The Iñupiat make distinctions in their performances between those for local consumption and those for representation outside the community, especially if it is directly related to their culture and traditions, such as traditional dance. Representations of culture and tradition raise the following questions: Do the Iñupiat reproduce and reaffirm the romanticized images portrayed by outsiders? Or, do they represent themselves in a way to oppose the stereotypes and provide more "genuine" information of their culture? (Cohen 1993:49, Graburn in press, Horner n.d., Nuttall 1998:141, Ostrowitz 1999)

Goffman (1973) argues that the social establishment can be studied by perceiving people as performers and audience. To analyze Iñupiaq representation of culture and traditions, I will divide Iñupiaq dance performances into three groups: those held within the local community, those performed beyond the community, and tourist performances.

Community vs. External vs. Tourist Performances

Community Performance:

Today, traditional dance is performed in the community in both neo-traditional and nontraditional events. During my fieldwork, I had several chances to observe local performances by the Barrow Dancers of all these varieties: twice at *Nalukataq* (the Spring Whaling Festival), during the Fourth of July celebration, and at the North Slope Borough 30th Anniversary. Commencement for high school graduates, Thanksgiving,

Christmas, and New Year's Day are other opportunities for Eskimo dancing. Audiences are mostly local Iñupiat with a very few non-Native people who have married into local Iñupiaq families. The Iñupiaq children are excited to see Eskimo dance and sit or lie down in front on the floor. I heard several of them said that Iñupiaq dance is " so cool."

The structure of dance performances within the community in Barrow shares certain commonalities: Performances are held in the public gym at night with a local Iñupiaq Master of Ceremonies (MC) and continue for more than five hours. One or several local dance groups drum and sing *atuutipiaq* (invitational dance songs). First, any participants in the events voluntarily stand up to enjoy dancing *atuutipiaq*. Later, the MC divides the people into age groups, and the groups take turns performing one or two songs before the other age groups. The audience watches each group's style of dancing and cheers with clapping and whistling the performers, who are generally related to them in some way, as grandparents, parents, children, aunts, uncles, cousins, or friends.

Finally, after these participants are tired of dancing, the Barrow Dancers performs *sayuun* (motion dance songs). In *sayuun*, the female dance group members are divided into three or four age groups - small girls, teenage girls, adult women, and sometimes elders. Each group - usually more than 15 dancers- dances separately one or two songs. The men perform after the women. First, young boys dance as a group, then David, the talented four-year old boy, performs one of two songs by himself. Afterward, male adults dance solo or small groups of two to six dancers perform one song each. In the

end, the entire dance group sings *atuutipiaq*, and the people in the community join in.

When the Barrow Dancers perform in public, they usually wear uniform regalia. In community performances, however, only the female dancers wear the uniformed *atikłuk*s. The male dancers often do not wear uniformed garments, but only *kamiks*. These regalia may be the same as their daily dress: T-shirts and jeans for males and *atikłuk*s for older female. From the outsider's eyes, however, it is difficult to understand which are the correct occasions for wearing the formal or informal regalia. During my fieldwork, for example, there was a young Iñupiaq man originally from outside the community who was a new participant in the dance group. He could not anticipate dress-up occasions and wore the formal regalia in every public performance. Several dancers explained that occasions to dress up as a group are based on "everybody's feeling" and "individual choice."

Eskimo dances during *Nalukataq* (the Spring Whaling Festival) are more formal and ceremonial than other community events. In the gym, drummers, singers, and audience sit with quiet excitement waiting for arrival of the successful *umialik* (a whaling captain). The following events all occur almost simultaneously: 1) The *umialik* and each crew member dressed in *atigi*s (parkas) and *kamik*s (skin boots) hold the edge of their *ugruk* (bearded seal) skin blanket and carry it into the gym. The blanket is made of several *ugruk* skins with a rope laced on the outside of the skin for handles. This is more or less parallel to when a national flag is carried in a national or international ceremony. 2) The dance group starts drumming and singing *atuutipiaq* (invitational dance songs). 3) The audience applauds and cheers the *umialik* and his crew.

Finally, it is the time for dancing to begin. First, the whaling captain and his wife dance on the blanket, then his crewmembers, their relatives, and anyone in the community. After the whaling crew and their families dance, the program almost replicates other community performances: 1) *atuutipiaq* of anyone in the community, 2) *sayuun* by the dance groups, 3) *atuutipiaq* by community members. Individual *umialik*s or a group of kin related *umialik*s all own the blankets. During daytime, it is used for the blanket toss in the communal feast held in the public playground, while in the evening, it functions as a "stage" for Native dance in the gym.

External Performance:

I define external performances as the Barrow Dancers' performances at Native cultural events beyond the community such as in Fairbanks or Anchorage. In its formal structure, dancing for non-Iñupiaq Native and non-Native audience differs from performances intended for the community. The Barrow group, for example, appears annually at the Festival of Native Arts (FNA) in Fairbanks, at the World Eskimo Indian Olympics (WEIO) in Fairbanks, and at the Alaska Federation of Natives Convention (AFN) in Anchorage. They travel occasionally to national or international events in the Lower-Forty Eight States such as in Washington D.C. Differences in their appearances in external performance suggest that on these occasions the dance group considers itself as the official representatives of the Iñupiaq people and their culture. Here, their performances are much more formal than those held in the community. As Barth reminds us, interaction between ethnic groups and transactions across boundaries

strengthen the social boundary between the parties involved (Barth 1969), and this observation seems to be affirmed in the case of the Barrow Dancers.

For external performances, all group members are expected to dress up. The group mainly performs *sayuun* (motion dance songs) in the same order as in the community performances, but they tend to focus on male dancers, who dance more dramatically and attract greater attention with a general audience. At the end of the performance, the dance group always invites the audience to dance on the stage by singing two or three *atuutipiaq* (invitational dance songs). Usually, both Iñupiat and non-Iñupiaq Native audiences willingly join in.

External performances also include narratives between songs. One of the female dancers explains their traditional Iñupiaq life, culture, histories, and meanings of songs and motions. Many times, the interpretation includes key symbolic sentences, such as that the dance is one of the Iñupiaq ways to "express happiness," and that it is "handed down from generation to generation." For example, Martha Aiken, the traditional leader and respected elder of the Barrow Dancers, wrote the following narrative:

> Eskimos lived with their own cultural customs that were handed down from generation to generation. The Iñupiaq survived with difficult environment because of the cold climate almost all year around. But they learned to adapt. Following their only means for survival, they hunt animals for food, clothing, and all their livelihood was made possible by living off of the land. They followed the migrating animals and for preservation of food and never

> wasted the whole carcass and each animal they hunt and kill was a cause for their own celebration in their own style...Eskimo dancing is their custom for celebration, a time of expressing their happiness...The Barrow Dancers only follow the customs of this beloved cultural heritage handed down from generation to generation. And we are proud to be a part of the Iñupiat that survived through difficult situations. We are proud of our Inupiaq cultural heritage and that's why we express our happiness by Eskimo dancing (Written by Martha Aiken in 1990, typed by Ora Elavgak in 2002).

Throughout Alaska, the Barrow Dancers are highly respected by other Native peoples because they provide positive and powerful images of Iñupiaq-ness and Native-ness. At cultural events outside the community, the Barrow Dancers has developed a following and attracts large audiences. As several non-Inupiaq Native audience members explained, one reason for their popularity is that the group is highly trained, which means that, to outsiders, the Iñupiat are successfully preserving their language, culture, and tradition. In addition, the dance group consists of numerous children, teenagers, young adults, as well as some elders. The spectrum of age groups communicates to outsiders that Iñupiaq culture is healthy and the Barrow people are successfully negotiating the two worlds. The interpreter of the Barrow Dancers sometimes mentions that the dance group is alcohol- and drug- free, which implies that the members are living healthy lives that traditional activities such as dancing function as a means of successfully avoiding substance abuse.

By contrast, most other Alaska Native dance groups consist mainly of one or the other, but not all these age groups. Several non- Iñupiaq Native people in their twenties told me that Native dances are for children to do and are not popular with adults. Like the Iñupiat in Barrow, middle-aged Native people in other parts of Alaska also experienced assimilative education that discouraged Native activities. In many places, missionaries prohibited Native dances and songs since they were associated with shamanism. As a result, many Native cultures forgot their traditional dances and songs. It is understandable that Native dance is popular for children born during the Native cultural revitalization era. Although the Iñupiat in Barrow have experienced hardships similar to others, the dance group constitutes an active, but particular, image of the Iñupiaq culture. Since so many Native peoples struggle with substance abuse, the message of "alcohol- and drug-free" makes the dance group a model for contemporary Alaska Natives.

