ABSTRACT

THE URBAN ADAPTATION PATTERNS OF ALASKA ESKIMOS IN ANCHORAGE, ALASKA

By

Patrick James Dubbs

Most anthropological studies of Alaska Eskimos tend to have their locus in Village Alaska. This research represents a departure from the usual type of anthropological study for it exclusively views Alaska Eskimo behavior in the context of the "western" urban system of Anchorage, Alaska. As such, it attempts to describe and explain the degree to which Alaska Eskimos have adapted to the Anchorage system.

The data for this research were collected by anthropological fieldwork in Anchorage, Alaska during 1968-1970. In addition to the traditional anthropological research techniques of participant observation and nondirective interviewing, structured interviews were administered to 190 Anchorage Eskimos, ages 20 through 39.

The first chapter describes the major conceptual and methodological considerations of this research effort. The second chapter discusses the major external features of the Anchorage urban system. Chapter 3 provides an explanatory context for understanding the Eskimo adaptation patterns that are discussed in Chapter 4. The fifth chapter is concerned with how the Anchorage Eskimos respond to their position in the Anchorage system.

Patrick James Dubbs

In migrating to Anchorage, the Alaska Eskimo enters an urban system that is culturally, as well as physically, dissimilar to the Village Alaska system. This research has found that the Eskimo is seldom able to penetrate the cultural and structural barriers erected by the urban system. Consequently, most Anchorage Eskimos exist on the periphery of the Anchorage system, either as mere survivors, or as individuals beset by adaptation problems. This variation in adaptation patterns is analyzed in terms of levels of structural adaptation, degrees of perceptual adaptation, and general adaptation characteristics.

In an attempt to alter their position within the Anchorage system, this research found that Alaska Eskimos usually employ three behavioral responses--utilization of mediating agencies, the drinking of alcoholic beverages, and the formation of a distinctly Native bar-social interaction area. Unfortunately, it also was found that these responses do little to alter the Eskimos' position within the Anchorage system.

In sum, this research suggests that the Alaska Eskimos' disadvantageous position in the Anchorage system may well be the result of certain factors that cannot be easily manipulated, controlled, or changed by the individual Eskimo. These factors could involve innate individual abilities, deep-seated individual characteristics, or the external structural features of the Anchorage system.

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By

Patrick James Dubbs

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INTRODUCTION

> A great contrast exists today between the high income, moderate standard of living, and existence of reasonable opportunity of most Alaskans and the appallingly low income and standard of living, and virtual absence of opportunity for most Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts of Alaska. . . . In an economy based importantly in a pattern of life of subsistence, fishing and hunting, the large majority of these Alaskans are unemployed or only seasonally employed. Though some few of the families have incomes of $5,000 or more annually, most of them live in poverty. And, almost seven out of ten adults have less than an elementary education (1960). Largely because they lack cash income and because the costs of purchased goods and services are high, most Natives live in small dilapidated or substandard houses under unsanitary conditions. Partly as a result of these conditions, but also owing to unbalanced diets and other factors, they are more often victims of disease, and their life span is much shorter than that of other Alaskans. Another dimension . . . is that of the lack of opportunity for economic advancement among most Natives. They are not only undereducated for the modern world, but they are living where adequate education or training cannot be obtained, where there are few jobs, where little or no economic growth is taking place, and where little growth is forecast. Although there is some evidence of geographic mobility, they have tended to remain in areas occupied by their parents. Most Alaska Natives characterized by these circumstances are residents of places where the population is largely of Native origin--they are village Alaskans (Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska, 1968:3).

This dissertation focuses on those adult Alaska Eskimos who, for various reasons, migrated from the conditions of Village Alaska and who resided in the urban center of Anchorage, Alaska

during the 1968-1970 time period. As such, it is a unique Alaska Eskimo study for it exclusively views Alaska Eskimo behavior within the context of a larger, non-Eskimo urban system. Heretofore, most anthropological studies of Alaska Eskimos have had the remote Eskimo village or small town as the unit of study and, with varying degrees of completeness, these studies have provided descriptive and/or analytic accounts of these units in the post-contract era.[1]

The overall intent of this dissertation simply is to describe, in terms of static categories, the ways in which adult Alaska Eskimos have adapted to the Anchorage urban system, and to explain the major responses, on the part of the larger urban system and the Alaska Eskimo, to these various adaptive patterns. Based on numerous interviews with and observations of Anchorage Eskimos, it is my considered contention that, even though there is an underlying Eskimo ethno-racial homogeneity, the adaptive patterns of Eskimos in Anchorage are quite heterogeneous.

In order to understand the Alaska Eskimo in Anchorage, it is necessary to examine not only these diverse patterns, but the underlying basis for this diversity as well. Indeed, the search for the underlying basis for the diversity found in urban

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[1]For a comprehensive, annotated overview of these studies, refer to: Arthur E. Hippler. Eskimo Acculturation: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography of Alaskan and Other Eskimo Acculturation Studies. Fairbanks, Alaska: University of Alaska Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research, 1970.

communities is one of the central tasks of urban anthropology. Epstein alludes to this task when he states:

> The urban community represents a distinctive form of social life going on within an environment which has not only been artificially created, but is continually changing: it has therefore a highly complex form of social organization, the study of which presents immediate difficulties. . . . the town presents itself to the observer as some kind of phantasmagoria, a succession of dim figures, caught up in a myriad of diverse activities with little to give meaning or pattern to it all (1964:83).

In an attempt "to give meaning and pattern to it all," anthropologists have utilized numerous conceptual and methodological orientations. The urban anthropological literature is replete with network analyses, acculturation studies, deviance studies, etc. In this research, I employed the conceptual orientation of situational adaptation. This conceptual orientation and its attendant fieldwork methodology will be explained in Chapter 1.

Chapter 2 describes the major features of the Anchorage urban system. These features provide the context and set the parameters for Eskimo behavioral adaptations.

The general characteristics of the Anchorage Eskimo population are described in Chapter 3. These data, while necessary for understanding the Eskimo adaptation patterns, also are included to partially fill the vacuum of baseline data available to researchers of urban Alaska Eskimos.

Chapter 4 is concerned with the development of a typology of Alaska Eskimo adaptation patterns. In general, it is a statistical

analysis of empirical measures of adaptation.

Chapter 5 focuses on, what might be termed, the major behavioral responses to the adaptation patterns. Specifically, it examines the role of governmental agencies in the adaptation process, the individual Eskimo's management of adaptive stress, and the Anchorage Natives' formation of a somewhat unique form of social organization.

Chapter 6 contains the general conclusions of this dissertation as well as some brief recommendations for those individuals, groups, or agencies involved in programs directed toward urban Alaska Eskimos.

Before proceeding with the main body of this dissertation as outlined above, it is necessary to explain the overall tenor of this dissertation.

It has been implied that Eskimo adaptation is a differential rather than a uniform process. However, this position is in direct conflict with the average Anchorage dweller's view of the Alaska Native population of Anchorage. In large part, the residents of Anchorage tend to categorize the various indigenous ethno-racial groups of Alaska into the category "Native." Given the category "Native," it is not too difficult to foresee the next step in the process--stereotyping. Most Anchorage dwellers hold a stereotypic view of Anchorage Eskimos that is based on little to no understanding of the variability among Alaska Native groups, the difference between rural and urban Alaska Natives, and the diversity

in the urban Eskimo adaptation patterns. Unfortunately, these stereotypes form the basis by which most non-Native Anchorageites view and interact with Alaska Eskimos in Anchorage. For example, throughout the course of the field research for this dissertation, I was continually confronted with a multitude of stereotypic views of Anchorage Eskimos, such as, "Eskimos are drunks," "Eskimos are lazy," or "Eskimos are taking the taxpayers' money."

In an attempt to dispel the stereotypic view of the Anchorage Eskimo and to describe the variation in the adaptive patterns, much of this dissertation will consist of statistical analyses and nonpersonalized explanations related to Anchorage Eskimos. Illustrative personalized examples will be utilized only when appropriate.

This formalized approach should not be interpreted as my viewing Anchorage Eskimos as statistics to be manipulated rather than as individual people to be understood. Such an interpretation would be antithetical to my considerable personal involvement with Alaska Eskimos over the past thirteen years. However, it is my contention that to truly understand the Eskimo experience in Anchorage, it is necessary to understand the variability involved in the adaptation patterns. While such an approach often may border on scientific sterility, it is a step which must be taken if others--policy makers, general public, etc.--are to have an accurate foundation for understanding rather than misunderstanding the Anchorage Eskimo.

Chapter 1

CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The intent of this chapter is to explain the underlying conceptual orientation and methodology of this dissertation. Within the context of this dissertation, the meaning of conceptual orientation closely reflects Merton's elaboration of a "general sociological orientation" which involves

> . . . broad postulates which indicate the type of variables which are somehow to be taken into account . . . to provide a general context for inquiry. . . . (1967:141-142).

CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

The general conceptual orientation of this dissertation emanates from a concept that historically has been quite prevalent in many anthropological approaches to the understanding of humans --the concept of adaptation. In the broad usage of the term, adaptation refers ". . . to the fact that certain types of behavior result in survival (for the individual or for the group)" (Kluckhohn 1949:104). More specifically, this survival is a consequence of those behavioral processes by which an individual or group establishes and maintains a relatively stable, reciprocal relationship with a given physio-social environment (Brody 1969:6).

A fundamental assumption, which seems to underlie the basic concept of adaptation, is that the irreducible elements of

behavioral action are the individual actor and the situation which is external to the actor. Quite obviously, the individual actor's perception of, and response to the external situation involve a multitude of factors but, it is assumed that the cornerstone of behavioral analysis of adaptive processes must begin with the individual and the external situation. Hallowell, in advancing a framework for the analysis of culture change, alludes to the individual-actor element in this cornerstone assumption when he states:

> . . . the analysis of cultural changes always leads us from our initial descriptive abstractions of stablized cultural forms, through a series of processes involving conditions that have led to readjustments on the part of individuals, and then back again to the socially discernible effects of such readaptation which can once more be described as new or modified cultural forms. The problem of cultural change hinges, therefore, on the conditions and processes that bring about socially significant readjustments of the individual behavior (1971:314-315).

Yinger, in elaborating a field perspective for behavioral science, specifically addresses himself to the individual-external setting assumption:

> . . . a person has many tendencies to behave: some conscious, other unconscious; some strong, others weak. Which one will be acted upon cannot be predicted by knowledge of the individual alone, because each requires a facilitating environment. Behavior is never in an environmental vacuum. . . . Priority in determining behavior can be assigned neither to the sensitivities of the person nor the facilitating forces in the environment because both are always involved in the equation (1965:45-47).

It seems, in fact, that this assumption is so basic to the anthropological tradition that it is seldom articulated in the literature

but, rather, it becomes axiomatic for the ethnographer. The ethnographer examines the processes by which individual members of a specific group adapt to a similar external situation and, based on patterned similarities in these processes, he posits the existence of "X" cultural system, "Y" social structure, etc. Again, Hallowell's comments on this process are appropriate:

> The human individual, however, because of the spatial and temporal accident of birth is always faced with the necessity of learning to live life in terms of the traditional cultural forms of his society, despite the fact that he is potentially capable of social and ecological adjustment in terms of any system of cultural instrumentalities. So far as our empirical data go, some set of cultural forms is always prior to the individual. Through a process of learning or socialization (motivated by biologically rooted as well as acquired drives which are reinforced by a system of rewards and punishments), specific beliefs, attitudes, and values are acquired, technological processes are mastered, roles are learned, and a personality structure is built up that prepares the individual for meeting the problems of life in the provincial terms characteristic of his society. The basic function of the socialization process, therefore, is to prepare individuals for participation in a specific behavioral world. Such process is also one of the fundamental stabilizing agencies in all human societies, since it tends to produce the regularities in patterns of behavior that lend themselves to abstract summarization as culture. But socialization does not produce robots. The persistence of cultural forms is only a function of the expected or predictable behavior of individuals in social interaction (1971:314).

As an individual moves from the specific behavioral world he was socialized into to a fundamentally different behavioral world, for example, from a rural or tribal setting to an urban setting, one can then extend the individual-external setting assumption to account for different behavioral processes. Mitchell's

concept of "situational adaptation," an apparent extension of the individual-external setting assumption, is the major nexus of the conceptual core of this dissertation as it relates to:

> the way in which the behavior of town-dwellers fits into, and is adjusted to, the social matrix created by the commercial, industrial, and administrative framework of a modern metropolis . . . (when most) town-dwellers have been brought up in the rural hinterland of the city in which the cultural background is markedly dissimilar from that in the city itself (1966:38).

In fact, one can argue that the adaptation process, i.e., "the way in which the behavior . . . fits into, and is adjusted to, the social matrix . . . of a modern metropolis," is not based as much on prior and gradual preparatory socialization as it is based on the necessity of immediate responses to a different external setting. For example, "An individual who migrates from a tribal area into a town will find that his behavior, appropriate to rural circumstances, is out of place in town and he must therefore adopt new customs and habits" (Mitchell 1966:43-44). Southall, commenting on the rapidity of this process, states: "The switch of action patterns from the rural to urban set of objectives is as rapid as the migrant's journey to town" (1961:19). Furthermore, when this adaptation process has not yet become established as a "fundamental stabilizing agency," cushioned by previous trial and error as well as purposeful development of a cultural set of guidelines for behavior, the influence of the external setting is even more paramount in the adaptation process for it has yet to be mediated.

In terms of defining the parameters of behavioral adaptations, the external setting can be viewed as the independent variable in the sense that behavioral responses to it occur within prescribed limits. This view of the external setting, as the independent variable, is crucial in anthropological studies of urban areas if they are to reflect accurately adaptive behavioral processes:

> The failure even to raise this question in tribal and 'community' studies has been transferred to the city studies, where it has become yet a greater failure because of the justification for treating the units under description as autonomous is still less self-evident, while the blindness to the complexity of interrelation within the encompassing social entity or entities (e.g., city, nation) which includes the unit as one of its variables is even vaster. In the case of the city, the blindness leads to its atomized treatment, as if these variables(kinship, associations, housing, etc.) were separable, discrete, and unrelated elements--as it were, accidents of the city rather than caused and linked manifestations of the city (and national) process (Leeds 1968:32).

Shannon and others, after an exhaustive study of the factors related to the economic absorption and cultural integration of inmigrant workers to an urban center, concluded that:

> . . . variables completely beyond the inmigrants' control have probably had more to do with what has happened to them than the individual or group characteristics that have so often been hypothesized to be the determinants of absorption and integration into larger society (1966:428).

The tendency not to consider the effect of the urban external setting upon behavior has led, at least in part, to Mitchell's (1966:44) distinction between "situational change," i.e., changes

in individual behavior, and "processive change," i.e., long term, overall changes in the social system, with sufficient commonality, to be labeled "group" changes in institutions, structures, etc., that are the usual focus of acculturation and/or assimilation studies.

Furthermore, this failure to understand the importance of the external setting often results in faulty behavioral comparisons in that behavior particular to, and determined by, an urban external setting (Mitchell 1966:45). In effect, noncomparable behavior patterns are considered as comparable and, in the process, one loses an understanding of the influence of the urban external setting on behavior.

While of paramount influence in determining the course of the adaptation process, it should be emphasized that the external setting is not unilaterally deterministic for it only sets the broad parameters in which various alternative behaviors must be accomplished. Yinger supports this position when he states:

> The principle of multiple possibilities applies equally to situations. Their meaning for behavior cannot be defined independently of the individuals who experience them, for the same cue or the same force will affect persons with different tendencies differently. The implications of a given socio-cultural situation for behavior may be strong or weak; that is, the range of possibilities may be wide or narrow; but only in the limiting case does a situation 'determine' behavior, producing the same results among all persons regardless of their tendencies (1965:45).

Specific Conceptual Orientation

In order to more precisely integrate the basic concepts of the individual, adaptation, and the external setting, I have chosen to view them as parts of a system or ". . . a whole which functions as a whole by virtue of the interdependence of its parts" (Rapoport 1968:xvii). Similar to Yinger (1965), this system will be termed a behavioral system.

Given a behavioral system, the focus of investigation is on either the dynamic interrelationships or transactions between the individual and the external setting and/or the adaptive consequences of such transactions.

Such a systemic model seems to have heuristic import for studies of complex situations for it makes "it possible to apprehend psychological and sociological facts simultaneously" (Yinger 1965:39), as well as enabling the research to dissect the complex whole into interrelated parts for more intensive study.

Based on this general behavioral system model, which attempts to integrate the concepts of the individual, adaptation, and external setting, certain fundamental assumptions were derived which have shaped the focus of this research:

1.0 The urban external setting or total socio-cultural system is assumed to be a composite of several specific situations.

1.1 It is assumed that it is possible to bifurcate

these various situations into public and private situations according to whether or not the individual usually is required to interact with individual nonkin members of the larger socio-cultural system. Private situations will be considered as those situations in which the individual is not usually required to interact with nonkin members. Public situations will be considered as those situations in which the individual usually is required to interact with nonkin members.

1.2 It is assumed that both private and public situations further can be categorized by the degree to which alternative behavioral responses are tolerated or allowed without formal or informal negative sanctions being evoked. Those situations which only allow a narrow range of alternative behavioral responses will be classified as compliant situations. Those situations which allow a wide range of alternative behavioral responses will be classified as noncompliant situations.

2.0 It is assumed that adaptation to similar situations can occur differentially because of:

a. the characteristics of the individual; and/or

b. the nature of the situation's tolerance for alternative behavioral responses.

3.0 It is assumed that adaptation to similar situations will have a range of efficacy that can be defined in terms of:

a. meeting the demands of the situation; and/or

b. meeting the needs of the individual.

3.1 It is assumed that these ranges of efficacy are not necessarily complementary and that they indeed may be in direct conflict with each other.

4.0 It is assumed that the overall situational adaptation of any individual can be evaluated in terms of "external" criteria, i.e., actual structural participation in the dominant external setting, and "internal" criteria, i.e., the individual's self-evaluation of the external setting.

4.1 It is assumed that various states of incongruity between the levels of "external adaptation" and

"internal adaptation" are extant within any migrant group.

4.2 It is assumed that the levels of "external adaptation" and "internal adaptation," and the magnitude of the incongruity between these levels is associated with various levels of measurable stress within any migrant group.

5.0 It is assumed that, at any one point in time, one can refer to an individual's relative state of "adaptedness" or the state of being fitted into the new behavioral system that is discernible by the presence of several clusters of adaptive features.

5.1 It is assumed that the level of adaptation or "adaptedness" is a dynamic feature which both results from situational adaptive behavior and, through the feedback of the consequences of this behavior, it causes a new set of situational adaptive behaviors.

Because the preceding assumptions can generate a vast array of specific research objectives, I decided to narrow the scope of this study to a level manageable by a single researcher, limited by both time and monetary considerations. This dissertation focuses

on, what I assumed to be, the most important adaptive situations for an Eskimo living in Anchorage--public situations. The basis for this decision was twofold:

1. In 1968, the total Eskimo population of the Greater Anchorage Metropolitan Area was calculated to be 1,838 or only 2.1 percent of the total population.[2] Thus, there seemed to be a high degree of probability that, in most situations, interaction would be public, i.e., it would involve nonkin members.

2. It was assumed that the public situations of the external setting of Anchorage were of paramount influence in determining the possibilities of, and the criteria for requisite adaptive behavior, e.g., housing, income, employment, etc. Since these situations were structured and maintained by non-Eskimos, it was assumed that most interaction within this area would be on a nonkin basis.

Before concluding this section, it is necessary to emphasize that this dissertation is not a study of acculturation that focuses on how the Eskimo behavioral responses to the urban external setting of Anchorage resemble or come to be like the behavioral patterns characteristic of the dominant socio-cultural system of Anchorage. Rather, this study is concerned with the variation in

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[2]Unless otherwise indicated, all 1968 population statistics were calculated from (a) a computer print-out revision of Special Census of Greater Anchorage Area Borough, Alaska: October 11, 1968. (Bureau of Census Series P-28, No. 1482, March 31, 1969), and/or (b) 1968 Special Census Technical Report No. 1. (Greater Anchorage Area Borough Planning Department, March 19, 1969).

the levels of adaptation or "adaptedness" of Alaska Eskimos living in Anchorage.

No attempt has been made to compare Eskimo behavior with the behavior of other populations adapting to Anchorage. Because of the independent role of the particular external setting of Anchorage, no attempt has been made to compare urban Eskimo behavior with rural Eskimo behavior or the behavior of other populations adapting to other external settings.

Thus, this dissertation is not concerned with the affirmation or denial of the possibility that Anchorage Eskimo adaptive patterns may be similar to, or different from, adaptive patterns of other groups in Anchorage or other external settings.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In order to establish a meaningful, yet manageable, research domain, I decided to limit both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of this research to Alaska Eskimo individuals, ages 20 through 39, who had resided in the Greater Anchorage Metropolitan Area for at least one year. The rationale for this decision was:

1. Because of the overall Eskimo population structure and the assumed more entrenched village ties of the over-forty population, it was expected that the 20-39 age group would comprise most of the adult Eskimo population of Anchorage. A subsequent calculation confirmed this expectation in that this group accounted

for 73.1 percent of all Anchorage Eskimos over twenty. It should be emphasized that, while beyond the manageable scope of this particular research effort, research is also needed on the adaptation of Eskimo children and teenagers.

2. The individual, not the family unit, was selected as the primary unit of analysis for two reasons: first, it is the individual who adapts; albeit, marital status may be an influential variable. Secondly, based on my previous experience with Alaska Eskimos, it was quite likely that several urban Eskimos could have a nonfamily status, i.e., single, divorced, separated, or widowed. This parameter excludes certain standard anthropological considerations from the scope of this research--child-rearing practices, household activities, etc.

3. In order to exclude the majority of transient Eskimos or those individuals temporarily in Anchorage for short duration training programs, hospital stays, stopovers, etc., a one-year minimum residency requirement was arbitrarily imposed. While excluding some nontransient Eskimos from consideration, it served to focus the research on individuals who necessarily had to make some adaptational decisions and who also had more time to experience the consequences of these decisions.

During the first months of this research, I contacted several knowledgeable sources in an attempt to obtain preliminary, or basic, data about Alaska Eskimos living in Anchorage. In each instance, I was informed that no such data existed but that they

certainly were needed. To fulfill this need, I decided to devote a major portion of this research to obtaining a representative statistical profile of the Anchorage Eskimo population. Underlying this decision is an assumption that a common problem in urban research, particularly anthropological, is the reliance of the researcher on a few "key-informants" to depict the characteristics of a very complex behavioral system.

Quantitative Data

The statistical data of this dissertation were obtained by administering a structured interview guide (Appendix A) to 190 individuals. Table 1 indicates the age-sex distribution of this sample.

Table 1

Completed Interviews By Age and Sex

Age	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
20-29	29 (15.3)	69 (36.3)	98 (51.6)
30-39	35 (18.4)	57 (30.0)	92 (48.4)
Total:	64 (33.7)	126 (66.3)	190 (100.0)

The utilization of a structured interview guide proved quite productive in terms of eliciting invaluable information. However, the actual field administration of the interviews proved to be a very time-consuming and frustrating activity because:

1. No knowledgeable sources knew how many Eskimos resided in Anchorage.

2. A "name list" of Anchorage Eskimos did not exist. Through a very laborious process, utilizing a variety of sources, I was forced to develop my own categoric universe of potential interviewees residing in the metropolitan area--census tracts 5 through 27.

3. The Anchorage Eskimo physical mobility patterns made it difficult or impossible to locate many potential interviewees. For example, 52.7 percent of the initial categoric universe of 419 were either no longer in Anchorage or had moved to an unknown location.

4. Given my meager research budget, it was difficult to find reasonably qualified Alaska Eskimos to assist with the structured interviews. At various times, I employed four part or full Alaska Native assistants. In general, their "Nativeness" proved to be an advantage in contacting unknown individuals. However, for the most part, these individuals had not had previous interviewing experience and, as a result, some of the data were not as extensive as I would have preferred.

Sample adequacy. It is imperative to comment briefly on the representativeness of the interviewed group, hereafter referred to as the sample, for the statistical data in this dissertation related to this group.

Goode and Hatt (1952:213) state "there are only two basic requirements for sampling procedure to fulfill. A sample must be representative, and it must be adequate." It is my contention that the sample meets these requirements and, thus, it constitutes a valid and reliable statistical base because:

1. The individuals were selected randomly from such a broad variety of sources that every Eskimo individual, meeting the universe parameters, had an equal chance of being selected.

2. The size of the sample (N=190) represents, at an absolute minimum, 32 percent of the calculated total categoric universe of 593 Anchorage Eskimos between 20-39.

3. By applying the minimum residency requirement and by excluding village Eskimos institutionalized in Anchorage, I estimate the sample size is actually between 35 and 45 percent of the total categoric universe.

4. A comparison of the age-sex-residential distribution of the sample with that of the total categoric universe reveals no appreciable skewness.

Qualitative Data

The qualitative data of this dissertation were obtained by

observation, participant observation, and unstructured interviews. These activities were carried out primarily in public situations.

The most extensive observations and unstructured interviews took place in public drinking-recreational situations. For the most part, these observations and interviews were conducted in the downtown Anchorage "Fourth Avenue" area. Some segments of the Anchorage population refer to this area as the "Native Bar" area or "Skid Row." Usually, these activities were carried out in the evening hours. Since the legal hours for bars in Anchorage are from 8:30 A.M. to 5:30 A.M., these sessions were often quite lengthy.

By Anchorage standards, the "Fourth Avenue" area is a rough area. It has the highest incidence of Drunk-In-Public arrests, bar fights, overt prostitution, etc. found in Anchorage. Because of the overall ambiance of the area, I prudently chose not to utilize certain standard data storage techniques: written or orally recorded interviews, and photographs. In this area, these techniques were inappropriate. I adopted the procedure of writing down recollected interviews no later than the following morning and, while this information is quite accurate and detailed, it is necessarily not of the verbatim type. Consequently, this dissertation will contain very few verbatim quotations.

The second major source of qualitative data was attendance at public meetings of agencies or groups which, directly or indirectly, affected the lives of Alaska Eskimos in Anchorage.

I would estimate that I averaged between one and two meetings per week for the entire span of this research effort. Meetings of the Board of Directors and/or general membership of the Greater Anchorage Area Community Action Agency and one of its delegate agencies, the Anchorage Native Welcome Center, were the most regularly attended meetings. Except for participating in an Ad Hoc Drunk-In-Public Committee, I attended these meetings as an observer rather than as a participant or consultant.

Various individuals involved in these agencies and groups were interviewed on a scheduled or unscheduled basis. In addition to notes taken during meetings, the day-to-day operations of these organizations were observed, published and nonpublished records obtained, etc. While most agencies were quite supportive of this study, obtaining useful records often proved impossible either because of the method of recording data, e.g., no racial data in State and Federal Governmental agencies, or, the more common case, insufficient records.

Limitations

In addition to the previously discussed problems associated with sampling and the lack of an existing data baseline, three other factors need to be mentioned as they might have restrained the data gathering process.

The factor of utmost importance was the size and complexity of the urban behavioral setting. The attempt to limit this research

to the area of public situations was necessary to begin to grasp the complexities involved in the adaptational process. However, there is such a variety in public situations, with each having a unique configuration, that a totally comprehensive analysis of adaptation to these settings may be beyond the scope of a single researcher. In retrospect, a multidisciplinary research team seems the best vehicle for accomplishing a completely comprehensive study, this research adequately treats most of the major adaptational areas.