Tourist Performance:

In contrast to community and external performances, the Iñupiat choose a different way to represent their culture before tourists. Since social recognition enhances self-esteem, the performances in the tourist show aim to bring objective recognition into alignment with subjective recognition (Nuttall 1998). During my fieldwork in 2002, the Barrow Dancers contracted with a tour company, Tundra Tours, owned by Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (ASRC) to perform dances for the tourists

who fly into Barrow for one or two days for five months over the summer. The dancers, all elders individually hired by the tour company had performed the tourist show for many years. Since many of the old drummers had passed away, however, the company contracted with the Barrow Dancers in addition to the individual employees already hired.[12] As a group, the Barrow Dancers received $4,000 a month over five months, and the funding went to the group, not to individual members. The profit was put toward travel or other related expenses for the group. There were predictable conflicts between the group and the independently hired individuals in the beginning of the season. Receiving the funding introduced the group to Western concepts of organization, including discussions of whether they should incorporate as a non-profit entity.[13]

In the tourist show, the Barrow Dancers performed Iñupiaq dances daily for half an hour in the Iñupiaq Heritage Center. The audience consisted of mainly Euro-American tourists from outside of Alaska as well as some Japanese.[14] The tour company required all the dancers to wear *atikłuk*s. The show consists of dance performance, a baby fashion show with children dressed in *atigi*s and *atikłuk*s as "traditional" clothing, a blanket-toss demonstration, indigenous games, and sewing demonstrations. At the same time, local Native artists sold their arts and crafts in the lobby.

For the dance performance, the dance group is allowed to choose the songs, but Jane Brower, the respected elder who had been dancing for the tourists for more than 30

---

[12] The Barrow Dancers did not contract with the tour company the following year.

[13] The group did not become a profit or non-profit organization since their employer misplaced the necessary paperwork.

[14] Tundra Tours contracts with some Japanese tour companies in Alaska.

years, leads the entire group both as a singer and interpreter. The dance performance focuses mainly on *sayuun* (motion dances) in the same order as in the community and external performances. During performances, the audience either quietly sits on chairs or enthusiastically stands up taking pictures or videos. After *sayuun*, the dance group invites the audience to dance by singing two or three *atuutipiaq* (invitational songs). In contrast to Iñupiaq or Alaska Native audiences, the tourists reluctantly or shyly stand up to dance for invitational dances only after the tour group leaders urges them repeatedly. At the end of the Eskimo dance performance, all dancers stand and sing a hymn in English as a "special song." Some of the Barrow Dancers told me that they usually do not sing Iñupiaq songs and hymns at the same time because those are different and have to keep them separated. Singing a hymn in the end of Native dance, however, is a tourist show "tradition," so the group follows it.

The baby fashion show takes place after the dance performance. During the show, the tour organizer warns the tourists not to take photos with flash that would frighten the babies. When the two babies involved stand up in their beautiful *atigi*s (parkas), the audience instantly lines up to take pictures gasping with admiration. Later, the audience participates in the blanket-toss and a traditional game. Since all activities are demonstrated inside, a little girl who is hired by the tour company is tossed for the blanket-toss demonstration. The non-Native audience gathers, side by side, around the *ugruk* skin blanket used for *Nalukataq*. A tour conductor instructs them in how to toss the person who will jump, and then the girl is tossed once or twice. After that comes the demonstration of a traditional "gambling" game. The conductor puts down five dollars

as a bet. For the Iñupiaq game, five volunteers each get a stick and try to penetrate a hole in center of a piece of bone suspended from a pole.

Surprisingly, the reactions of the dancers to such a repetitive daily performances are mainly positive. Many said that they were happy to perform Native dances for outsiders since it was a way of communicating their culture to outsiders who sincerely admired the Native heritage. This sentiment was best expressed by Anniagruq Lum:

> I've learned that the more people know about Native cultures, the more accepting they are...They [tourists] are leaning why and how we do things in our culture and meanings and importance of dancing. Some people have stereotypical thoughts about our culture, like we are drunks, lazy, whale blubber eaters, salmon crunchers. By sharing our culture with others, we are letting people get a glimpse of activities that are probably centuries old and very important to us. So you could go home to Japan, and if someone asks you about Eskimos, you'd be able to tell them about us truthfully (Personal communication, July 2002).

In fact, during the show, tourists viewed the indigenous performances in a respectful manner. For example, when an elder sits on the floor and demonstrates skin sewing, the audience also voluntarily sits on the floor near her. To the Iñupiat, Iñupiaq dancing may be one of a few things that only Iñupiat know and can manipulate and that the others cannot imitate.

Representation of Culture and Tradition

When Iñupiat explain their culture and the meanings behind their dances and songs to outsiders, they constantly use the word "tradition." As they appear to mean it, tradition can be defined as something such as beliefs, customs, and legends, passed on from generation to generation or a long-established and inherited way of thinking and acting. In the discipline of anthropology, the idea of tradition developed during the European Enlightment to establish the uniqueness of the modern age (Horner n.d.: 4). Horner argues that tradition is shown to have a both socio-political contextual and processual natures. In Cameroon where Horner worked, for example, the Western concept of tradition was imported into the country during the colonial period of the 19th century. After its arrival, the adoption and expansion of the concept was fundamentally political and linked to nationalism and the development of regional identity (Horner n.d.). The Iñupiat make distinctions in their representation of culture and tradition depending on the contexts (see figure 2):

	Community	**External**	**Tourist Show**
Audience	Local Iñupiat	Native/non-Native	Euro-American/ Japanese
Audience's perception	Cultural bearers Executors of particular rituals	Representative of Iñupiat	Representative of Iñupiat & entire Native peoples
Clothing	Everyday clothes (male) *Atikłuk*s (female) *Kamik*s (both)	Uniformed regalia *Kamik*s	*Atikłuk*s *Kamik*s (required by the tour company)
Use of "tradition"	Ancient life & activity Self-determination	To distinguish the Iñupiaq culture	Self-image of the culture

Figure 2. Performances in Different Contexts

The repertoires in the Barrow Dancers' community performances were almost identical to in performances outside of the community as well as the tourist shows, but the atmosphere was vastly different. In community performance, the audience mainly consists of local Iñupiat and a few non-Natives. The audience cheers for their favorite performers, especially for little boys, who voluntarily stand up to dance in front of the audience when the dance group sings for *atuutipiaq* (invitational dances). Many audiences consider the dance group as culture bearers and executors of particular rituals, such as *Kivgiq* (the Messenger Feast) (see chapter V). Male dancers wear everyday clothes, such as jeans and T-shirts, but many female dancers voluntarily wear *atikłuk*s (calico shirts). The use of the word, tradition, in this context mainly indicates ancient life and activities and self-determination.

During community performances, the audience usually includes a few people who are obviously under the influence of drugs and alcohol. Even so, these people often emphasize the importance of their Iñupiaq heritage. Some of them proudly told me, while pointing out the Iñupiaq dancers, "It's my culture" or "It's our tradition." Barrow is an unforgiving place even during the summer due to cold winds from the Arctic Ocean and occasional snow. In such an environment, the performance must be a powerful attraction for the inebriates, who usually do not drive, to have events open to them, especially late at night. Working with Northern Athabascans, Fast argues, "counterbalancing their [Native peoples'] efforts to effect positive change in their communities are the ever present pressures of economic instability and dilemmas

presented by inconsistent interpersonal habits and behavior because of alcoholism or other addictions" (Fast 2002:208). The Iñupiat in Barrow are no exception. Intoxicated people appear to find hope and healing in their traditional activities to "counterbalance" cultural codes to their role model.

Contrary, in the external performance, the local audience are Iñupiat, non-Iñupiaq Natives, and non-Natives. As already discussed, the audience views the dance group as representative of the Iñupiat and the performance by the dance group is more formalized. In narratives between songs, one interpreter explains their traditional Iñupiaq life, culture, histories, and meanings of songs and motions. In many occasions, narrators also referred to the old way of life as a "tradition" that the contemporary Iñupiat no longer practice. For the Iñupiat, claiming their tradition and cultural uniqueness as an indigenous people affects them in contemporary political situations, such as subsistence hunting rights and land claims (Nuttall 1998). Although it has been changing, outsiders still occupy many if not most of the high-paying jobs, such as teachers, lawyers, engineers, and scientists on the North Slope. Many important decisions about Iñupiaq land and resources are often made by the dominant society. Many Iñupiaq people in Barrow have observed that the highly profitable petroleum industry is what allows them to actively practice traditional activities such as whaling, hunting, and dancing that make their collective identity stronger. In this context, Iñupiat use "tradition" to distinguish their unique culture from others, especially from that of the dominant society.

In the tourist performance, the audiences are mainly Caucasian or Japanese

tourists who may never have encountered indigenous peoples and their cultures before. They tend to keep a distance from the Iñupiaq performers and absorb in trying to document their new experiences. They consider the dance groups as representatives of Iñupiaq and Native peoples in general. At the same time, the audience also observes their experiences with local Iñupiat living in a "timelessly traditional culture" as "authentic rather than staged" (Nuttall 1998:141). Tundra Tours requires the dancers to wear *atikłuk*s and *kamik*s as traditional clothing. In this context, "tradition" is chosen by Iñupiat performers as a self-image of the culture and, to some extent, affirmed by the Non-Native audience.

Tourism as Cultural Presentation

MacCannell (1976) argues that tourists seek authencity and want to experience something which is lost in their own culture. From the end of World War II, the development of organized tourism in the Arctic became popular since tourists could "experience" Eskimo culture (Graburn 1989, Smith 1989). In the beginning, many local Eskimo people were uninterested in being involved in it as an exotic attraction. Tourists also often offended local Iñupiat in Kotzebue with endless and repetitive questions about language, clothing, food, hunting, weather, and disturbed local residences' daily work (Smith 1989: 63-64).

Tourism in Barrow mirrors representations of culture and tradition by the Iñupiat. Ostrowitz argues that three significant characteristics in tourism as conducted by Native

peoples can be observed: 1) The self-image of culture is selected by Native performers and, to some extent, by non-Native audiences; 2) The model of the reproduction of tradition derives from the mid-nineteenth century, since many ethnographic archival photographs taken by missionaries, teachers, and explorers in the mid-nineteenth now circulate widely; 3) Contemporary Native artists and performers make distinctions between arts or performances for inside and outside audiences (Ostrowitz 1999). Ostrowitz's arguments directly apply to the representation of Iñupiaq culture in Barrow.

In the Iñupiaq Heritage Center, for example, archival photos of traditional Iñupiaq portraits and activities, which were taken by missionaries, whalers, teachers, and traders in the early twentieth century, are hung on the wall. This is done to show respect to their ancestors as well as to provide outsiders with a favorable image of Iñupiaq. As Ostrowitz argues, the contemporary Iñupiat base their code of traditional Iñupiaq-ness on a view of themselves as represented by outsiders in the early twentieth century. This is similar to situations elsewhere in Alaska. Mason points out such practices on Kodiak Island of Alutiiq.

> Characterization of Native practices emphasized a view of Alutiiq 'culture and heritage' as an Alutiiq 'captured heritage' of the self-same images, objects and activities consistently reported by anthropologists, adventure seekers, and curio collectors, during the mid to late-nineteenth century period of Kodiak's history. This characterization of Alutiiq culture and heritage, however, did attract the attention of the wider mainstream society

> and was favorably perceived as a celebration of cultural diversity that coincided along with the currently 'multi-cultural' movement (Mason 1996:83).

Speaking to this same point, Graburn argues that cultural codes in the public context or in situations where interactions with outsiders have been selected because they are "a) admired…as exotic by the white men, the major outsider-reference group and B)… maximally express difference, 'otherness' in situations where ethnic recognition is of prime importance" (Graburn 2002:9). Many tourists participate in the packaged tour of the Tundra Tours which is run by the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation. The tour takes visitors nature-watching in the Barrow area, to several prehistoric and historic sites as well as to the Iñupiaq Heritage Center, where the tourist program takes place. It is designed to communicate what they consider to be important Iñupiaq traditions, such as performances of dances, songs, baby fashion shows with fur parka, traditional games, and sewing demonstrations. According to Nuttall, local Native owned tourism is "non-consumptive, environmentally-friendly, fosters understanding of local cultures, and provides economic opportunities for remote Arctic regions" (Nuttall 1998:131). The contents of the program are mainly chosen by Native people with feedbacks from tourists who are seeking something exotic and different from their own everyday lives (MacCannell 1976).

Chapter V Iñupiaq Pride- *Kivgiq* (Messenger Feast)

Unlike community, external, and tourist performances, *Kivgiq* (the Messenger Feast) is intended to provide individual Iñupiat with a more solid collective identity and enhanced ethnic pride. In one form or another, *Kivgiq* has been celebrated by the Iñupiat for many centuries. In its contemporary manifestation, it was revived in 1988 in Barrow after a lapse of more than 70 years. It is the largest event for the entire Iñupiat on the North Slope themselves and successfully integrates old Iñupiaq practices and values into those of the modern context. In this chapter, I will discuss the history of the Messenger Feast, metaphors of the Eagle Mother legend who originated *Kivgiq* and *Kalukaq* (the box drum dance), the importance of *Kivgiq* as a revitalization movement, and its strengthening of Iñupiaq cultural pride.

Metaphor of *Kivgiq*

The Ancient Messenger Feast:

Earlier versions of Messenger Feast were practiced throughout the Central Yup'ik and the Iñupiaq regions in Alaska since ancient times (Fienup-Riordan in press, Hawks 1913, 1914, Johnston 1990, Kingston 1999, Morrow 1984, Ostermann 1952). The major difference between Yup'ik and Iñupiaq Messenger Feasts is that while the Iñupiaq version has the "Wolf Dance," the "Eagle Wolf Dance," or the "Box Drum Dance" as part of the feast, they are lacking in the Yup'ik area. There are various regional differences between communities. In the Iñupiaq region on the North Slope, the event

was sponsored by an *umialik*. In extraordinarily successful hunting seasons, especially along the Arctic Coast, the successful *umialik* invited a neighboring village to a "Great Trade Feast" in his *qargi* (men's/ceremonial house) (Ostermann 1952:103). In former times, *Kivgiq* was an enormous gathering where people traded, exchanged gifts, reaffirmed trading partnerships and kinship ties, and enjoyed dancing and story telling (Johnston 1990, Kingston 1999, Ostermann 1952, Riccio 1993).

In the ancient version of the Messenger Feast, an *umialik* sent two *kivgak*s (runners/messengers) with invitations to other nearby communities, announcing what gifts they would like to receive. If the villagers were willing to participate, the *kivgak*s were sent back with a message specifying what they would like to have in return. Since for Iñupiaq, *Kivgiq* was mostly a social event rather than a religious ceremony, it was referred to as the trade fair held to facilitate economic exchange between two corresponding villages, such as people from coastal and inland villages, where the people exchanged inland and coastal products (Johnston 1990, Kingston 1999, Ostermann 1952, Riccio 1993, Spencer 1959, Stackhouse 1996, Wooley and Okakok 1989).

According to legend, *Kivgiq* also had a ceremonial component that handed down after its origination by the Eagle Mother (Ostermann 1952). Long ago, she perceived that people were lonely since they did not know how to sing or dance. So she decided to teach the humans about a festival called *Kivgiq*. First, she instructed her son to kidnap a young hunter in order to teach him how to construct a large *qargi*, a round drum made of animal skins, and a *Kalukaq* (the box drum). She then showed the hunter how to drum,

sing, and dance. The Eagle Mother also told the hunter to prepare a great feast in order to properly host his guests. In those days, there were not many people living near the young hunter. The first guests of the *Kivgiq* were non-humans who had transformed themselves from various animals to people (Johnston 1990, Kingston 1999: 62-127, Okakok 1981, Ostermann 1952, Riccio 1993, Wooley and Okakok 1989).

The earlier representations of the Iñupiaq *Kivgiq* were discontinued in the early twentieth century. In 1911, the Barrow people invited the people from Icy Cape and in the winter of 1913-1914, invited the people from *Nuvuk* (Point Barrow). The last Messenger Feast was held in Wainwright in the winter of 1914-1915, where villagers of Barrow were the invited guests (Spencer 1959: 211). The reason for the abandonment of the great feast is unclear; however, historical records show that after 1915 when commercial whaling collapsed, the people in Barrow were nearly destitute. Food shortages followed unfavorable ecological conditions, such as bad ice conditions and poor whaling in 1916-1917, and the flu epidemic of 1918. During the 1920s, good trapping conditions and high fur prices helped improve life, but the world-wide Depression beginning in 1929 also severely affected the northern communities. Pressures by missionaries to abandon traditional Native beliefs, the *qargi* as an institution, customs, language, rituals, and ceremonies also contributed to disappearance of *Kivgiq*. The turn-of-the-century disappearance of the *qargi*, where *Kivgiq* was traditionally held, also may have indirectly affected various Iñupiaq ceremonial forms (Blackman 1989: 19-23, Bodenhorn 1989: 28-37, Larson: 1995, Riccio 1993: 117-118).

***Kalukaq* (The Box Drum Dance):**

In Barrow today, *Kivgiq* is translated only as the Messenger Feast, in which one village invites another for feasting, gift giving, and trading. *Kalukaq* translated as the Box Drum Dance, is usually performed during *Kivgiq* and on New Year's Day. Some scholars, such as Williams (1996: 180) and Riccio (1993), however, believe that *Kivgiq* and *Kalukaq* have the same meaning. Others, such as Kingston (1999:71-72), Johnston (1990:221), and Turner (1990:208), argue that Iñupiaq communities inserted *Kalukaq* into *Kivgiq*, which had already spread throughout the Yup'ik and Iñupiaq area.