A second factor was the undercurrent of feeling, on the part of some Eskimos, that they have been "over-studied" by Caucasians. Agency surveys, particularly those in which the individual was a client of the agency and could not refuse to cooperate, were an especially troublesome legacy. A segment of a letter sent in response to my introductory letter best describes this sentiment:

> We, my wife and I, are most willing to assist you in your efforts, however you will achieve much higher results with us if you will afford us the decent curticy [sic] of an appointments or invitation. Dropping in at your desired schedule upon a privet [sic] household and family is too much comprable [sic] to the functions of the local welfare office and that office had best not walk in my house again (Personal Communication: 1968)

As a result of being "over-probed," there may have been a tendency to be evasive in some of the responses to the structured-interview questions, particularly the Health Opinion Survey questions which were the most intimate. In general, however, I believe the willing,

unpaid cooperation of the urban Alaska Eskimos was extraordinary; only thirteen individuals refused to be interviewed and in the majority of these cases, it was because of the objections of a spouse. Incidently, interviews with Eskimo women married to male Caucasians proved to be the most difficult of all the interviews if the husband was present.

The third factor that might have limited the data gathering process stems from my previous teaching experience with Alaska Eskimos. Prior to starting this research, I had already established friendship relationships with many Eskimo individuals who now live in Anchorage. In some cases, certain questions were not asked because friendship propriety necessarily superceded research seeking. On the whole, however, the previous friendship ties undoubtedly allowed me to obtain more information that I might have due to established trust-rapport patterns.

In concluding this chapter, it is necessary to state that, while I diligently attempted to balance the "involvement-detachment" aspects of anthropological fieldwork (Powdermaker 1966:9), I probably was more involved with than detached from Alaska Eskimos in the public situations of Anchorage.

Chapter 2

ANCHORAGE: THE EXTERNAL URBAN SETTING

Before describing the major features of Anchorage, it is necessary to reiterate that it is assumed that the urban external setting is the crucial independent variable in the adaptational process in that it provides the context and sets the parameters for behavioral adaptations. Leeds summarizes the importance of the urban external setting when he states:

> In sum, the states of the variables relevant to the city as a whole (viz., the labor market and its intra-city variations; the transportation system and its differential costs and accessibilities inside the city; the distribution costs, and accessibilities of urban facilities such as light, water, sewerage; the intra-city topography; special legislation, decrees, and ordinances referring to the city as a whole, and so on) have direct and indirect institutional effects --indeed molding effects--on the internal characteristics of the unit of study which cannot be understood at all without reference to these variables (1968:34).

Similarly, Mitchell states:

> The relationships (social) however, operate within a framework which, while determining the nature of the pattern of social relationships within the town, need not be part of the study of the town itself, . . . we are able to take them for granted and to examine instead the behaviour of individuals within the social matrix created by these factors (1966:48-49).

Implicit in the conceptualization of the city as the independent variable is the view that the city itself is a product of several interrelated factors. While these factors form the social matrix or external setting of a city and are usually treated

as isolates, it is necessary to emphasize that it is the diachronic interaction between these factors that is responsible for the unique, synchronic configuration of the city.

For Anchorage, the following factors seem to be the most relevant in shaping its external setting and influencing the Eskimo adaptation process:

a. Historical Events

b. Spatial Configuration

c. Demographic Characteristics

d. Economic Structure

e. Administrative System

HISTORICAL EVENTS

Although Anchorage is Alaska's largest and most well known city, it is difficult to establish anything but a sketchy historical record of Anchorage for it is literally a creation of the twentieth century.

Perhaps the most outstanding illustration of Anchorage as a twentieth century phenomenon is its population growth. Table 2 indicates the accelerated growth of the Anchorage area individually and as a percent of the total State population from its incorporation in 1920 to 1970.

In order to place this tremendous population increase and its attendant consequences in historical perspective, it is necessary to briefly elaborate on selective events or "Growth

Stimuli" affecting Anchorage:

> Growth Stimuli--Construction of railroad beginning in 1915; colonization of Matanuska Valley, 45 miles north, in 1935; construction and manning of present Ft. Richardson and Elmendorf Air Force Base during World War II; discovery of oil in Cook Inlet and on nearby Kenai Peninsula from 1957 to 1961; discovery of 20-billion-barrel (estimated) oil reserve on North Slope in February 1968 (Anchorage Daily Times: September 29, 1970:3A).

Table 2

Historical Population Growth of Anchorage[a]

Year	Anchorage Area Population	Percentage Change Since Previous Census	Percentage of Total State Population
1920[b]	1856	-	3.4
1929	2736	+47.4	4.6
1939	4229	+54.6	5.8
1950	32060	+658.1	24.9
1960	82833	+158.4	36.6
1970[c]	126333	+52.5	41.8

a. Total area population figures through 1960 from: University of Alaska--Institute of Social, Economic, and Government Research 1967:2.

b. Population of city limits only.

c. Population of Anchorage census district from: U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of Census: PC (1)-A3, Number of Inhabitants--Alaska: 3-6.

The Alaska Railroad

Presumably, the United States Government's primary interest in constructing a railroad that would link the interior of Alaska with a year round Pacific Ocean port stemmed from a desire to faciliate the export of Alaska's natural resources to the continental United States. Secondarily, the Federal Government may have acted out of some sense of responsibility to provide an internal transportation link in the United States' new territory. During the exploratory-construction period of 1912-1923, two Federal decisions were responsible for Anchorage's existence and expansion: the 1915 authorization to layout a townsite at the point where Ship Creek enters the Knik Arm in order to build a railroad terminus, and the relocation of the railroad's headquarters from Seward to Anchorage in 1919 (Atwood 1957:3-8; History of the Alaska Railroad, n.d.: 1-2). As a result of these decisions, Anchorage quickly became a major population center, attracting seasonal, as well as permanent, workers and, perhaps more importantly, Anchorage became the locus of power and control for Alaskan transportation.

Matanuska Valley Colonization

The well publicized 1935, Depression-inspired, movement of approximately 200 families and 400 single individuals from the Midwest to Alaska was under the auspices of the United States Government's Federal Reliefs Administration which referred to it

as the "controlled migration of impoverished families from northern states to Alaska" (Atwood 1957:29). In that these migrants had to pass through and were supplied from Anchorage, Anchorage's reputation and role as a major transportation-service center became more entrenched.

World War II

Perhaps the single most important event in Anchorage's development was the occurrence of World War II in the Pacific. The geographical nearness of Alaska to the Pacific Theatre as well as its symbolic nearness to the continental United States, resulted in Alaska being designated a military area. The Alaska Highway and military bases were built, troops were moved, and battles were fought. Because of its location, Anchorage became the locus of most of the military and civilian World War II activity in Alaska. The overall effect of World War II on Anchorage is aptly described by Atwood:

> Anchorage went into World War II with a population of 3,500. Railroading was its chief industry. It came out of the war a city of 12,000 with aviation its chief industry (1957:43).

Because of Alaska's strategic location and the Post World War II confrontations among the global powers, Anchorage's position as the military-transportation hub of Alaska was further enhanced. The Post World War II activities led to the doubling of Anchorage's permanent population by 1950.

Oil Discovery

The Federal Government's decisions to open the Kenai Moose Range and the Cook Inlet for oil exploration, and to allow the State of Alaska to select North Slope tracts prior to the settlement of the Alaska Native Land Claims paved the way for the subsequent oil boom in Alaska.

Anchorage's proximity to the Kenai-Cook Inlet oil fields, coupled with its established transportation and service functions, made it the logical center for oil based activities in Alaska. The North Slope oil discoveries simply expanded Anchorage's role as the administrative center of oil activity in Alaska.

Summary

In summary, the brief historical sketch of Anchorage's development reveals three characteristics of importance to this research.

First, the determinate intervention of the United States Federal Government in the development of Anchorage is a historical fact and not a recent phenomenon. The creation, expansion and, one could plausibly argue, continuation of Anchorage are consequences of selective Federal decisions. Only the most xenophobic Anchorage dweller could fail to admit to his and Anchorage's dependence on the programs and policies of the Federal Government. Thus, contemporary Federal "self-help" programs must be viewed as a continuation of the Federal role in Anchorage and not as a recent intrusion into the structure of Anchorage.

Second, Anchorage's population grew because of a rapid and large influx of migrants, primarily non-Alaskan Caucasians. For the most part, these migrants elected to remain in Anchorage and participate in Anchorage's economic expansion. Thus, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter, the economic foundation of Eskimo migration to Anchorage is consistent with the historical peopling of Anchorage.

Third, there has been a gradual, but undeniable, consolidation of transportation, governmental and service control functions in the Anchorage area. Generally, these functions mirror and/or are linked to non-Alaskan control institutions.

In terms of understanding Alaska Eskimo adaptation to Anchorage, Anchorage can be historically described as a city created by, and for, Causasian interests. One could hypothetically relocate Anchorage in California or Michigan without altering its physical or cultural structure. There simply was no intentional relationship between the historical events that shaped Anchorage and the needs or wants of Alaska's Indigenous population in Village Alaska. Thus, the Eskimo moving to Anchorage must not only bridge physical and cultural distance but, he must also bridge the historical fact of nonconsideration.

SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS

General Location and Climate

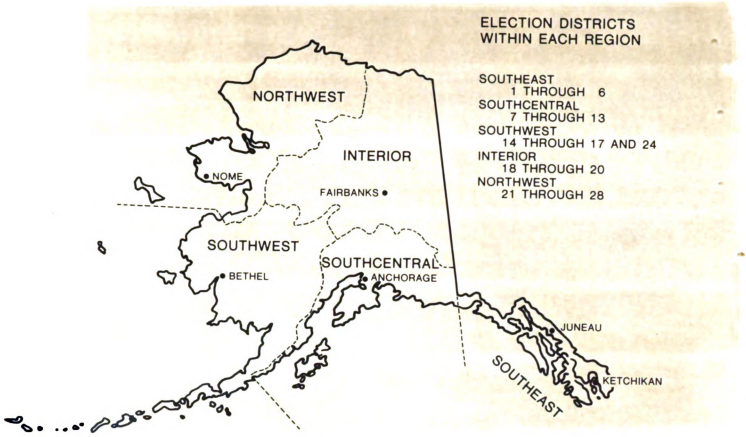
Anchorage is located on an alluvial plain about 8 miles wide and 20 miles long. It is bordered on the north,

> west and south by waters of the Cook Inlet (a bay of the Pacific Ocean) and on the east by the Chugach Mountains. Anchorage is shielded by the Kenai Mountains in the south against any excess of moisture from the Pacific, and has an annual average of only about 15 inches of precipitation. Average winter snowfall in the Anchorage area is about 60 inches per year. The massive Alaska Range in the north protects Anchorage from the greatest rigors of the continental interior winters, and the minimum January temperatures reached in Anchorage generally are much above those experienced in Fairbanks. Average temperatures are 5 to 20 degrees above zero during the coldest month of the year, and 49 to 65 degrees during the warmest. In the past, temperatures have been as low as 35 degrees below zero and as high as 86 degrees above (University of Alaska--Institute for Social, Economic, and Government Research 1967:1).

> Anchorage is located at the top of the world where today's jet air routes between Europe and Asia, and between North America and those two continents, come together. This fact has given Anchorage its claim to the title of "Crossroads of the Air World" and made it a stopping point for numerous intercontinental airlines. Anchorage is also in the strategic spot in relation to its own state (see Figure 1). It is the midway control point and headquarters for the Alaska Railroad operating between the ports of Seward and Whittier and the interior Alaska rail and road head of Fairbanks. The city of Anchorage also sits at the hub of a web of paved roads and highways which gives it direct links to the growing oil and industrial centers of the Kenai Peninsula (and the Peninsula's important playgrounds for the growing tourist industry), to all points in the interior, and to the Alaska Highway which provides a road connection through Canada to the other states. In addition to all this Anchorage also has its own port facilities which in less than a decade has grown from scratch to its present position as the busiest seaport in the entire state (Knox 1970:1).

While the general location, surrounding terrain, and climate have an undeniable bearing on adaptational patterns, primarily in terms of inhibiting or facilitating certain activities,

FIGURE 1: MAJOR ALASKA REGIONS (ROGERS 1967813)



the effects of these locational features will not be examined in this research effort.

Specific Settlement Patterns

It is important to understand the specific settlement pattern of Anchorage for it has a direct effect on adaptational behavior in that it reflects the distance and location parameters operative in Anchorage.

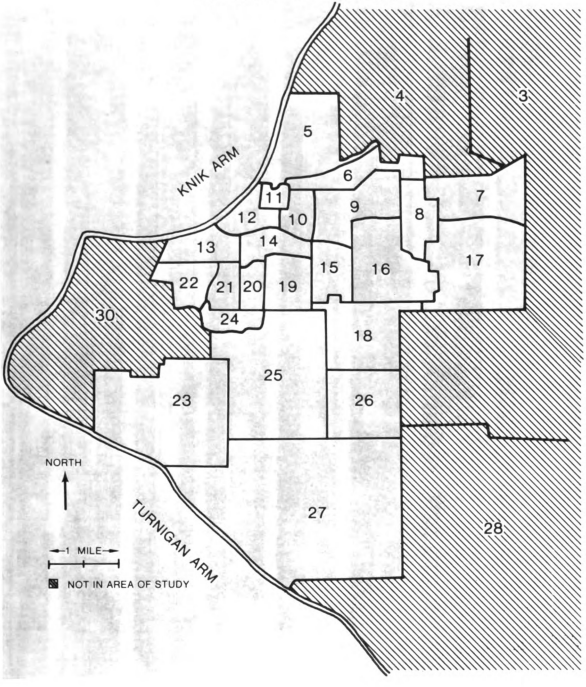
The unit of study, the Greater Anchorage Metropolitan Area, encompasses approximately 200 square miles. Figure 2 delineates the specific census tracts contained in the study unit. Four adjacent census tracts were excluded from the study unit because they were functionally distinct from the objectives of this research effort: 3 = Fort Richardson Military Reservation, 4 = Elmendorf Air Force Base, 28 = outlying rural area, and 30 = Anchorage International Airport.