Kingston (1999: 69-74, 116-120) points out different versions of headdresses, origin stories, and performances among the Iñupiat. While Seward Peninsula communities use the Eagle feather headdresses to represent the Eagle Mother who originated *Kivgiq*, the headdresses in Northwest or North Alaska are made of local birds' feathers, such as loon skin, eagle, snowy owl, gull, or duck, possibly as a referent to the local hunter who hosts *Kivgiq*. The exception is the King Islanders, who use furs. According to Kingston, the part of the origin story in the Messenger Feast, or the Wolf dance, in which the hunter has visions of wolves dancing, occurs in stories of the Bering Strait Iñupiaq; thus, *Kalukaq* in Seward Peninsula and King Island communities is referred as the Eagle-Wolf Dance or Wolf Dance. The Eagle-Wolf Dance performed in Kawerak and King Island includes the wolf dens, where dancers wearing eagle feathers jump back into holes which symbolize dens, and come out with wolf masks (Kingston 1999: 69-74, 116- 120, Oquilluk 1981, Riccio 1993: 137-142).

By contrast, in the Eagle Dance on the North Slope, the motions indicating a wolf dance (or wolf den) do not appear, but the metaphor of the Eagle Mother is presented in the performances (Kingston 1999: 116-120). The box drum used by the Barrow Dancers is decorated with an eagle feather, and the triangles incurving the edge on the top of the box drum are thought to represent the mountain where the Eagle Mother lives. The beats of the box drum are considered to be the beats of the Eagle Mother's heart.

Interestingly enough, however, the University of Alaska Museum owns a wolf-nose headdress and wolf-tail belt from Barrow (Catalog Number: UA80-022-0059AB). The wolf nose is sewn to caribou skin for the headband with red, white, and blue opaque beads along upper border of headdress. The wolf tail is sewn to white caribou skin for the use of the belt with a whale-head-shaped button made of walrus ivory. According to Qallu, these objects were used for dancing to represent the Eagle Mother's first student who learned how to drum and sing and transformed into a human to teach others (Personal communication, February 2003).

Today, *Kalukaq* is performed only on New Year's Day and at *Kivgiq*. In Barrow, if someone passés away before the New Year, the community cancels *Kalukaq* since the performance, which is considered to be a major celebration, would be disrespectful to the deceased and his or her family (Personal communication with Qallu, June 2002). During *Kivgiq*, the Barrow Dancers and Wainwright Dancers each give a two-hour performance of *Kalukaq*. The Barrow and Wainwright dance groups have different box drums, songs, and tunes, and dance in slightly different ways. The Wainwright dance group sings a larger number of songs with slower tempo than the Barrow dance group.

The number of dancers for *Kalukaq* is also different: four for the Barrow dance group and eight for the Wainwright group. In Barrow, *Kalukaq* consists of three major parts: the Box Drum dance with two songs, the line dance, and *atuutipiaq* (invitational dance songs).

Although the Eagle Mother is synonymous with *Kalukaq*, interpretations of the song and dance vary, even within the Barrow community. Several people in Barrow consider that the purpose of *Kalukaq* is "to bring a new year" and represent it as a rite of passage (Van Gennup 1960), while one individual stated that the meaning behind *Kalukaq* songs is the story of an evil spirit which controls people who are then saved by a good spirit.

In the Barrow Dancer's version of *Kalukaq*, four young male dancers wear eagle feather headdresses, *atikłuk*s or the group's uniformed regalia (white shirts and black pants), *kamiks*, and mittens made of caribou skin decorated with small triangular pieces of walrus ivory that function to make noise. The box drummers wear loon skin headdresses with a small ball suspended from a beak. The *Kalukaq* is suspended from the ceiling; the box drummer supports it by grasping its handle. Throughout several songs, the box drummer moves the box into various positions, directing the actions of the dancers. During the first song of the box-drum dance, there are four male dancers and a box drummer in front. At the back of the stage are two female dancers, 20 male drummers, and 40 female singers. The first box drummer, who signifies the old year, controls four dancers by directing their movements. In the second song, a second drummer, who is considered to be the new year, comes onstage and takes the drumstick

from the first dancer, who does not want to give it up. Finally, the old-year drummer leaves the stage; and in the end of the second song, the four dancers are released from the control of the box drummer.

In the line dance, the performer representing the old year leads the dancers; all are members in the dance group except a few singers. This line represents the coming new-year. Finally, all dancers are divided into groups of four: two married or unmarried couples for adults, and two boys and two girls for children. The dancers dance freely and joyfully, and are expected to entertain the audience in humorous ways. Some dance with exaggerated motions, and, in a pattern of gender-reversal that is common worldwide, others perform the opposite gender's dance. In this way, the Barrow Dancers celebrate the new-year's arrival (Personal communications with Aqak, Inuquyuk, Manuluk, Qaiyaan, and other members of the Barrow Dancers, June 2002).

Revitalization of the Contemporary *Kivgiq*

Alaska Native people began making efforts to revitalize their cultural traditions in the 1980s, as part of ethnic concerns that arose with the new economic and political systems of the ANCSA settlement. Many ANCSA corporations, such as Chugach Alaska Corporation and Koniag, Inc., have underwritten educational programs that teach Native traditions, most of which are no longer practiced in everyday life, such as basket making, language, dancing, skin sewing, and carving (Mason 1996, 2002). Numerous Native communities have built heritage centers, incorporated Native healers in Western health care systems, and voted to ban alcohol. According to Wallace, a revitalization

movement can be defined as "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (Wallace1956: 265). Alaska Native leadership have strongly supported the idea that the restoration of traditional values will positively affect the mental health of Alaska Native communities. According to Pullar, for example:

> The cultural revitalization movement that is taking place among the Alutiiq people today may be the most effective road to restrengthening Alutiiq culture and increasing pride in heritage. A sense of powerlessness has developed among Alutiiq people and their communities. It is entirely possible that this condition may be reversed through a healing process that develops a stronger sense of ethnic identity (Pullar 1992: 188-189).

Similarly, revitalization of *Kivgiq* on the North Slope is a community-wide effort aimed at fostering Iñupiaq pride. The contemporary *Kivgiq* celebration was revised in 1988 after more than a 70-year lapse. The revitalization of *Kivgiq* began in 1987, when North Slope Borough Mayor George Ahmaogak Sr. decided to promote an event that could uplift the spirits of people in the community (Riccio 1993:115). According to Ahmaogak:

> Our Iñupiat people have seen tremendous change over this past century- as much in the last two decades alone as mainstream America experienced over two centuries. Through the resources and efforts of the North Slope Borough and the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, our communities have been brought into the modern world. Yet, inside we are still Iñupiat. We

> can enjoy western food, but cannot satisfy our physical or spiritual needs... There is a social and spiritual need inside us as Iñupiat which can only be satisfied by our own traditions. This is why we revived Kivgiq. (Hess 1994:1).

Rex Okakok, Ahmaogak's special assistant, traveled throughout the North Slope to interview elders who had knowledge of the earlier *Kivgiq*. Iñupiaq elders, Okakok, and the Iñupiaq History, Language, Culture Commission of the North Slope Borough made efforts to reconstruct *Kivgiq* from elders' memories and ethnographic sources including Ostermann (1952:103-112) and Spencer (1959: 210-228). *Kivgiq* in its present form, which blends traditional and contemporary perspectives, came about largely because of their efforts (Riccio 1993, Wooley and Okakok 1989).

Contemporary *Kivgiq* is not only a revitalized tradition but also an "invented" one. It shows "the contrast between the constant change and innovation of the modern world and the attempt to structure at least some parts of social life within it as unchanging and invariant..." (Hobsbawm 1983: 2). According to Hobsbawm, traditions are invented when a society weakens and its social patterns and old traditions are not sufficiently malleable. Although the modern version of *Kivgiq* includes many ancient features, it is completely different from the *Kivgiq* described by Rasmussen in the 1920s in terms of functions, meanings, and benefits for individual participants (Ostermann 1952). To revitalize it, the Iñupiat had to research the reconstruction of the traditional event and also had to create the new *Kivgiq* in a form acceptable for everybody. It was a

complicated process because most information about *Kivgiq* was lost, and each village had different idea about the event and distinctive ways to host guests. The traditional feast was hosted by an *umialik*, who invited people from a neighboring village to be guests, and messengers brought invitations to the guest village. Today, there are some 50 whaling captains in Barrow. During the three-day event, the functions of symbolic "hosts" shift among *umialik*s for the gathering. They symbolically host their guests by donating food, such as *maktak* (whale skin with blubber), *tuttu* (caribou) meat, *quaq* (raw frozen meat and fish), and game meat or wild bird soup; Western foods such as bread, cake, and tea are served at the end of the event. The mayor of the North Slope Borough, however, is in charge of the entire proceedings. Young runners from each village metaphorically reenact the invitation run and race a short distance at the opening of the event. Most guests are invited to the event by newspaper, radio, e-mail, webpage[15] or telephone and charter airplanes to go to Barrow. The first modern *Kivgiq* in 1988 cost more than $200,000. Its main sponsors were ANCSA regional corporations, the North Slope Borough, and the petroleum industry (Riccio 1993:120).