In developing a relevant residential-spatial profile of the Anchorage area, the following factors were considered:

1. Density of Each Census Tract: While the most accurate reflection of density is the number of people per square mile, this type of data was not available. As a substitute measure, a composite density index was obtained by calculating the product of:

    a. census tract occupied dwelling units as a percentage of the total occupied dwelling units in the study unit; and,

FIGURE 2: ANCHORAGE METROPOLITAN AREA
CENSUS TRACT BOUNDARIES



b. census tract population as a percentage of the total population of the study unit.

2. Medium Income of Each Census Tract.

3. Percentage Distribution of Total Non-White Population by Census Tract.

The preceding data as well as the comparative ranking of the census tracts within the study unit are presented in Table 3. In general, the lower the ranking, the greater the density, the lower the income and the larger the non-white population.

Based on an analysis of the data in Table 3, it is possible to derive the following generalizations regarding the residential-spatial profile of Anchorage.

First, the lowest ranked census tracts are those tracts that are nearest the military bases or the central business district, tract 11. While it is inaccurate to describe Anchorage as having a pronounced "inner-city" area, the northeastern census tracts clearly reflect a preponderance of those characteristics commonly associated with an "inner-city" area: high density, low income and high non-white population concentration. Significantly, over 50 percent of the Anchorage Eskimo population reside within the northeastern area.

Second, there is a close correspondence between the medium income level and the distribution of the non-white population, i.e., the larger the non-white population, the lower the census tract medium income.

Table 3

Census Tract Data for Greater Anchorage Metropolitan Area

Census Tract	DENSITY[a] Dwelling Units	DENSITY[a] Population	RACE[a] Non-White Distribution	INCOME[b] Medium	RANK
5	9.1	10.4	13.8	9169	1
6	5.6	5.2	9.8	9254	2
7	6.7	7.4	3.8	11352	4
8	3.7	4.0	3.1	10470	7
9	5.4	4.3	20.3	9499	3
10	4.9	3.7	8.8	9588	6
11	3.8	2.4	3.1	11305	10
12	5.8	4.8	1.6	14075	14
13	3.0	3.4	.5	15566	23
14	4.9	4.4	4.0	12660	8
15	2.8	3.4	2.8	15507	18
16	4.0	4.8	4.6	14076	11
17	7.2	8.2	3.8	12213	5
18	3.9	4.1	2.4	13247	13
19	3.1	2.6	1.3	13515	21.5
20	5.0	4.6	2.4	12683	12
21	5.0	4.7	2.5	12311	9
22	2.8	2.7	1.3	12294	20
23	3.5	4.1	2.5	14464	16.5
24	2.9	3.3	1.7	13970	19
25	2.7	2.9	2.5	12368	15
26	1.7	2.0	1.9	11386	16.5
27	2.3	2.7	1.6	13297	21.5
	99.8	100.1	100.1	12360	1 - 23
	N =26295	N =88818	N =7460		

[a]Greater Anchorage Area Borough 1969:1-5.

[b]Calculated by sum of medium income for census survey zones to nearest $1,000.00 times the number of dwelling structures in the zone divided by sum of all dwelling structures in the census tract. Greater Anchorage Area Borough 1970:33-42.

Third, if no residential segregation or selectivity were operative in Anchorage, each census tract should have a Non-White population equal in percentage to the proportion of Non-Whites to the total metropolitan population--8.4 percent. As the data indicate, this is not the case. The Non-White population is unmistakenly segregated to the five census tracts surrounding the central business district. In fact, there are only six census tracts that appear to be unsegregated--8, 14, 15, 16, 25, and 26.

DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION

Since the rapid growth rate of Anchorage previously has been mentioned, this section will attempt to describe the composition of the 1968 Anchorage population residing in the study area--census tracts 5 through 27.[3]

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[3]Since the 1968 Special Census did not publish the age-sex breakdown for Anchorage's Non-Negro Other Races category, the data for the total Eskimo population of Anchorage should be considered as a reasonable age-sex estimation rather than a confirmed age-sex distribution. The laborious estimation procedure was:

(a) $$\frac{\text{Confirmed Total \# Eskimos Residing in census tract "x" (I)}}{\text{Confirmed Total \# Non-Negro Non-White in census tract "x" (II)}} = \text{Eskimo Percentage of Non-Negro Non-White for census tract "x"}$$

(b) $$\text{Eskimo \% of Non-Negro Non-White for census tract "x"} \times \text{Non-Negro Non-White Age (Male Divisions for census tract "x" (II)} = \text{Male Eskimo Population By Age for census tract "x"}$$

(c) Same procedure as (b) for Female Eskimo Population By Age for census tract "x"

Rather than merely reiterate, in narrative form, the data presented in Table 4, the following are interpretative summarizations related to important demographic characteristics that can shape of influence adaptive patterns.

Racial Heterogeneity

The most obvious and important demographic characteristic is the overwhelming dominance of Caucasians in Anchorage and the fragmented distribution of all other non-Caucausian groups--Black (3.6), Eskimo (2.1), Indian (1.3), Aleut (.6), and Other (.8).

Since Caucasians comprise 91.6 percent of the entire Anchorage population, this high degree of racial homogeneity has led to an occupational structure, administrative structure, recreational structure, etc., that are oriented toward Caucasian interest. Indeed, the urban matrix of Anchorage is Caucasian or "western" in its form, content, and function.

Since all the non-Caucasian groups in Anchorage are numerically only 8.4 percent of the population and are themselves

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(d) 1968 Eskimo Population of Greater Anchorage Metropolitan Area equals sum of Male and Female Eskimo Population for census tracts 5 through 27.

The major limitation of this procedure is that it assumes the age-sex distribution of the Eskimo population for any census tract is in the same ratio as the total census tract Eskimo population is to the total census tract Non-Negro Non-White population.

(I) Greater Anchorage Area Borough: Technical Report No. 1: 1969.

(II) Computer Printout of Revised 1968 Special Census.

Table 4

1968 Greater Anchorage Metropolitan Area Population
Distribution By Age-Sex-Race

Age	All Races	White	Non-White	Eskimo
0-4	5.6 M	5.4 M	7.6 M	8.8 M
	5.5 F	5.3 F	7.3 F	7.8 F
5-9	6.2 M	6.1 M	7.5 M	8.5 M
	6.0 F	5.9 F	7.1 F	8.3 F
10-14	5.8 M	5.7 M	6.0 M	6.8 M
	5.4 F	5.5 F	6.0 F	6.8 F
15-19	3.9 M	3.9 M	3.8 M	4.0 M
	4.0 F	4.0 F	4.2 F	4.9 F
20-24	5.5 M	5.6 M	5.2 M	3.2 M
	5.3 F	5.2 F	5.3 F	5.4 F
25-29	4.5 M	4.6 M	3.9 M	3.5 M
	4.4 F	4.4 F	4.5 F	5.0 F
30-34	4.1 M	4.1 M	3.7 M	3.0 M
	4.0 F	4.0 F	4.5 F	4.7 F
35-39	4.1 M	4.2 M	3.2 M	3.0 M
	3.6 F	3.5 F	4.0 F	4.5 F
40-44	3.5 M	3.7 M	2.2 M	1.6 M
	3.3 F	3.3 F	2.7 F	2.2 F
45-49	3.2 M	3.3 M	2.0 M	1.4 M
	2.7 F	2.8 F	1.9 F	1.4 F
50-54	2.3 M	2.3 M	1.5 M	.5 M
	1.8 F	1.9 F	1.6 F	1.2 F
55-59	1.4 M	1.4 M	.9 M	.5 M
	1.2 F	1.2 F	.9 F	.6 F
60 +	1.4 M	1.4 M	1.4 M	1.2 M
	1.3 F	1.3 F	1.0 F	1.1 F
Total:	51.5 M(45722)	51.7 M(42073)	48.9 M(3649)	46.0 M(845)
	48.5 F(43096)	48.3 F(39285)	51.0 F(3811)	53.9 F(993)
	100.0 (88818)	91.6 (81358)	8.4 (7460)	2.1 (1838)

separated by ethno-racial differences, Caucasian dominance in this situation is enhanced because there is no effective critical mass of non-Caucasians. Potential conflict or discriminatory situations seem to be present in an inverse relationship, i.e., when non-Caucasian interests differ from Caucasian interests, Caucasian interests prevail.

Sex Discrimination

A second important demographic feature related to the adaptational process is the distribution of the population by sex. The undifferentiated sex ratio or number of males per every 100 females indicates the distribution of the population by sex.

Table 5

1968 Anchorage Sex Ratio

	Undifferentiated	Active
Total Population	106.1 : 100	104.4 : 100
White	107.1 : 100	106.1 : 100
Non-White	95.7 : 100	86.4 : 100
Eskimo	85.0 : 100	68.6 : 100

While important for long term considerations, the undifferentiated sex ratio pales in significance to, what might be termed, the "active sex ratio" or the ratio of males to females in the 15 to 44 age group. The active sex ratio directly relates to adaptational

concerns for it establishes possible sexual interaction groupings, competitive occupational groupings, etc.

In addition to the gross Caucasian numerical superiority, the Non-White male, expecially the Eskimo male, occupies a competitively disadvantageous occupational and social position in Anchorage because of the disproportionate number of Caucasian males. Subsequent chapters of this dissertation will elaborate on some of the effects of this demographic characteristic.

Economic Dependency Ratio

A third demographic feature of importance in the adaptational process is the "economic dependency ratio" or the ratio of an economically active population to an economically nonactive population (Matras (1965:130). For this study, the economically nonactive population was defined as the population groups 0 to 14 and 60-plus, and the economically active population as the 15 to 59 age group.

Table 6

1968 Anchorage Economic Dependency Ratio

Total Population	.5926
White	.5771
Non-White	.7834
Eskimo	.9742

The high Eskimo ratio reflects the proportionately large number of Eskimos under fifteen years of age in Anchorage--864 or 47 percent of the total Eskimo population. In terms of day-to-day considerations, the Eskimo population carries the highest economic burden of all the population groups in Anchorage. Each economically active adult Eskimo must support himself or herself and one other person. In contrast, each economically active Caucasian adult need only support himself or herself and contribute about one-half the support of another person. Statistically, for an Eskimo to maintain economic parity with a Caucasian, the Eskimo would have to earn at least 40 percent more income per pay period. While the economic dependency ratio reflects the comparative statistical disadvantage of the Anchorage Eskimo, family size, number of employed individuals, income levels, and other factors need to be considered before establishing the real economic position of Eskimos in Anchorage.

Effective Fertility Ratio

The effective fertility ratio reflects the number of children under five years of age compared to the number of women in the usual reproductive age bracket of 15 through 44 (Matras 1965:128).

Table 7

1968 Anchorage Effective Fertility Ratio

Total Population	450.2 per 1,000
White	437.0 per 1,000
Non-White	589.4 per 1,000
Eskimo	624.4 per 1,000

Again, in an economic frame of reference, the Eskimo occupies Anchorage's most unfavorable position. If the Eskimo woman is employed, she will require more child care than her Caucasian counterpart for she has more children under five years of age. Since the 15-44 age group represents 49.3 percent of all Eskimo females, it is reasonable to expect a continuation of this fertility ration. This will result in comparatively more economically productive time being lost in the terminal months of pregnancy.

Summary

In all, the high effective fertility ratio coupled with the distorted active sex ratio and the high economic dependency ratio clearly indicate the economically disadvantageous position of the Anchorage Eskimo even if all other economic factors were equal, which they are not.

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

This section describes the economic conditions of the Greater Anchorage Metropolitan Area that prevailed during the period of this research--roughly from October 1968 through June 1970.

The almost exclusive focus of this description is the occupational structure of Anchorage because of its assumed importance in influencing adaptation patterns in a monetary-technological economic system. Sophisticated analytic techniques, such as input-output analysis and economic base studies, while generally valuable

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in describing any economic system, were not considered necessary for this description.

Data Problems

Occupational analysis in Alaska is hampered by two State of Alaska data handling practices: the use of election districts as the recording unit, and the nonrecording of racial data.

Because occupational data is recorded by State election districts, the data of this description labeled Anchorage are, in actuality, data for the entire Anchorage Borough or Anchorage Census District. However, since the Anchorage Metropolitan Area is the only economically dominant area within the recording district, the data accurately describe the Anchorage economic structure.

The second data handling practice is the refusal, on the part of the State of Alaska Department of Labor, to record and/or report employment data by race. The basis for this position is the probably legally correct, but most certainly misguided, interpretation of Alaska Statute AS 18.80.220 which relates to employment records maintained by the State of Alaska. The rationale for this procedure, which possibly violates the 1965 Federal Contracts Compliance legislation, is explained by Department of Labor Commissioner Thomas J. Moore in a letter of February 20, 1968 to Robert D. Arnold of the Federal Field Committee:

> The State Attorney General has advised us the designation of race on employment application forms is prohibited by Alaska Statute 18.80.220. The State

> Department of Labor has, for some time, taken the stand that designation of racial information on operating records is an undesireable practice as it enables our interviewing staff to possibly discriminate against individuals in the selection process for job openings (Kleinfeld and Morehouse 1970:18).

While it is difficult to criticize the purported anti-discrimination rationale related to the "operating records," it is patently obvious that the extension of this stance to the statistical reporting of information probably promotes much more actual racial discrimination in employment than is theoretically prohibited in the job referral process. Without employment data by race, it virtually is impossible to detect those sectors of the economy which are discriminatory in their employment practices.

The effect of this nonreporting practice on research efforts in Anchorage is aptly stated by Development Research Associates:

> Meaningful figures regarding Native employment, unemployment, personal income, and employment by industry are simply unavailable. This fact precludes setting up statistical comparisons of white and Native unemployment and of white and Native personal and family income. The Employment Security Division of the Alaska Department of Labor informs us that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits the reporting of these statistical facts by racial groupings. Desirable as that may be, it nonetheless obviates the potential of truly protraying [sic] the economic problems of the Native group (1967:27).