The 1988 *Kivgiq* brought more than 2,000 people from all communities on the North Slope to Barrow, and also Inuit from Greenland, Canada, Bering Strait, and Siberia. Since then, each manifestation of *Kivgiq* has had the slogan related to strengthening kinship ties, partnerships, and traditions, and to reaffirming Iñupiaq values and language. For example, the slogan in 2001 was "*Atautchikun: Savaaġilugu Suli*

[15] See the North Slope Borough home page: KIVGIQ- THE MESSENGER FEAST http://www.co.north-slope.ak.us/nsb/70.htm or Kivgiq http://www.co.north-slope.ak.us/nsb/KIVGIQ.

Sivunniuġutigilugu Sivuniksraq: Together: Shaping & Sharing Our Future." By incorporating traditional activities and values, the organizers also hoped to strengthen their people for the future by addressing substance alcohol abuse, a pervasive problem for Iñupiaq society for more than a century. In *Kivgiq* 1989, Barrow City Mayor, Nate Oleman, said that substance abusers may find hope in an event such as *Kivgiq* that provides them with Iñupiaq pride and a sense of ethnic identity (Wooley and Okakok 1989: 5). North Slope Borough Mayor, George Ahmaogak Sr. confirms Oleman's comments:

> We [Ahmaogak and Rex Okakok] had been discussing the problems of alcohol and drug abuse in our community, and the steps being taken to battle these problems...Out of respect for our culture, no alcohol or drugs would be allowed at *Kivgiq*, and people under the influence would be removed. We are very successful in carrying out this program, and people were pleased about it (North Slope Borough1988: 2).

The contemporary *Kivgiq*, as "invented" tradition (Hobsbawm 1983), is the act of reshaping traditions and a core of vitality in the community. Fast (2002:280) argues, "Once they [Native peoples] take command of their own definitions of what social pathology means, they will derive their own methods of understanding what healing is, when it has occurred, and how to identify their own social group as strong." The *Kivgiq* today is, as Ahmaogak, Fast, and Oleman suggest, a part of Iñupiaq "healing," hope, and strengthening of their ethnic and cultural pride rather than a feasting or trading event in

the traditional context.

Creating New Ethnic Identity? - *Kivgiq* 2003

The slogan of *Kivgiq* 2003 is "Iñupiat Paisaŋich : Language, Whaling, Tradition," which literarily means "Iñupiaq souvenir- Life style of the Iñupiaq people from the past to present" (translated by Emily Wilson at the University of Alaska Native Language Center). The North Slope Borough Mayor, George Ahmaogak Sr. describes:

> The Kivgiq 2003 theme encompasses all aspects of the cultural traditions of our people. The inclusion of Language, Whaling, Traditions as part of the theme emphasizes the significance of retaining our language, celebrating our whaling quota, and maintaining our traditional lifestyle (http://www.north-slope.org/nsb/KIVGIQ).

As Ahmaogak Sr. explains, the *Kivgiq* in 2003 encapsulated many symbols, each differing from the other numerous layers of Iñupiaq beliefs, values, worldview, subsistence, traditions, economy, leaderships, and hopes for the future. Ancient key symbols, like trading partnerships, are still evident in the event. For example, most gift giving seems to occur within kinship or between *umialik*s. Since many communities were hostile to strangers, the trading partnership system was key in the matter of survival and security. For *umialik*s who had maintained socio-economic political powers, relationships with trading partners were especially significant. For *Kivgiq*, my mentor in Barrow, for instance, gave a harpoon to his brother-in-law in Wainwright, who is an *umialik*.

Kivgiq-gift-giving also reveals relationships among people in the community. Subjects for gifts vary: foods; furs; *atikłuk*s (calico shirts); whaling equipments such as harpoons, knives, and floats; Native arts and crafts such as walrus ivory carvings and Athabaskan-style beaded gloves; an Iñupiaq-language Bible. Gifts are given in a ritualistic way: 1) A gift-giver dances one song holding the gift in front while a dance group is singing *atuutipiaq* (invitational dance songs); 2) The gift-giver goes to the recipient who is usually sitting on a chair as part of the audience without knowing about the gift; 3) Both the addresser and addressee dance the next song together before the others. The receiver is supposed to hold the gift while he or she is dancing with the giver.

Often ancient values and practices are codified as cultural markers, modern *Kivgiq* also includes people from outside of the North Slope as part of the pan Iñupiaq community. In 2003, seventeen dance groups participated in the event. Many of them were from villages on the North Slope, but there were a few from elsewhere, such as Aklavik (Canada) where numerous descendants of the Barrow people who migrated east after the collapse of the whaling industry, Savoonga on St. Lawrence Island (Alaska) where the Siberian Yup'ik live, King Island (Nome, Northwest Alaska), and Kotzbue (Northwest Alaska). Both King Island and Kotzbue are Iñupiaq communities but do not belong to the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation. In general, communities from outside the North Slope have to raise their own funds. The North Slope Borough, however, offers them accommodations and transportation in Barrow, and several agencies,

including the Barrow Dancers who donated $2,000, contribute to transportation fees for the dance groups from outside. Lunches are offered to the visitors at the Presbyterian Church.

Contemporary *Kivgiq* also intersects with international political and socio-economic spheres. For instance, local representatives of the International Whaling Commission (IWC) are often acknowledged for their role in working on issues related to whaling. As another example of international relations, Russian dance groups have occasionally participated in the cultural event since the early 1990s. In 2002, for example, two Russian dance groups, the Chukotoka and the Rising Sun, were invited, and the Chukotoka group was able to come and perform at *Kivgiq*, where they enthusiastically welcomed.[16]

Modern *Kivgiq* also makes use of resources in the private sector with connections to Barrow, the most visible being the petroleum industry, which has been a heavy contributor since its revival. Other large donors have been ANCSA corporations and the mining industries. According to the *Kivgiq* 2003 program (North Slope Borough 2003), there were 30 sponsoring businesses from the private sector and government agencies.[17] Analysis of the modern *Kivgiq* indicates that for cultural survival, Iñupiaq people obviously have found a way to take advantage of resources offered by the mainstream society and negotiate with the large-scale global economy.

---

[16] The other group, Rising Sun, could not come to Barrow (reason unknown). In 2003, no dance group from Russia participated in *Kivgiq*.

[17] The following is the list of the 30 agencies: four ANCSA corporations, nine petroleum related companies, four borough related agencies, two legal, two airline companies, two financial companies, two local companies, and five miscellaneous (North Slope Borough 2003).

Chapter VI Conclusions: Iñupiaq Dance as Survival, Hope, and Future

In the previous chapters, I have presented a contextual account of Iñupiaq song and dance. For this purpose, I have summarized the history of the Iñupiaq people in Barrow (chapter II), considered the history and metaphorical implications of Native dance (chapter III), and described the different types of performance in which the Barrow Dancers reproduce their interpretations of culture and tradition (chapter IV). I have also considered the modern-day reinterpreted *Kivgiq* celebration as an example of an occasion for strengthening Iñupiaq pride and Native empowerment (chapter V). The revival of *Kivgiq*, with all its political economic ramifications, is an illustration of why Iñupiaq people dance. It also indirectly addresses the relations between performance and identity.

"We Dance Because We Are Iñupiaq" or "We Are Iñupiaq Because We Dance"?

The question- "Do we dance because we are Iñupiaq?" *or* "are we Iñupiaq because we dance"? - was posed by one of my professors when I told him of my decision to use my friend's quotation for my title. His question suggests how complicated issues of identity are on the North Slope. Does visual performance such as Native dance create Iñupiaq ethnicity? Does existence of the dance group construct Iñupiaq individual or social identity? How do people create and maintain a sense of personal and cultural identity? Most of all, why do they define themselves through dancing?

To answer this question, I argue, following Gell (1998), that Iñupiaq dance is critical as a means for expressing a constellation of factors with which the Iñupiat invest the art of dance. Gell (1998) argues that art such as dance is not a static entity motivated by persons but has, in effect, agency of its own to "cause events to happen in [its] vicinity (Gell 1998:16). In other words, dance is not only choreographed by the Iñupiat, but it, in turn, choreographs them. Song and dance, brought together in public performance, index the way of life of the dancers' parents and grandparents, one that distinguishes Iñupiaq culture from every other. Tilley (1999) further develops Gell's point:

> From a *theoretical* point of view it is obvious that people do encode metaphorical meanings into things which would themselves have no meaning. But from the point of view of *methodology*..., things once created work themselves to reproduce or transform the social contexts in which they are encountered and move (Tilley 1999:76, emphasis in original).

For the people of the North Slope, Native dance and song encapsulate an ancient version of Iñupiaq culture, incorporating such cultural forms as gender roles, clothing, worldview, language, art forms, ways of behaving, and use of the body and of voice. As time goes by and Iñupiaq culture has transformed, the present-day Barrow Dancers may be unaware of the actual meanings of movement and songs, but the activities of dancing and singing themselves motivate the contemporary dancers to behave in a certain way.

In other words, for the modern Iñupiat, dance and song index what they define and reproduce as tradition.

Furthermore, the Barrow Iñupiat as a whole find agency in cultural form which they themselves created as is exemplified in the statement of "we dance because we are Iñupiaq." Among the many possible varieties of cultural form available, people select particular aspects of culture as *their* culture. In the case of the Iñupiat in Barrow, they have selected Iñupiaq dance and song as a means of communicating what they want people to believe about their culture and tradition (Personal communication with Kirk Dombrowski, November 2003). As the amount of financial support lent to the *Kivgiq* festival for reproducing and commodifying these representations of culture attests, furthermore, the reality that the Barrow Dancers have "constructed" or "edited," is also the officially sanctioned version of Iñupiaq culture (Myers 1994). For as Dombrowski (2001) points out, culture is often expropriated by those in control.

> For Native Americans are forced to view their culture in particularly narrow terms, mainly by laws...that have linked their participation as natives ...to their ability to maintain an acceptable level of cultural distinctiveness..... As a result, ordinary (in the sense of universal) tensions between people and the culture they claim as their own are especially exaggerated among Native Americans, who are never entirely free to make of their culture what they otherwise might (Dombrowski 2001: 183).

Song and Dance activate a series of social, aesthetic, and political responses with the

context of both Iñupiaq and mainstream societies. They are metaphors for Iñupiaq culture, gender, tradition, and identity as well as for more general referents such as Alaska Natives and the North. In their role as agents, they sustain the ancient version of culture by linking women, animals, and men, and by making claims of tradition and ethnic identity. It illustrates the desire of many Iñupiat to assume ownership of many contemporary aspects of Native culture that were imposed on them and, through a transformative process, they try to make them their own incorporating them with some aspects of the older version (Myers 1994).

In Chapter II, I have summarizes an historical overview of Iñupiat in Barrow and its effect on each generation of Native dancers. As Dombrowski (2001) argues legal settlements affect the relationship between Native Americans and their cultures. The ANCSA settlement has affected the North Slope Iñupiat in many ways; for example, the regional corporation's retention of subsurface rights to the land, which they received as a result of ANCSA, has made people on the North Slope wealthy and powerful.

As I have pointed out in the previous chapter, the middle-aged people (Group II), who are generally less accomplished dancers than the other generations, are still the well-respected political and economic leaders and are the most concerned about Native sovereignty. This generation seems to have an especially uneasy relationship with their own culture since assimilationist laws more directly affected their self-esteem, ethnic pride, and everyday life. To claim their unique distinct culture, however, they have made their peace with their uncomfortable position by developing the skills to represent

their culture to the both inside and outside of the society (see chapter IV). The middle-aged people, perhaps because they have felt their own lack of integration with "traditional ways" sharply, strongly encourages younger people to take pride in their indigenous heritage, as the revitalization of *Kivgiq* shows (see chapter V). This transitional generation has developed successful strategies for their own cultural survival based on the particular interpretation of culture they have reproduced (Dombrowski 2001).

I have argued that the Barrow Dancers are viewed part of their ethnic identity by other North Slope Iñupiat. Dorais (1994) and Kishigami (2002) have shown for Canadian Inuit that cultural identity is an internalized identity within a community, while ethnic identity serves as a political tool in a multi-ethnic society. Dorais defines that cultural identity is "the fundamental consciousness of the specialization of the group to which one belongs in terms of habits, customs, language, values, etc. [while] ethnic identity is often used to access economic, political, or social resources or to alienate others" (Dorais 1994:254-255, translated by Bollinger). As discussed in the chapter III, people in the community see the Barrow Dancers as symbols of those who successfully practice their "tradition" and transmit cultural knowledge to future generations. In this context, the group is seen as symbol of cultural identity. At the same time, the dancers also represent an image of Iñupiaq culture, people, and ethnic identity in their entirety. In so doing, the individual dancers practice, maintain, perceive and reproduce their ethnic pride through dancing.

Ethnicity and Native Empowerment

National and international economics intersect with contemporary Iñupiaq survival. As one Iñupiaq elder pointed out when he spoke to a crowd at *Kivgiq* 2003, "You can afford this event, so you are very smart people." During my fieldwork, many Iñupiat I talked to commented on the irony that it was because of the lavish subsides available from the petroleum industry that they are able to actively practice cultural activities, such as whaling, hunting, and dancing, that strengthen their collective identity as Native people. Several also mentioned that even though many people have acquired some of the same skills as their forebears, it would be impossible for them to return to their ancestors' way of life as it was 200 years ago when there was no running water, electricity, and other modern "luxuries," the contemporary version of Iñupiaq life. To live a successful modern life in which they can maintain cultural pride that does not completely turn its back on their past, the Iñupiat are constantly negotiating between the past and the present.

The reinterpreted *Kivgiq* celebration today reproduces an "Iñupiaq –ness" based on this integration. In doing so, it fosters Iñupiaq collective and cultural identity, self-determination, and ethnic pride, much as Graburn and Searles (both in press) argue that Inuit people in Canada are also seeking ways to define their "Inuit-ness." The local indigenous people have a whole set of beliefs, skills and understanding formed from their experiences in their surrounding world. Long history of interactions with Euro-Americans have forced the transformation of some aspects of Iñupiaq culture, but as a

contemporary indigenous cultural event *Kivgiq* is a reinterpreted "tradition" that juxtaposes Iñupiaq culture and Western modernizations in unique synthesis.

Performance and Identity

One of my Alaska Native friends expressed what is a concern to many other Alaska Native people:

> We were revitalizing our culture and tradition in the 1970s. Today, more than 30 years later, we are still working on revitalizing and preserving our culture and tradition. How long are we supposed to do this? 30 years from now, are we still doing the same thing? (Personal communication, November 2003)

His words reflect many contemporary Native peoples' frustrations about their uncomfortable rélationship to their own cultures. However, I argue that the cultural revitalization in the 1970s and those of today are different. Prior to the 1960s, discriminations against Native people, assimilative education, and social and cultural hierarchy greatly weakened the ethnic pride of indigenous peoples. In the 1970s after ANCSA was settled, it was important for the Native people to create a pan-Native identity as a way of distinguishing their cultures from the mainstream and also as an asset in the negotiation of hunting rights and land claims (Dombrowski 2001). This era also can be named as a period of ethnic consciousness among Alaska Natives. As discussed in the chapter II, for example, the number of indigenous dance groups and regional dance festivals has vastly increased since the ANCSA settlement.

Lee, citing a personal communication from Nelson Graburn, points out that in Eskimo and Inuit cultures of earlier times, the creative activities of composing and singing songs were probably just as important as the making objects. As Lee points out, the only reason Eskimos are known for making art objects is because dance and song do not have an objective presence unless someone is there with a tape recorder (Personal communication with Molly Lee, February 2004). As the early ethnographies attest, it is impossible to overstate the importance of song and singing among Inuits and Eskimos. From Greenland to Siberia, hunters composed songs to bring in animals and to stave off loneliness; mothers made up songs to insure the good health of their children and in hopes of quick and painless childbirth and young girls in the Yup'ik area composed songs to go with storyknifing, to name just a few of the uses of music in everyday life. Given their musical creativity, this may well have been the case for the Barrow Iñupiat. The Iñupiat are now aware that composing, memorizing, and singing traditional music is a powerful way to maintain ethnic identity and cultural pride. These are the activities they have chosen, the way they wish to reproduce their culture both in the immediate present through the performances they give and as a legacy for future generations.

Iñupiaq Glossary

Aġviq – bowhead whale

Aiviq - walrus

Atigi - parka

Atikłuk - calico shirt

Atuutipiaq – invitational dance song

Iñupiaq- 1) real or genuine person, 2) person of this group (ex. He is an *Iñupiaq*.), 3) adjective (ex. *Iñupiaq* dance)

Iñupiat- 1) plural form of the noun, *Iñupiaq*, 2) the people collectively (ex. the *Iñupiat* in Barrow)

Iqaluk - fish

Kalukaq – the Box Drum Dance

Kivgaq – messenger/runner

Kivgiq – the Messenger Feast

Kamik – skin boot

Maktak – whale skin with blubber

Mikigaq – mixture of fermented whale meat, tongue, and *maktak* (Iñupiaq delicacy)

Natchiq – ringed seal

Nalukataq – the Spring Whaling Festival

Nanuq - polar bear

Niġliq -goose

Nuvuk – Point Barrow

Qargi – men's/ceremonial house

Qasak- "to burst out with yelling and cheering when dancing or coming home from a successful hunt" (Personal communication with Fannie Akpik).