Needless to add, without a reliable definition of the problem, a successful solution to the problem becomes very problematic.

Part of my research efforts involved attending and observing sessions of a Minority Manpower Committee. This Committee was composed of governmental agencies dealing with minority employment

and concerned minority groups. While its primary purpose was to draw up guidelines for enforcing Federal Contracts Compliance legislation in Alaska under an Alaska Plan, the Committee became concerned with the existing data reporting policies of the State Department of Labor. The concern was of such magnitude that the Committee began extensive efforts to change the reporting procedure. This change movement, even after all the anti-discrimination rationale had been thoroughly examined, was peculiarly and strongly opposed by the State Department of Labor. Nonetheless, an effective lobbying campaign resulted in the State Legislature repealing sections of the existing statute and adding the following ammendment:

> The state, employers, labor organizations, and employment agencies shall maintain records on age, sex, and race that are required to administer the civil rights laws and regulations. These records shall be confidential and available only to federal and state personnel legally charged with administering civil rights laws and regulations. However, statistical information unidentified as to union or employer compiled by the State Department of Labor from records on age, sex, and race shall be made available to the general public by such department. This section does not apply to employers of 25 or less (State of Alaska Senate Bill No. 534:3-16-70).

This bill was signed into law on June 23, 1970 to become effective September 21, 1970.

Occupational Structure

The gross composition and overall changes in the occupational structure of Anchorage from 1960 to the period of this

study--1968-1970--are indicated in Table 8. It should be mentioned that the categories in this table only refer to wage and salaried employment. Individuals who are self-employed, domestics, unpaid family workers, agricultural workers, or who are engaged in work stopage are not included. This exclusion is necessary for deriving meaningful comparisons; however, it somewhat distorts the total employment structure. For example, for 1968-1970 there were 4,760 employees in the excluded categories (State of Alaska Department of Labor 1970:7).

The most important feature of the economic structure of the Sixties is the greater increase in employment positions compared to population growth. There was an 82.4 percent increase in the number of individuals employed while the total population increase was only 50.4 percent. More significantly, the total potential workforce, i.e., all individuals fourteen years of age and older, only increased by 54.7 percent.[4]

Secondly, the ratio of employment to potential total workforce increased from 38.2 to 45.0 percent. While this appears to be a favorable employment situation, it is necessary first to

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[4] 1960 to 1968-70 percentage changes calculated: $\frac{N1968\text{-}70 - N1960}{N1960}$

1960 data from: United States Census PC(1)-3C-Alaska 1960: Tables 82 and 83.

1970 population data from: United States Census of Population 1970--Alaska General Population Characteristics: PC(1)-B3-Alaska: Table 35, pp. 3-54.

Table 8

Wage and Salary Employment by Industry
In Anchorage Election District

Industry	1960[a]	1968-1970[b]
Agriculture/Forestry/Fish	88 (.4)	37 (.1)
Mining	204 (1.0)	880 (2.3)
Construction	2192 (10.5)	2995 (7.9)
Manufacturing	874 (4.2)	942 (2.5)
Trans./Utility/Comm.	2400 (11.5)	3530 (9.3)
Wholesale & Retail Trade	4178 (20.0)	7657 (20.1)
Finance/Insur./Real Estate	1195 (5.7)	1642 (4.3)
Services	4524 (21.7)	5675 (14.9)
Government[c]	5223 (25.0)	14730 (38.7)
Total:	20878 (100.0)	38088 (100.0)

[a]Does not include 1,086 employees not reporting industry of employment. Data obtained from: U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of Census: United States Census of Population 1960--Alaska General Social and Economic Characteristics: PC(1)-3C-Alaska: Table 85, pp. 3-99.

[b]Average monthly employment calculated by average of reporting quarter. Data obtained from: State of Alaska Department of Labor 1968, 1969a, 1969b, 1969c, 1969d, 1970a, and 1970b: A-13 and A-14.

[c]Includes only civilian governmental employees. 1960 includes only those governmental employees engaged in education and "those activities which are uniquely governmental," i.e., governmental employees engaged in health, transportation, etc., would be included in those industrial sectors. 1970 includes all Federal, State, and Local civilian governmental employees.

examine the comparative unemployment rate before making any definite statement about a favorable employment situation. In 1960, the unemployment rate was 12.9 percent or 3,260 unemployed individuals from an actual civilian workforce or 25,224.[5] In 1969, the unemployment rate was 7.9 percent or 3,221 unemployed individuals from the wage-salaried civilian workforce of 41,007 (State of Alaska Department of Labor 1970c:7).

One is able to conclude from the preceding data that opportunities for employment in Anchorage have improved significantly during the Sixties. All indicators point to an employment structure that is expanding more rapidly than the total population or workforce. Yet, without employment data by race, one is unable to answer such questions as "Are Non-Whites able to take advantage of the expanding job market?" and "What is the Non-White unemployment rate?"--questions that are crucial to a proper analysis of Anchorage's employment structure.

The City of Anchorage's minority hiring record, while perhaps not reflective of the total Anchorage employment structure, does provide an illustrative glimpse into the Non-White employment situation. From 1947 through 1967, a period of twenty-one years, the City of Anchorage only hired a total of nineteen minority employees and 8 or 42 percent of these were hired in 1967 (Anchorage Human Relations Commission Memo, October 28, 1968). In an April 22, 1968 newspaper article, the City of Anchorage's Human Relations Commission publically disclosed the city's dismal

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[5] Ibid.

record of minority hire (Anchorage Daily News: April 22, 1968:1). Stimulated by its own Human Relations Commission, the City of Anchorage began a reasonably active minority hire policy and by October 1970, there were sixty minority employees in the line departments of the city.

However creditable the increase in the minority hire figures may be, Table 9 clearly reveals that minorities still are underemployed in the City of Anchorage's line departments. The 1970 Non-White or minority population for the Anchorage Census District was 11,577 or 9.3 percent of the total population (PC(1)-3B-Alaska: 3-54) while minority employees only made up 4.97 percent of the total city line workforce. Significant for this research is the fact that Alaska Natives do not even comprise one percent of the city's line workforce.

Employment Base

The employment base of Anchorage is overwhelmingly oriented toward nonresource activities or economic activities concerned with the provision of goods and services to a population, i.e., transportation, utilities, communication, wholesale and retail trade, finance-real estate and insurance, services, and government. In 1960, these activities employed 83.9 percent of the workforce and, by 1970, the dominance of these activities increased to where they accounted for 87.3 percent of the total Anchorage employment.

Table 9

October 15, 1970 Minority Employment[a] by City of Anchorage Line Departments

Department[b]	Negro	Native	Other	Total Minority	Total Budget. Employees	Percentage Minority
Public Works	15	6	6	27	314	8.6
Parks & Rec.	6	1	0	7	89	7.9
Library	0	1	1	2	38	5.3
Port	0	1	0	1	10	10.0
Finance	1	0	2	3	89	3.4
Telephone	5	2	2	9	258[c]	3.5
Fire	0	0	0	0	97	-
City Clerk	2	0	0	2	6	33.3
Police	4	0	0	4	150	2.7
City Manager	1	0	1	2	48	4.2
Civil Defense	0	0	0	0	3	-
City Attorney	0	0	0	0	12	-
Light & Power	1	0	1	2	63[c]	3.2
District Court	0	0	1	1	13	7.7
Traffic Eng.	0	0	0	0	15	-
Total:	35	11	14	60	1205	4.97

[a]Compiled from: Anchorage Human Relations Commission: Minority Group Statistical Report--October 15, 1970.

[b]Excludes special minority programs of Public Service Careers and Operation Mainstream which employ 27 minorities out of 46 positions or 58.7 percent.

[c]Union and classified positions included.

Centrality

While the central position of Anchorage has been described in the historical section of this chapter, its economic centrality, as indicated by its portion of the total state employment, increased by five percent from 1960 to 1968-69. In 1968-69, Anchorage employed 43.2 percent of the entire State of Alaska workforce, and 49.8 percent of the nonresource workforce.

Economic Summary

At the time of this study, the Anchorage economic system, even with its high 7.9 percent rate of unemployment, could be characterized as expansionary. Anchorage's proportion of the total state employment had increased from 1960. Employment increased at a higher rate than did the total population or workforce. Correspondingly, the rate of unemployment decreased from 1960.

Since there is no employment data by race, the question of whether or not Non-Whites, particularly Alaska Eskimos, living in Anchorage have been able to participate equally in this expanding economy remains unanswered. Subsequent chapters of this dissertation will examine selective aspects of the Eskimo employment situation with the goal of determining Eskimo participation in the Anchorage economic system.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

The administrative system of Anchorage is not easily delineated because Anchorage is the nexus of several levels of

governmental activity--City, Borough, State, and Federal. While each of these levels theoretically is autonomous within a defined sphere, there exist conflicting and, coordinated or uncoordinated, overlapping jurisdictional mandates. Rather than attempt to sort through this governmental maze, this section briefly examines selected aspects of the local level of government and then briefly describes the State and Federal agency complex. These State and Federal agencies will be discussed further in Chapters 4 and 5.

Local Government

Since 1964, the City of Anchorage, the largest incorporated municipality in the State, has been encompassed by another governmental unit, the Anchorage Borough. Historically, the City-Borough relationship has been characterized by alternating periods of conflict and cooperation. In part, this is because of the Borough's rural-urban constituency as opposed to the City's urban constituency. Also, the Borough has policy authority over such controversial areas as taxation, education, public health, planning and zoning, and sewers (City of Anchorage Annual Report 1967:1-2). Because of the artificiality and inefficiency inherent in having two separate governmental systems in the same metropolitan area, there have been continual efforts to reorganize the existing systems into a unified metropolitan government. However, at the time of this research, unification had not yet occurred.

During this research, the City of Anchorage was a

> . . . home-rule city operating under a Council-Manager Charter. The City Council is elected for staggered terms on a non-partisian ballot with the Mayor elected separately. The Council-Manager plan places the City administration under the direction of a City Manager appointed by and responsible to the City Council. City Council also appoints the City Attorney, City Clerk and the members of the various Advisory Boards and Commissions. All other City employees are appointed by the City Manager through the City's Personnel Department (City of Anchorage Annual Report 1967:1).

In 1968, every elected official and appointed line department head (see Table 9) was Caucasian. During this research, an unexpected council vacancy occurred and the council had to appoint a person to fill the vacancy. There was considerable, if select, public pressure to have minority representation on the council. The council, perhaps in response to this pressure, appointed a Japanese-American male to the vacant position. Since Japanese-Americans are an insignificant portion of the Anchorage population, one must wonder why the council did not appoint one of several qualified individuals from Anchorage's largest minority groups--Blacks and Alaska Natives.

Of particular relevance to this research is the City of Anchorage's Human Relations Commission which was created in 1966. This Commission describes itself as ". . . the city's major instrument in eliminating discrimination in the community because of race, color, religion, national origin, ancestry, sex, or age" (Anchorage Human Relations Commission 1969:1). The Commission is composed of nine, appointed members, who serve without compensation,

and who are supposed to be ". . . broadly representative of the religious, racial and ethnic groups in the community" (City of Anchorage Ordinance No. 13-68). At the start of 1969, the racial composition of the Commission was 66.7 percent Caucasian (three males and three females), 22.2 percent Black (two males), and 11.1 percent Alaska Native (one male). During 1969, a Caucasian female was replaced by an Alaska Native female to bring the racial composition to 55.6 percent Caucasian, 22.2 percent Black, and 22.2 percent Alaska Native. Consistent with a fairly common pattern in Alaska, the two Alaska Native members of the Commission were Tlinget. For a Commission that is primarily concerned with minority discrimination, its racial composition is overwhelmingly skewed toward Caucasians. Among the nonrepresented minority groups are Black females, Alaska Eskimos, Alaska Aleuts, and Alaska Athabascans.

The Commission, in consort with the Mayor and City Manager, appoint a salaried executive director to manage the affairs of the Commission. During the period of this research, there were four different executive directors--two Black males and two Caucasian males.

The following City of Anchorage ordinances define the legal scope of the Commission:

No. 33-66: Ordinance Establishing a City Commission on Human Relations (1966).

No. 26-67: An Ordinance Providing for Fair Housing in the City of Anchorage, Alaska, and Making Unlawful Certain Acts and Practices in the Sale or Rental of Property or Housing Accomodations (1967).

No. 13-68: An Ordinance Relating to the City Commission on Human Relations (1968).

No. 14-68: An Ordinance Declaring Unlawful and Discriminatory Certain Financial Practices and Providing for Action Thereon by the City Commission on Human Relations (1968).

No. 15-68: An Ordinance Providing Injunctive Relief Pending Determination of Fair Housing Ordinance Violations (1968).

As the dates of these ordinances indicate, the City of Anchorage, while somewhat behind the rest of the United States, was not immune from the Civil Rights Movement of the Sixties. However, after the riots of 1967 and 1968, Anchorage quickly caught up with the rest of the country by passing Ordinance No. 19-68:

> An Ordinance Defining Civil Emergency, Authorizing Mayor to Proclaim Existence of Civil Emergency and Restricting and Making Unlawful Certain Conduct in Times of Civil Emergency (1968).

From February 1967 to February 1969, the Commission received an average of one formal and pursuable complaint per month. Of these twenty-five complaints, twenty-one were lodged by Blacks, two by Alaska Natives, one by a Caucasian, and one by a Colombian. Fourteen or 56 percent of the complaints were concerned with employment, six or 24 percent with housing or public accomodations, three or 12 percent with police harassment, and two or 8 percent with other unique causes.