Qaugak – duck

Quaq – raw frozen meat, fish

*Sayuu*n – motion dance song

Sisuaq beluga

Tuttu -caribou

Ugruk – bearded seal

Umialik – whaling captain

Ukpiaġvik – Barrow; "place for hunting snowy owls"

Bibliography

Alaska Native Language Center
2003 Iñupiaq Language Web Page. Electric document, (http://www.uaf.edu/anlc) accessed November 2003.

Anderson, Benedict
1983 Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso.

Barth, Fredrick
1969 Introduction. *In* Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference. F. Barth, ed. Pp. 9-38. Bergen: Universitetsforlaget.

Berger, Thomas
1985 Village Journey: The Report of the Alaska Native Review Commission. New York: Hill and Wang.

Berkhofer, Robert
1978 The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present. New York: Knopf.

Blackman, Margaret
1989 Sadie Brower Neakok: An Inupiaq Woman. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Bloch, Maurice
1974 Symbols, Song, Dance and Features of Articulation: Is Religion an Extreme Form of Traditional Authority? Archives Europeennes de Sociologie 25(1).
1976 The Past and the Present in the Present. Man (N.S.) 12, 278-292.

Bockstoce, John
1986 Whales, Ice, and Men. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
1988 The Journal of Rochfort Maguire 1852-1854: Two Years at Point Barrow, Alaska, aboard HMS *Plover* in the Search for Sir John Franklin Vol. I & II. London: The Hakluyt Society.

Bodenhorn, Barbara A.
1988 Whales, Souls, Children and Other Things that Are "Good to Share": Core Metaphors in a Contemporary Whaling Society. Cambridge Anthropology

13(1): 1-19.

1989 'The Animals Come to Me, They Know I Share': Inupiaq Kinship, Changing Economic Relations and Enduring World Views on Alaska's North Slope. Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge.

1993a Christmas Present: Christmas Public. In Unwrapping Christmas. D. Miller, ed. Pp. 193-216. Oxford Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

1993b Gendered Spaces, Public Places: Public and Private Revisited on the North Slope of Alaska. In Landscape: Politics and Perspective. B. Bender, ed. Pp. 169-203. Explorations in Anthropology. Providence, RI: Berg Publishers.

Bourdieu, Pierre

1977 Outline of a Theory of Practice. Translated by R. Nice. New York: Cambridge University Press.

1990 The Logic of Practice. Translated by Richard Nice. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

1991 Language and Symbolic Power. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Brower, Charles in collaboration with Philip J. Farrelly and Lyman Anson

1943 Fifty Years Below Zero: A Lifetime of Adventure in the Far North. New York: Dodd, Mead &Company. Brower, Charles D.

Burch, Ernest

1998 The Iñupiaq Eskimo Nations of Northwest Alaska. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.

Chance, Norman A.

1990 The Inupiat and Arctic Alaska: An Ethnography of Development. Fort Worth, TX: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Chaussonnet, Valerie

1988 Needles and Animals: Women's Magic. *In* Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska. William Fitzhugh and Aron Crowell eds. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Cohen, Anthony

1985 The Symbolic Construction of Community. London: Routledge.

1995 Self Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity. London: Routledge.

Cohen, Erik

1993 The Study of Touristic Images of Native People: Mitigating the Stereotype of A Stereotype. In *Tourism Research: Critiques and Challenges*. Douglas G. Pearce and Richard W. Butler eds. London: Routledge.

Condon, Richard
1987 Inuit Youth: Growth and Change in the Canadian Arctic. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Crowell, Aron, Amy Steffian, and Gordon Pullar eds.
2001 Looking Both Ways: Heritage and Identity of Alutiiq People. Fairbanks, AK: University of Alaska Press.

Dombrowski, Kirk
2001 Against Culture: Development, Politics, and Religion in Indian Alaska. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
2002 The Praxis of Indigenism and Alaska Native Timber Politics. American Anthropologist 104(4): 1062-1073.

Dorais, Louis-Jacques
1994 A Propos D'identite Inuit. John Bollinger trans. Etudes/Inuit/Studies 18(1-2): 253-260.

Durkheim, Emile
1964 What is a Social Fact? *In* Rules of Sociological Method. New York: Free Press.

Education Development Center, National Film Board of Canada.
1968 Netsilik Eskimo Series. Bell, Quentin (P)/ Asen Balikci.

Evans, Michael Robert
1999 Frozen Light and Fluid Time: The Folklore, Politics, and Performance of Inuit Video. Ph.D. Dissertation. Department of Folklore. Indiana University.

Fast, Phyllis
2002 Northern Athabascan Survival: Women, Community & the Future. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Fienup-Riordan, Ann
1994 Boundaries and Passages: Rules and Ritual in Yup'ik Eskimo Oral Tradition. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press.
1995 Freeze Frame: Alaska Eskimos in the Movies. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

In Press Taprarmiuni Kassiyulriit: Stebbins Dance Festival. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center and University of Alaska Press.

Geertz, Clifford
1972 The Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books.
1983 Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.

Gell, Alfred
1998 Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory. Oxford: Clarendon.

Goffman, Erving
1973 The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. New York: The Overlook Press.

Graburn, Nelson
1969 Eskimos Without Igloos: Social and Economic Development in Sugluk. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
1986 Inuit Art and Canadian Nationalism: Why Eskimos? Why Canada? Inuit Art Quarterly 1(3): 5-7.
1987 Art and the Expression of Eskimo Identity. The American Review of Canadian Studies 17(1): 47-66.
1989 Tourism: The Sacred Journey. *In* Hosts and Guests: the Anthropology of Tourism. Valene Smith ed. Pp. 21-36. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
2002 Inuksuk: Icon of the Inuit of Nunavut. Paper delivered in the Panel "Art and Politics," at the 13th Inuit Studies Conference, Anchorage, AK.
In Press Culture as Narrative: Who is Telling the Inuit Story? *In* New Directions in Inuit Studies. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press.

Greist, Henry W.
n.d. Seven Years with the Eskimo. Unpublished manuscript at Special Collections, Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, NH. [Copy at Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks]

Hall, Judy
1994 Sanatujut, Pride in Women's Work: Copper and Caribou Inuit Clothing Traditions. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Hawkes, Ernest William
1913 The "Inviting-In" Feast of the Alaskan Eskimo. Canada Geological Survey. Memoir 45. Anthropological Series No. 3.
1914 The Dance Festivals of the Alaskan Eskimo. University of Pennsylvania, Anthropological Publications 6(2).

Hensel, Chase
1996 Telling Our Selves: Ethnicity and Discourse in Southwestern Alaska. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hess, Bill
1994 A Photographic Celebration of Kivgiq: The Messenger Feast. Barrow, Alaska: North Slope Borough.

Hobsbawm, Eric
1983 Introduction: Inventing Traditions. *In* The Invention of Tradition. Eric Bobsbawm and Terence Ranger ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Horner, Alice
n.d. The Assumption of Tradition: Creating, Collecting, and Conserving Cultural Artifacts in the Cameroon Grassfields (West Africa). Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in anthropology in the graduate division of the University of California at Berkeley.

Iñupiat Heritage Center
2003 Iñupiat Heritage Center Web Page. Electric document, (http://www.angelfire.com/ak5/inupiat/body.html) accessed March 2004.

Jenness, Stuart E.
1991 Arctic Odyssey: The Dairy of Diamond Jenness, Ethnologist with the Canadian Arctic Expedition in Northern Alaska and Canada, 1913 – 1916. Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Johnston, Thomas
1990 Context, Meaning, and Function in Inupiaq Dance. *In* Dance: Current Selected Research Volume. Thomas F. Johnston with the cooperation of the National Dance Association. Pp. 193-287. New York: AMS Press.

Kaplan, Lawrence
2001 Inupiaq Identity and Inupiaq Language: Does One Entail The Other? Etudes/Inuit/Studies 25(1-2): 249-257.

Kelly, Mark
1986 Heartbeat: World Eskimo Indian Olympics. Juneau: Fairweather Press.

Kishigami, Nobuhiro

2002 Inuit Identities in Montreal, Canada. Etudes/Inuit/Studies 26(1): 183-191.

Kingston, Deanna
1999 Returning: Twentieth Century Performance of the King Island Wolf Dance. Ph.D. Dissertation, Anthropology Department, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Krupnik, Igor and Nikolay Vakhtin
1997 Indigenous Knowledge in Modern Culture: Siberian Yupik Ecological Legacy in Transition. Arctic Anthropology 34(1): 236-252.

Lanting, Erik
1999 Identity in Tasiusaq. *In* Arctic Identities: Continuity and Change in Inuit and Saami Societies: 135-144. J. Oosten and C.Remie eds. Leiden: Research School CNWS, School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies, Universiteit Leiden.

Lantis, Margaret
1973 The Current Nativistic Movement in Alaska. *In* Circumpolar Problems: Habitat, Economy, and Social Relationships in the Arctic. Gosta Berg ed. Pp. 99-118. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Larsen, Marry Ann
1995 And Then There Were None: The "Disappearance" of the *Qargi* in Northern Alaska. In Hunting the Largest Animals: Native Whaling in the Western Arctic and Subarctic. Allen P. McCartney, ed. Pp.207-220. Edmonton, Alberta: The Canadian Circumpolar Institute.

Lawrence, Helen Reeves and Don Niles, eds.
2001 Traditionalism and Modernity in the Music and Dance of Oceania: Essays in Honour of Barbara B. Smith. NSW, Australia: University of Sydney.

Lee, Molly
1983 Baleen Basketry of the North Alaskan Eskimo. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.
1985 Objects of Knowledge: The Communicative Aspect of Baleen Baskets. Etudes/Inuit/ Studies 9(1): 163- 182.
2002 The Cooler Ring: Urban Alaska Native Women and the Subsistence Debate. Arctic Anthropology 39(1-2): 3-9.

Lesser, Alexander
1969 The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game: A Study of Cultural Change. New York: Columbia University Press.

Libbey, David
1981 Utqiagvik Ethnohistory. Fairbanks: Anthropology and Historic Preservation, Cooperative Park Studies Unit, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

MacCannell, Dean
1976 The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class. New York: Schocken Books.

MacLean, Edna Ahgeak
1980 *Inupiaq Tannillu Uqalunisa Ilanich*: Abridged Inupiaq and English Dictionary. A joint publication. Fairbanks, AK: Alaska Native Language Center at University of Alaska. Barrow, AK: Inupiaq Language Commission, North Slope Borough.

Martin, Cydny
2001 Mediated Identity and Negotiated Tradition: the Iñupiaq Atigi 1850-2000. Ph.D. Dissertation, Anthropology Department, University of Alaska Fairbanks.
2003 Satin Dresses and Caribou Kamiks: Negotiation of Tradition in Northern Alaskan Iñupiaq Weddings. *In* Wedding Dress Across Cultures. Helen Bradley Foster and Donald Clay Johnson, eds. Pp. 23-38. Oxford: Berg.

Mason, Arthur
1996 In A Strange Turn of Events: How Alutiiq Cultural Pride Became Commodity. M.A. Thesis. Anthropology Department. University of Alaska Fairbanks.
2002 The Rise of an Alaskan Native Bourgeoisie. Etudes/Inuit/Studies 26(2): 5-22.

Maybury- Lewis, David
1997 Indigenous Peoples, Ethnic Groups, and the State. Massachusetts: Allyn & Bacon.

Myers, Fred
1994 Culture-Making: Performing Aboriginality at the Asia Society Gallery. American Ethnologist 21(4): 679-699.

MGM
1934 Eskimo. W.S. Van Dyke (D).

Morrow, Phyllis

1984 It Is Time for Drumming: A Summary of Recent Research on Yup'ik Ceremonialism. *In* The Central Yup'ik Eskimos, Ernest S. Burch Jr. ed. Supplementary Issue of Etudes/Inuit/ Studies 8:113-140.

Murdoch, John
1988 Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition: Naturalist and Observer, International Polar Expedition to Point Barrow, Alaska, 1881-1883. [The publisher is unclear]

Niezen, Ronald
2003 The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity. Berkeley: University of California Press.

North Slope Borough
1988 UÑIQ: The Open Lead 3(2).
n.d. 1998/99 Economic Profile and Census Report, vol.III. North Slope Borough. Department of Planning and Community Services. Prepared by Carl E. Shepro, David C. Mass with Michael L. Jennings. Circumpolar Research Associates. Barrow, Alaska.
KIVGIQ-MESSENGER FEAST. Electric document, http://www.co.north-slope.ak.us/nsb/70.htm, accessed February 22, 2004.
Kivgiq. Electric document, http://www.co.north-slope.ak.us/nsb/KIVGIQ, accessed February 22, 2004.

Nuttall, Mark
1998 Protecting the Arctic: Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Survival. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Harwood Academic Publishers.

O'Connell, Dianne
1999 The Yukon Presbyterian: An Unauthorized Biography (100 Years of Presbyterian Work in the Northern Parts of Alaska). Anchorage: Alaska Yukon Presbytery.

Okakok, Leona, Kisautaq
1981 Puiguitkaat. Barrow, AK: Commission on History and Culture, North Slope.

Oquilluk, William
1981 The People of Kauwerak. Anchorage: Alaska Pacific University Press.

Ortner, Sherry
1973 On Key Symbols. American Anthropologist 75: 1338-1346.

Ostermann, H.
1952 The Alaskan Eskimos. As Described in the Posthumous Notes of Dr. Knud Rasmussen. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-1924 10(3). Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag.

Ostrowitz, Judith
1999 Privileging The Past: Reconstructing History in Northwest Coast Art. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Pullar, Gordon
1992 Ethnic Identity, Cultural Pride, and Generations of Baggage: A Personal Experience. Arctic Anthropology, 29 (2): 182-191.
2001 Contemporary Alutiiq Identity. *In* Looking Both Ways: Heritage and Identity of Alutiiq People. Aron Crowell, Amy Steffian, and Gordon Pullar eds. Pp.73-98. Fairbanks, AK: University of Alaska Press.

Ray, Lieut P.H.
1885 Report to the International Polar Expedition to Point Barrow, Alaska, in Response to the Resolution of the House of Representatives of December 11, 1884. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Riccio, Thomas
1993 A Message from Eagle Mother: The Messenger's Feast of Inupiat Eskimo. The Drama Review 37, no. I (T137).

Royce, Anya Peterson
1977 The Anthropology of Dance. UK: Dance Books.

Schneider, William
1991 Chapter 13 The Historical Context. *In* Kusiq: An Eskimo Life History from the Arctic Coast of Alaska. Waldo Bodfish, Sr. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.

Searles, Edmund
2001 Interpersonal Politics, Social Science Research and the Construction of Inuit Identity. Etudes/Inuit/Studies 25(1-2): 101-119.
In Press Anthropology in an Era of Inuit Empowerment. *In* New Directions in Inuit Studies. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press.

Simpson, John
1875 The Western Eskimo. *In* A Selection of Papers on Arctic Geography and Ethnology, pp.233-275. London: Royal Geographical society.

Smith, Valene
1975 Eskimo Tourism: Micro-Models and Marginal Man. *In* Hosts and Guests: the Anthropology of Tourism. Valene Smith ed. Pp. 55-82. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Spencer, Robert
1959 The North Alaska Eskimo: A study in Ecology and Society. Washington; United States Government Printing Office.
1984 North Alaska Coast Eskimo. *In Volume 5 Arctic*. David Damas, ed. Pp. 320-337. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Stackhouse, Martha
1996 Traditional Kivgiq. Publisher unknown. Courtesy of Inupiat History, Language, and Culture Commission.

Tilley, Christopher
1999 Metaphor and Material Culture. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Toelken, Barre
2003 The Anguish of Snails: Native American Forlklore in the West. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press.

Turner, Victor
1967 The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual. London: Cornell University Press.
1986 The Anthropology of Performance. New York: PAJ Publications.

Van Gennup, Arnold
1960 The Rites of Passage. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Van Valin, William B.
1941 Eskimo Speaks. Caldwell: Caxton Printers.

Vanstone, James
1984 Exploration and Contact History of Western Alaska. *In* Arctic. Davis Damas ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Wallace, Anthony F. C.
1956 Revitalization Movements. American Anthropology 58: 264-281.

Weber, Max
1978 Economy and Society. Translated/edited by Gunther Roth and Claus Wittich. Berkley, California: University of California Press.

Whaley, Frank
1968 "Flights to Barrow Possible Again." Daily News-Miner. Tuesday, July 30, 1968. Pp. 8.

Williams, Maria
1996 Alaska Native Music and Dance: The Spirit of Survival. A dissertation in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Music. University of California, Los Angeles.

Wooley, Chris B. and Rex A. Okakok
1989 Kivgiq: A Celebration of Who We Are. Paper presented to the sixteenth annual meeting f the Alaska Anthropological Association, Anchorage, AK.

Worl, Rosita
1980 The North Slope Inupiat Whaling Complex. *In* Alaska Native Culture and History. Y. Kotani and W.B. Workman, eds. Pp. 305-320. Senri Ethnological Studies; 4. Osaka, Japan: National Museum of Ethnology.

Worl, Rosita and Charles W. Smythe
1986 Barrow: A decade of Modernization. Minerals Management Service Technical Report no. 124.

Zumwalt, Rosemary Levy
1987 The Return of the Whale: Nalukataq, the Point HopeWhale Festival. *In* Time Out of Time: Essays on the Festival. Alessandro Falassi ed. Pp. 261-275. New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press.