The paucity of Alaska Native claimants, 2 or 8 percent,

should not be interpreted as a lack of legally pursuable discrimination against Alaska Natives. Many Alaska Natives are not aware of their civil rights or, if they are aware of them, they do not know where to pursue their cases. For Eskimos, in particular, there is the restraint of the traditional cultural pattern of confrontation avoidance. Also, the fact that the executive director was Black may have prevented several Eskimos from reporting discrimination cases during the mentioned reporting period.

In addition to the Human Relations Commission, the City of Anchorage Police Department and Municipal Court System are pertinent to this research. These two units are particularly related to law enforcement and will be treated in the section dealing with public drinking behavior.

Summary. Until quite recently, Anchorage appears to have been unconcerned with the problems and needs of its minority population. However, during the late Sixties, a growing minority awareness developed and this is reflected in the active recruitment of minority employees and the creation of the Anchorage Human Relations Commission. While these are commendable improvements, the fact remains that the administrative structure of Anchorage is totally Caucasian in race and "western" in culture.

State and Federal Government

The State and Federal Governmental presence in Anchorage

is considerable. There is a multitude of governmental agencies dealing with almost every facet of the Anchorage dweller's existence. Indeed, as Table 8 indicated, the occupational structure of Anchorage is dominated by the governmental employment sector.

In this dissertation, no attempt will be made to describe the range of detailed services provided by governmental agencies. For the most part, the general services provided by an agency are inferable from the agency's title, for example, the Public Health Service. Also, several adequate descriptions of the agency services already exist. For example, Community Services Directory (Greater Anchorage Inter-Agency Council 1967 est.), Alaska Resource Development Directory (University of Alaska 1969 rev.), Catalog of Federal Assistance Programs (Office of Economic Opportunity 1967), and Alaska Guide to Human Resources Development Programs (Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System 1968).

Unless otherwise indicated, comments related to governmental agencies refer to the "generalized public agency" rather than any specific State or Federal agency. While each governmental agency is a unique entity, the degree of commonality between all the public agencies is so large as to allow for the grouping of these agencies into one general category. This commonality results from similar nonlocalized funding sources, goal orientation, organizational composition, organization structures, and operational procedures.

CONCLUSION

The intent of the chapter has been to describe the external setting of Anchorage into which an Eskimo migrant enters and to which the Eskimo migrant must adapt.

In entering the external setting or social matrix of Anchorage, the Eskimo migrant clearly has traversed vast historical and cultural distances as well as mere physical distance. One could argue that the Eskimo enters a social matrix that is alien to anything that might have been experienced in Village Alaska.

The historical development and cultural antecedents of the contemporary structure of Anchorage are rooted in the continental United States or greater "western" culture. From the perspective of Village Alaska, it is almost as if Anchorage clearly is reflected in Anchorage's population, spatial, economic, and administrative structures.

As Alaska's largest city, fifty times larger than any Village Alaska place, Anchorage is both numerically and administratively dominated by Caucasians. Consequently, Anchorage is the most centralized and entrenched locus of "western" culture in Alaska. In Anchorage, the Eskimo will find himself being a member of one of several small minority groups. In Village Alaska, the Eskimo obviously has always been a member of the large, majority group and generally, the only other racial group has been Caucasian.

Spatially, the Eskimo will find that he is pressured to reside in certain geographical areas and not to reside in other areas. Usually, the Eskimo is pressured to reside in geographical areas that are characterized by poorer housing, higher population density, lower income levels, and a higher concentration of Non-White population. In Village Alaska, especially the smaller villages, there is virtual residential homogeneity.

While the Eskimo enters a relatively expanding economic system, there are no data to indicate that he or she will be allowed to participate equally in this economic system. Additionally, the economic system of Anchorage is almost diametrically opposite that of Village Alaska. In Village Alaska, the Eskimo experientially learned from childhood to engage in the subsistence and, in many cases, the cash extraction of resources. The daily and yearly cycle of economic activities is characterized by temporal and personal flexibility as to when things should be done and how they should be done. In Anchorage, the economic system is geared to the provision of services to the population. These service activities often emphasize or require certain exoskeletal factors and/or levels of educational attainment. In carrying out these activities, there is little room for temporal and personal flexibility; rather, temporal and personal fixity and regularity become desired characteristics.

Administratively, Anchorage is staffed by Caucasians and, until quite recently, it was concerned only with Caucasian interests. In order to take advantage of the administrative-service structure

of Anchorage, the Eskimo will be required to wander through an incredible governmental maze. While there is considerable Caucasian administrative influence in Village Alaska, it operates through an administrative structure which, in part, is staffed by Eskimos.

In summary, the Eskimo enters and must adapt to an urban social matrix that is vastly different from the social matrix usually encountered in Village Alaska. The characteristics of the Eskimo migrants to this system and how the Eskimo has adapted to such a different social matrix will be explored in Chapters 3 and 4 respectively.

Chapter 3

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ANCHORAGE ESKIMO POPULATION

The intent of this chapter is to describe the major characteristics of the Anchorage Eskimo population. Since many of these characteristics will be treated as independent or dependent variables in the analysis of Eskimo adaptation patterns, this chapter provides the necessary context for interpreting and understanding the Eskimo adaptation patterns that are discussed in Chapter 4.

STATISTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

To reiterate, the data of this chapter only pertain to those Anchorage Eskimos, ages 20 through 39, who had lived in Anchorage for at least one year. This group comprises 73.1 percent of the entire Anchorage Eskimo population over twenty years of age.

The statistical data of this chapter is based on structured interviews with 190 individuals from the age 20 through 39 age cohort, or an estimated 35 to 45 percent of the entire cohort.

Four basic demographic categories--sex, age, marital status, and region of origin--often will be used as control groups in the statistical analysis of the data in order to establish

whether or not these factors significantly account for differences among the Anchorage Eskimo population.[6]

Because the sample size was rather small for statistical analyses (N=190), it was necessary to employ the controls at a high level of aggregation in order to insure adequate cell sizes. This high level of aggregation was obtained by bifurcating the controls:

1. Sex: Male (n=64) and Female (n=126),
2. Age: 20 through 29 (n=98) and 30 through 39 (n=92),
3. Marital Status: Non-Married (n=72) and Married (n=118), and,
4. Region of Origin (see Figure 1): Southwest Alaska (n=67) and Northwest Alaska (n=111). Twelve individuals from other areas of Alaska were excluded.

MIGRATION DATA

While migration data are recollective data subject to conscious and unconscious distortion or suppression over time, selected migration data are included in this dissertation as they account for many of the gross characteristics of the Anchorage Eskimo population.

At the outset, it is necessary to reiterate that the Anchorage Eskimo population is a migrant population. Only two

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[6]The Chi-square tests for significant associations will use the standard social science criteria for significance of > .05. All statements of statistical significance will have an unstated degree of significance > .05.

individuals were born in Anchorage; the remaining 188 individuals were born in Village Alaska and subsequently migrated to Anchorage. Most (59.1) of the Anchorage Eskimo population originated in Northwest Alaska. Only 35.7 percent migrated from the more populous Eskimo region of Southwest Alaska. Since the Northwest region historically has had a longer contact span with "western" society, one could hypothesize that this regional differentiation in the migration process reflects the greater accumulative effect of culture change in the Northwest because other, more objective conditions are relatively the same.

A second migration characteristic is that the vast majority (79.8) of Eskimo migrants arrive in Anchorage as adults over the age of eighteen. As adults, these individuals will not only have to learn those behaviors appropriate to Anchorage, but they will also have to suppress or compartmentalize some behavioral patterns oriented toward other socio-cultural systems, especially that of Village Alaska.

A third migration feature involves the path of migration to Anchorage. For most Anchorage Eskimos (73.2), the path of migration to Anchorage is serial as opposed to direct, i.e., it involves one or more geographic and temporal stops enroute to Anchorage. The most frequent serial pattern involves migrating from Village Alaska to a non-Alaskan place and then to Anchorage. The path of migration will be elaborated on in Chapter 4.

A fourth migration characteristic relates to the

composition of the migrating unit. In general, migrants from the Northwest migrate as part of a kin based unit, either the parental or conjugal family, while individuals from the Southwest tend to migrate to Anchorage on an "individual alone" basis.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the Anchorage Eskimo population is its sexual imbalance. While the Alaska Eskimo population's sex ratio is approximately even, the sex ratio of the Anchorage migrant population is 51:100, or there are twice as many female migrants as male migrants. In part, this sexual imbalance can be understood by analyzing the individual's reasons for migrating to Anchorage. However, it must be emphasized that the reason a person migrates is not easily reducible to any one factor or cause. Rather, it is the result of

> . . . not only push and pull factors but, also, the other social, cultural, and subjective conditions under which such factors operate both at the place of residence and at the place of destination (Germani 1965:160).

For the purpose of describing the primary reasons why an Eskimo first migrates to Anchorage, a multitude of verbal responses were combined to reflect a relative degree of voluntariness in the decision as well as the actual reason for the decision. Table 10 tabularly summarizes reasons for migrating to Anchorage. It is necessary to point out that these reasons for migrating to Anchorage are not necessarily the reasons why an individual remains in Anchorage.

Contrary to what one might expect given the overall

Table 10

Reasons for Migrating to Anchorage by Sex

Reasons	Sex		Total
	MALE	FEMALE	
INVOLUNTARY	38.6	54.6	49.4
Accompanied Parents	26.3	24.0	24.7
Transferred or Assigned Job in Anchorage	7.0	20.7	16.3
a. Individual	(7.0)	(5.8)	(6.2)
b. Accompanied Spouse	-	(14.9)	(10.1)
Hospitalization	5.3	4.1	4.5
Accompanied Spouse Seeking Job	-	5.8	3.9
VOLUNTARY	61.4	40.4	47.2
Individual Seeking Employment	36.8	16.5	23.0
Education for Self	7.0	9.9	9.0
Better Life Style	7.0	4.1	5.1
Wanted to	7.0	6.6	6.7
Visited and Stayed	3.5	3.3	3.4
OTHER	-	5.0	3.4
Total:	99.9 n=57	100.0 n=121	100.0 N=178

conditions in Village Alaska, the data in Table 10 reveal that Eskimo migration to Anchorage is not a predominantly voluntary act. Only 47.2 percent of all migrants came to Anchorage on a relatively voluntary basis while 49.4 percent came involuntarily. This is especially true for female migrants and it helps explain the sexual imbalance in the migrant population. Of the 54.6 percent of the female migrants that came to Anchorage involuntarily, approximately 82 percent came to Anchorage as a consequence of kinship obligations involving their parental or conjugal family.

In concluding this section, it is necessary to state that, while there are many reasons why an Eskimo migrates to Anchorage Eskimo migration to Anchorage is not based on whimsical decisions. Over 63 percent of the adult or over eighteen migrant population came to Anchorage to retain, seek, or prepare for employment. The deliberate goal orientation of these decisions for migrating to Anchorage is reflected in the Anchorage Eskimo population's commitment to permanently remaining in Anchorage.

PERMANENCE

The Anchorage Eskimo population must be considered as a recently arrived migrant population in that the median length of time in Anchorage is only 5.8 years. Because of this, it is essential, in terms of understanding the adaptation patterns, to determine whether or not these patterns are those of a permanent or transient population.

The determination of permanence historically has been fraught with considerable definitional and measurement problems. For example, Mitchell states:

> . . . a considerable volume of literature dealing with urbanization, detribalization, and stabilization has come into being. A brief glance at the literature, however, reveals that there appears to be a good deal of confusion about the use of these three terms (1969:471).

For this research, permanence will be considered as the individual's expressed intention to remain permanently in Anchorage. To paraphrase Mitchell (1969:485), it reflects a general disposition that is constructed within a psychological framework of commitment to Anchorage, i.e., the individual's subjectively expressed preference for living in Anchorage as opposed to elsewhere. The individual's intention was derived by interrelating the recollected commitment upon arriving in Anchorage with the commitment expressed at the time of the interview. Table 11 portrays the statistical distribution of the Anchorage Eskimos' commitment to remaining in Anchorage.

In general, the data in Table 11 indicate that slightly more than one-half of the Anchorage Eskimo population can be considered as permanent dwellers. When coupled with those individuals tending toward permanence, the Anchorage Eskimo population is definitely more of a permanent population than a transient population. This conclusion is further supported by comparing changes between the individual's initial and present commitment to permanence. There was a 12.4 percent increase in permanence

Table 11

Anchorage Eskimo Commitment to Permanence By Sex

Commitment	Sex					
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE	
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
Permanent Dweller	52.1	54.6	44.8	62.8	50.8	42.7	60.6
Tending Toward Permanence	7.4	1.6	3.4	-	10.5	14.7	5.4
Undecided Dweller	13.8	23.4	31.0	17.1	8.9	8.8	8.9
Tending Toward Transience	7.4	3.1	-	5.7	9.7	11.8	7.1
Transient	19.2	17.2	20.7	14.3	20.2	22.1	17.8
Total:	99.9 N=188	99.9 n=62	99.9 n=27	99.9 n=35	100.1 n=126	100.1 n=98	99.8 n=57

compared to a 36 percent decrease in transience. In part, this increase in a commitment to permanence seems to reflect a tentative relationship (> 7.01) between one's subjective attitude and the length of time one objectively remains in Anchorage, i.e., the longer one objectively remains in Anchorage, the more likely the individual also will subjectively decide to remain in Anchorage.

The fact that the 30-39 age group is the most permanent group is not surprising. These individuals arrived in Anchorage at an older age level, were more initially committed to permanence, and have lived in Anchorage longer than the 20-29 age group.

Given the service orientation of the Anchorage economic structure, it is interesting to note that the subgroup most likely to be employed in a service oriented economy, Females 20-29, is the most transient-like subgroup. In part, this transience orientation is based on an intention to move outside of Alaska in the future--53.3 percent of the transient dwellers have such intentions. However, based on informal interviews and observations, there is a strong possibility that, for many young females, this transience orientation reflects something beyond a desire to live outside of Alaska. Many young females seem to employ a transience orientation as a rationalizing mechanism. For one's self, it often was a means of having a future that was comparatively optimistic. For others, it was an explanation for being on Fourth Avenue, not having a job, etc. For example, one young single female from the Southwest was always "going home soon" even though she continued

to remain in Anchorage. She had dropped out of a governmental training program, had no income, was periodically living with a Caucasian, was drinking heavily, and had contracted a venereal disease. She admitted to liking the "night life" of Anchorage but, to myself and her concerned friends, she always stressed the fact that she was only in Anchorage temporarily. For her and many others, "going home soon" appears to be much more of a rationalization than a reality.

The reasons why Eskimos have elected to remain in Anchorage are listed in Table 12.

Table 12

Eskimo Reasons for Remaining in Anchorage by Sex

Reason	Sex						
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
Perceived Opportunites	42.9	57.1	64.3	51.4	35.5	36.4	34.5
Own or Family Residence	35.9	17.5	21.4	14.3	45.5	47.0	43.6
Basic Services	11.4	14.3	3.6	22.9	9.9	6.1	14.5
General Preference	9.2	9.5	7.1	11.4	9.1	10.6	7.3
Other	.1	1.6	3.6	-	-	-	-
Total:	99.5 N=184	100.0 n=63	100.0 n=28	100.0 n=35	100.0 n=121	100.1 n=66	99.9 n=55

It is important to note that the utilitarian-familial nature of the reasons why Eskimos remain in Anchorage is very consistent with the reasons why Eskimos first migrated to Anchorage (see Table 10). For example, 78.8 percent of the Eskimo population remain in Anchorage to take advantage of employment, educational or service opportunities that often are not present in Village Alaska, or because of familial ties. Clearly, most Eskimos do not remain in Anchorage because they have been exposed to the "bright lights."

RESIDENTIAL-HOUSEHOLD FEATURES

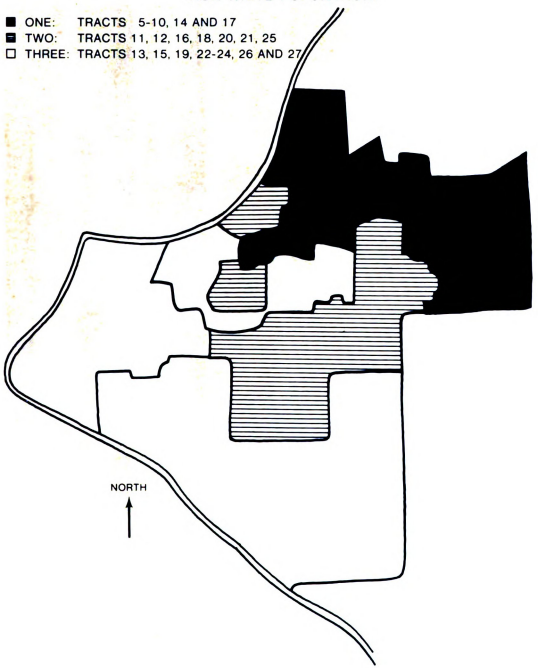
Spatial Distribution

For descriptive purposes, Anchorage's twenty-three census tracts have been trichotomized into geographic divisions that reflect the overall rank of the census tracts in terms of density, income and Non-White population (see Table 3). These three areas are outlined in Figure 3.

Area one or the north-northeastern section of Anchorage has the highest density, lowest median income and greatest concentration of Non-Whites. There are 57.4 percent of the Anchorage Eskimos in the 20-39 age group that live in this area. Females 20-29 (69.3), individuals from Northwest Alaska (65.8), and individuals married to an Alaska Native (61.6) are disproportionately concentrated in this area.

Area two is the middle ranking area and 32.1 percent of the 20-39 Eskimo population reside within this area.

FIGURE 3: SPATIAL AREAS OF THE ANCHORAGE METROPOLITAN AREA BASED ON DENSITY, MEDIAN INCOME, AND NON-WHITE POPULATION.



Area three has the least density, the highest median income and the fewest Non-Whites. Only 10.5 percent of the Eskimos in the 20-39 age group live in this area. It is illuminating to note that none of the interviewees reside in census tracts 13, 15, and 22 (see Figure 2). The significant clustering of the Eskimo population in area one reflects the Eskimos' recency in Anchorage, their low income levels and the lack of public transportation in Anchorage.

Upon arriving in Anchorage, over 50 percent of the Eskimos contacted friends or relatives for information regarding housing. Since the majority of Eskimos reside in area one, it is reasonable to assume that the new arrivals were provided with information regarding housing opportunities in area one. This assumption is further supported by the fact that the longer one has lived in Anchorage, the less likely the individual will live in area one.

The primary reason why Eskimos reside in area one seems to be the result of a low median income level, approximately $450 per month, coupled with the availability of low cost housing. The large State public housing projects, several low rent, privately owned apartment complexes and many substandard individual housing units are all contained in area one.

Since the City of Anchorage does not have a public transportation system, area one is also a convenient area to reside in for a population that only has 67.9 percent having vehicular

transportation. The central business district, Fourth Avenue, the Anchorage Native Medical Center, the source of employment for many Alaska Natives, most of the social service agencies, etc., are located within area one.

Residential Occupancy

The Anchorage Eskimos have three types of occupancy patterns--staying, renting, and buying. As might be expected, the rental arrangement is the most frequent (55.3) pattern. Thirty-three and one-half are buyers and 11.2 percent are stayers.

An analysis of these three patterns revealed that home buyers significantly tended to be females rather than males, older individuals rather than young individuals, and married individuals rather than unmarried individuals. Also, these individuals tended not to reside in area one.

Residential Mobility

With slightly over 25 percent of the population averaging one or more residential moves per year since living in Anchorage, it seems that the Anchorage Eskimo population can be considered as residentially mobile.

Based on unstructured interviews and the nonsignificant correlation of the rate of mobility with census area residence, it seems the Eskimo mobility pattern represents downward rather than upward residential mobility. Because of the burden of high rent, individuals frequently move from more expensive to less expensive,

and usually poorer quality housing.

Marital Status and Household Type

The marital status of the Anchorage Eskimo population is summarized in Table 13.

While the Anchorage Eskimo population is more a married (62.1) than a non-married (37.9) population, there are three particular patterns that are of special interest to this research.

The first pattern of importance is the large proportion of males, particularly those in the 20-29 age group, who are either single or no longer married. These non-married males are the most publically visible Eskimo group in Anchorage. Chapters 4 and 5 will examine their somewhat unique adaptation pattern and response to this pattern.

The second pattern involves the somewhat low rate (13.5) of separation or divorce among the female population. Contrary to some stereotypic expectations, the Anchorage Eskimo female population evinces marital stability rather than instability.

The third pattern, the high incidence of Eskimos married to Caucasians, needs further clarification. Given the shortage of eligible Eskimo males in the Anchorage population, one would expect to find that females would be more likely to have married Caucasians than males. Indeed, this is the case. Females account for 84.4 percent of the marriages to Caucasians.

It is particularly illuminating to examine the marital patterns of the largest Eskimo subpopulation--young females. It is

Table 13

Anchorage Eskimo Marital Status By Sex

Marital Status	Sex						
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
Single	24.2	34.4	44.8	25.7	19.0	30.4	5.3
No Longer Married	13.7	7.8	6.8	8.6	16.7	12.8	21.1
Widow	(15.4)	-	-	-	(19.0)	(22.2)	(16.7)
Separated/ Divorced	(84.6)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(81.0)	(77.8)	(83.3)
Married	62.1	57.8	48.2	65.7	64.3	56.5	73.7
Alaska Native	(59.3)	(75.7)	(57.1)	(86.9)	(51.9)	(46.2)	(57.1)
Caucasian	(38.1)	(18.9)	(35.7)	(8.7)	(46.9)	(53.8)	(40.5)
Other	(2.6)	(5.4)	(7.2)	(4.4)	(1.2)	(-)	(2.4)
Total:	100.0 N=190	100.0 n=64	99.8 n=29	100.0 n=35	100.0 n=126	99.7 n=69	100.1 n=57

somewhat of a popular truism that younger females tend to view male Caucasians as the most desirable marriage partners. To some degree, the data support this popular truism. Of the thirty-nine 20-29 year old females who are married, only 46.2 percent are married to Alaska Natives while 53.8 percent are married to Caucasians. For the older 30-39 married females, the opposite pattern is found in that only 40.5 percent are married to Caucasians and 59.5 percent are married to Alaska Natives.

In addition to the shortage of Alaska Native males as marriage partners, this tendency of younger females to marry Caucasians has another explanation. As the younger female grows up in Village Alaska, Caucasian males occupy many of the important roles in her social world. The influence of the Caucasian teacher, pilot, storeowner, religious practitioner, and visiting government official, is a "real" force in the daily life of the young female. This influence is reinforced by Hollywood film fantasies in which the white male invariably epitomizes all that is "good and desirable" and he always "lives happily ever after." After migrating to Anchorage, the social world of the young female continues to be dominated by male Caucasians. Caucasian males are involved in the provision of basic services, recreational activities, governmental administration, etc. It is little wonder that Caucasian males become marital targets for young female Eskimos attempting to adapt to a Caucasian urban system.

Table 14 illustrates the household types of the Anchorage Eskimo population.

Table 14

Anchorage Eskimo Household Type By Sex

Household Type	Sex						
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
Extended Family	14.0	13.3	7.4	18.2	14.3	13.0	15.8
Nuclear Family	53.2	55.0	51.9	57.6	52.4	47.8	57.9
Individual With Other Relatives	9.1	5.0	11.1	-	11.1	14.5	7.0
Individual With Non-Relatives	10.8	20.0	22.2	18.2	6.3	7.2	5.3
Individual Alone	12.9	6.7	7.4	6.1	15.9	17.4	14.0
Total:	100.0 N=186	100.0 n=60	100.0 n=27	100.1 n=33	100.0 n=126	99.9 n=69	100.0 n=57

Given the marital status of the Anchorage Eskimo population, it is not unexpected that the most frequent housing arrangement is that of the simple nuclear family, i.e., husband, wife, and children. The next most frequent housing arrangement is one which resembles an extended family in that it is composed of one nuclear family and other relatives. The average household size is approximately five individuals.

The most disproportionate household arrangements are those of females living alone and males living with nonrelatives. Of the twenty females living alone, seventeen or 85 percent are females with their children. There are a total of twenty-nine females with children who do not have a spouse present. Some of these children are illegitimate but no attempt was made to calculate a rate of illegitimacy as illegitimate children are often given up for adoption upon birth.

The high percentage of males residing with nonrelated individuals reflects the nonmarried status of many males and the availability of free institutional housing. Seventy-five percent of these males reside in free institutional dormitories provided by the Salvation Army and the Rescue Mission.

INTEGRATIVE CHARACTERISTICS

The integrative characteristics of the Anchorage Eskimo population relate to the individual's relationship to other individuals, formal organizations, and institutions found in the

Anchorage urban system. This topic specifically focuses on the individual's usual pattern of social associations, whether or not the individual is a member of formal organizations, and what, if any, institutional affiliations the individual has developed.

Pattern of Social Associations

The pattern of social association reflects the degree to which Caucasians and other Alaska Natives are perceived to be incorporated into one's network of social interaction. It is a perceptual category rather than an empirically verified category emanating from formal network analysis. Table 15 indicates the Anchorage Eskimos' perceived social associations.

Table 15

Anchorage Eskimo Perceived Social Associations By Sex

Social Association	Sex						
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
Mostly Alaska Natives	29.1	21.9	13.8	28.6	32.8	31.9	33.9
Equally Alaskan Native and Caucasians	65.1	70.3	72.4	68.6	62.4	60.9	64.3
Mostly Caucasian	5.8	7.8	13.8	2.9	4.8	7.2	1.8
Total:	100.0 N=189	100.0 n=64	100.0 n=29	100.1 n=35	100.0 n=125	100.0 n=69	100.0 n=56

As the data in Table 15 indicate, 65.1 percent of the Eskimos perceive their total pattern of social associations to be composed equally of Caucasians and other Alaska Natives. This may reflect more of an ideal than real situation. Based on participant observation, it seems that most social relationships with Caucasians occur in public situations. These relationships consist more of temporary encounters with a vast number of Caucasians than permanent or repetitive contact with the same Caucasians. Thus, I tend to believe these social associations involve categoric or generalized relationships as opposed to familiar or personal associations.

While this research did not focus on formal network analysis, there appear to be, on the basis of observations and unstructured interviews, several general principles which, when situationally activated, order the composition of one's immediate network of social relationships.

In most public and private social situations, the individual has the option to employ a wide variety of principles that incorporate either Eskimos or others into one's social network. If one chooses to incorporate Alaska Natives into one's network, the bases for incorporation, in descending order, are: kinship, same village, same immediate geographic area, same boarding school, same linguistic region, Eskimo, and occasionally, Nativeness.

While peripheral to the general thrust of this research, it is interesting to note that both intra-Eskimo and Eskimo-Indian interaction in Anchorage are, in part, constrained by traditional,

Village Alaska interactional barriers.

Among Eskimos, the major interactional barrier is the linguistic incompatibility of the Inyupik and Yupik dialects. As was mentioned previously, 60 percent of the Anchorage Eskimos originally came from the Inyupik-speaking Northwest region and 36 percent came from the Yupik-speaking Southwest region. In Anchorage, these individuals tend to interact with others from the same linguistic region. While one could argue that this is simply a logical outgrowth of the traditional linguistic separation, it seems much more than that, as every Eskimo in Anchorage is bilingual and could interact with individuals from a different linguistic region. It seems that the linguistic principle of incorporation, while it does allow for possible mutual communication in an Eskimo dialect, relates not so much to actual linguistic compatibility as it does to an entire mental set that is shared by the interacting individuals. For example, individuals from the same linguistic area are more likely to share similar village backgrounds, similar regional reference points, and similar mutual friends than would individuals from different linguistic regions. However, although these linguistic differences do constrain intra-Eskimo interaction, they do not form a rigid social boundary. Other experiences, particularly the boarding school experience, develop other areas of commonality that transcend linguistic differences and which lead to inter-regional interaction.

While traditional Eskimo-Indian interrelationships may be

". . . problem areas for which we have, as yet, no good explanations" (Graburn and Strong 1973:121), it is widely accepted that these interrelationships were characterized by mutual distrust and conflict. This enmity seems to have resulted from competition for limited resources in which the competing parties had ". . . the well-being of the in-group as the primary aim" (Weyer 1969:157). The Anchorage Eskimo population is larger than the Anchorage Indian population, 1,838 compared to 1,157, and the general cultural, linguistic and physical differences between the two groups act as interactional constraints. However, these same differences also exist between Caucasians and Eskimos and, yet, the amount of Eskimo-Indian social interaction is minimal when compared to the amount of Eskimo-Caucasian interaction. Thus, it appears that the vestiges of the historical distrust between Eskimos and Indians acts as a powerful constraint to Eskimo-Indian interaction in Anchorage.

In subsequent sections of this dissertation, the isolated position of the Eskimo in the Anchorage setting will be examined. One characteristic of this position is the lack of a supportive ethnic association or organization. Even though Yupik Eskimos, Inyupik Eskimos and Indians, especially Athabascans, occupy the same disadvantageous position in the Anchorage setting and throughout Alaska, the traditional separation of these groups seems to have inhibited the development of a pan-nativistic identity. Even the statewide Native organization, the Alaska Federation of Natives, is characterized by a fragile alignment of Alaska's indigenous

ethno-racial groups. One important consequence of this historical fragmentation is that Alaska Native individuals usually deal with the larger Caucasian system on an individual basis rather than a group basis. This makes it very difficult for the individual Alaska Native to successfully manipulate or gain anything from the larger Caucasian system.

Eskimo-Black interaction is almost nonexistent. In my opinion, this is primarily because of the racial prejudice of Eskimos against Blacks. This prejudice seems to have been developed in Village Alaska where, paradoxically, there are few to no Blacks. One possible explanation for this village-based prejudice is that the schools could have been staffed by teachers who were prejudiced against Blacks. In Anchorage, this prejudice is quite overt. Vocal terms like "nigger," a special derogatory term in Yuit for Blacks, etc., are used, or obvious avoidance behavior is employed.

Male Caucasians are incorporated into an individual's network of social associations on the basis of sociability. Social associations between female Caucasians and either male or female Eskimos were an infrequent occurrence.

In critical or crisis situations, two principles are commonly and often, simultaneously activated--kinship and the generalized helping agent. For many Eskimos, there is the expectation that in a time of need, one's kinsmen should and would help. The most common situations involve housing and money. While this parallels a traditional Eskimo practice, there are many alterations

to its activation in Anchorage. First and foremost, the traditional principle of reciprocity does not underlie the provision of assistance. Generally, the assistance is based on inequality between a "have" and a "have not" with the former fully realizing that he or she will seldom have need to call upon the "have not" for assistance. Secondly, the assistance request is usually initiated by the "have not" and the "have," more reluctantly than freely, gives it. Third, the assistance is usually of a temporary rather than long term nature. With widespread kinship networks, the economic burden of assisting one's kinsmen visiting or living in Anchorage can be severe. Many Eskimos, although not the majority, take great pains not to have their addresses or phone numbers made public so as to avoid having to fulfill kinship obligations and suffer the attendant personal and economic consequences.

The generalized helping agent is first approached in times of need usually on the basis of the agency's function rather than on the basis of familiarity with a specific agent. For example, if you need medical attention at the Anchorage Native Medical Center, you interact with whatever medical person is there at the time. The role of these agents will be examined further in Chapter 5.

Membership in Formal Associations

The data regarding Eskimo membership in formal associations are presented in Table 16. There are no significant membership differences based on age, sex, marital status, or region.

As the data clearly indicate, the Anchorage Eskimo, particularly the younger Eskimo, is not formally linked to the larger Anchorage urban system. Thus, the Eskimo is linked and adapts to the larger urban system on an individual rather than associational basis.

Table 16

Anchorage Eskimo Membership in Formal Associations By Sex

Number	Sex						
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
None	69.7	69.8	79.3	61.8	69.6	72.5	66.1
One	18.1	15.9	10.3	20.6	19.2	18.8	19.6
Two or More	12.2	14.3	10.3	17.6	11.2	8.7	14.3
Total:	100.0 N=188	100.0 n-63	99.9 n=29	100.0 n=34	100.0 n=125	100.0 n=69	100.0 n=56

There are two primary reasons why Eskimos tend not to join formal associations in Anchorage. The first relates to the basically nonorganizational nature of Village society. The second relates to the purpose and compostion of the formal associations in Anchorage, particularly the Alaska Native organizations.

An Eskimo from Village Alaska enters Anchorage with somewhat

of a paradoxical framework for relating to formal organizations. In Village Alaska, permanent formal organizations, except those recently formed by the Alaska Native Land Claims legislation, simply do not fulfill many adaptive functions. For example, church or parent-teacher associations are generally impotent organizations created and maintained by Caucasians. Thus, on the one hand, the formal organizations that are familiar to Anchorage Eskimos are not viewed as important in their day-to-day existence. On the other hand, the Village Eskimo fully recognizes the subsistence need for periodic organizations beyond kinship. These organizations can be formally structured like a whaling crew, or informally structured like a bird drive. Participation in these organizations generally is voluntary and is premised on the assumption that mutual cooperation will result in mutual gain. Usually, these organizations are only seasonally activated. In the context of the annual cycle of activities, they are less important than the pattern of the Eskimo interacting with the environment on an individual or extended kin basis. This paradox of apathy toward known formal organizations and the recognition of the need for cooperative group effort, in my opinion, leads the Anchorage Eskimo to view many formal associations as being nonfunctional; simultaneously, it provides an untapped potential for Eskimo organization in Anchorage. The reasons why this potential has not been realized seems due to the purpose and composition of formal associations in Anchorage.

Like any other large urban center in the United States, Anchorage has a multitude of formal organizations ranging from special interest organizations to those with community wide appeal. In general, these organizations or associations are permanent groups which are structured according to a standardized by-law format. Regular meetings are held and the procedures operate according to standard parliamentary guidelines. While this "western" organizational emphasis is not the primary reason why Eskimos do not participate in these organizations, it certainly is not an approach that is consistent with Eskimo emphasis on informal, consensual decision making. As an older Village Eskimo stated after attending a Rural Community Action Agency meeting: "This is not the way we (Eskimos) do things."

In order to discuss the formal organizations in Anchorage, it is necessary to separate them into those which are ethnically titled and those which are not. In the former category, there are three associations: the Alaska Federation of Natives, the Alaska Native Brotherhood, and the Cook Inlet Native Association. The latter category is a residual category and will not be elaborated upon as few Anchorage Eskimos participate in nonethnic associations.

The Alaska Federation of Natives (A.F.N.) is a statewide organization which was created to resolve the Alaska Native Land Claims dispute. Its central administration structure is located in Anchorage. In addition to the land claims activities, it has broadened its activities to include on-job training programs,

education, etc., but, during this research, it was primarily concerned with the pending land claims legislation. In terms of meetings or direct organizational benefits, it was not a presence in Anchorage. While every individual in the sample was eligible for membership in the A.F.N., only 29 or 15.3 percent were enrolled members. Since this research was undertaken during the incipient presettlement period, which was characterized by a lack of knowledge on the part of many Alaska Natives as to what the A.F.N. was doing, this low membership rate indicates a lack of knowledge rather than a lack of concern about the Alaska Native Land Claims.

The Alaska Native Brotherhood (A.N.B.) is an organization that originated in Southeastern Alaska among Tlinget Indians. While its membership is open to the general public, its members are overwhelmingly Southeastern Alaska Natives. Only one Eskimo individual belonged to this organization. The lack of Eskimo membership in the A.N.B. stems from the fact that most Eskimos view the A.N.B. as an organization for Southeastern Alaska Natives.

The Cook Inlet Native Association (C.I.N.A.) is considered by itself and the general public to be the organization which represents Anchorage Alaska Natives. Its membership is composed of individuals from the various indigenous groups within Alaska as well as interested Caucasians and Blacks. Subsequent to this research, the C.I.N.A. was designated as the official regional association to represent Anchorage Natives in the land claims settlement.

While the C.I.N.A. was indeed the most widely based Native

association in Anchorage, it did not attract many Eskimos. Only 10 or 5.3 percent of the interviewees belonged to the C.I.N.A. While the genesis of the Eskimo noninvolvement in the C.I.N.A. and other associations lies in the overall Eskimo pattern of individuality rather than organizationalism, there are other reasons specific to Anchorage that account for this noninvolvement. The most basic reason is that the C.I.N.A. is more concerned with public social activities than it is with the concrete problems of the Anchorage Native population. For example, the focus of the first meeting I attended, one of the few I attended after seeing little to no Eskimo participation in the organization, was the awarding of a scholarship to its annual beauty queen. In addition to the Queen Pageant, the C.I.N.A. sponsored a fashion luncheon at one of Anchorage's most prestigious hotels, a float in the annual Fur Rendezvous parade, and occasional bingo games. In all fairness to the C.I.N.A., it did operate a successful program for bussing Alaska Native children to the Anchorage Native Medical Center for dental checkups. In sum, I find it hard to disagree with a young militant Eskimo member of the short-lived Native Action Group who characterized the C.I.N.A. as ". . . nothing but a large social club."

Another reason for the Eskimo noninvolvement in the C.I.N.A. is the membership structure of the C.I.N.A. In most cases, the C.I.N.A. Native membership is composed of individuals who would be considered by the Anchorage public, and probably by themselves,

more as middle class members of Anchorage society than as Alaska Natives. Indeed, it seems the C.I.N.A. exists more to "validate the acculturation" (Broom and Kitsuse 1957) of its membership than to assist other Alaska Native individuals in adapting to Anchorage.

Of the thirty-one individuals (16.3) belonging to nonethnic groups or associations, nine belonged to associations involving recreational pursuits, five belonged to groups associated with religious institutions, twelve belonged to special interest groups such as the P.T.A. or employment associations, and only five belonged to organizations concerned with community problems of interest to the majority of the Anchorage Eskimo population.

In addition to the previously mentioned reasons for non-involvement, there are other reasons that range from "I hate to get involved" to "They haven't asked me to attend." Since most of the formal associations in Anchorage, particularly those concerned with adaptive problems, are dominated by vocal Caucasians, it is simply very difficult for an Eskimo to voluntarily seekout and participate in a formal association without encouragement. In part, this difficulty is attributable to an Eskimo cultural penchant for reticence and unobtrusiveness.

Formal Institutional Affiliation

The formal institutional affiliation of the Anchorage Eskimos is confined to religious institutions. Eighty-two percent expressed a specific religious preference. Generally, the religious

preferences tend more to mirror the agreed-to historical domains of organized religion in Village Alaska than the popularity of any one organized religion. For example, Catholicism on the lower Yukon River or Swedish Covenant on the Norton Sound.

The frequency with which Eskimos attend religious ceremonies in Anchorage, indicated in Table 17, will be elaborated on in the next chapter. Suffice to state that religious preference is not equivalent to frequent religious attendance.

Table 17

Frequency of Attendance at Religious Ceremonies By Sex

Frequency	Sex					
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE	
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
Never Attend	23.0	27.9	28.6	27.3	20.5	17.9	23.6
Occasional Attendance (less than once a month)	41.0	39.3	50.0	30.3	41.8	46.3	36.4
Frequent Attendance (at least once a month	36.1	32.8	21.4	42.4	37.7	35.8	40.0
Total:	100.1 N=183	100.0 n=61	100.0 n=28	100.0 n=33	100.0 n=122	100.0 n=67	100.0 n=55

ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS

This section describes four categories related to the Anchorage Eskimos' economic condition: level of formal education, access to information channels, income level, and level of employment.

Level of Formal Education

While it is not the intent of this dissertation to reexamine the educational system in Village Alaska (see: Ray, Ryan, and Parker 1962; Collier 1973; et. al.), the data in Table 18 clearly indicate its abysmal results.

Table 18

Levels of Formal Education By Sex

		Sex					
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
Less than Grade 8	17.2	14.5	10.7	17.6	18.5	8.7	30.9
Eighth Grade	9.7	11.3	3.6	17.6	8.9	8.7	9.1
Some High School	29.6	27.4	32.1	23.5	30.6	29.0	32.7
High School Diploma	31.7	30.6	32.1	29.4	32.3	40.6	21.8
Some College	9.7	11.3	17.9	5.9	8.9	11.6	5.5
College Degree	2.2	4.8	3.6	5.9	.8	1.4	-
Mean Years	10.2	10.7	11.1	10.3	9.9	10.8	8.8
Total:	100.1 N=186	99.9 n=62	100.0 n=28	99.9 n=34	100.0 n=124	100.0 n=69	100.0 n=55

In a "western" urban system, such as Anchorage, a high school diploma is almost a prerequisite for employment. However, 56.5 percent of the Anchorage Eskimos have not completed high school. In the service oriented economy of Anchorage which requires a college degree for most administrative positions, only 2.2 percent of the Anchorage Eskimos have such a degree. While the median level of education of the Anchorage Eskimo is most certainly higher than that of the total State Eskimo population, it is less than the total Anchorage population's high school-plus level.

The only significant difference in educational levels is based on age. The younger the individual, the more formal education that will have been completed. In part, this reflects not only the improvement of the education system in Village Alaska, but also the degree of culture change that has taken place in Village Alaska. In the more traditional Eskimo society, there was little pragmatic value to formal education. The 30-39 age group, especially females, seems to reflect the traditional disdain for formal education as much as it reflects the past neglect of governmental education programs in Village Alaska. On a few occasions, members of this age group stated one of the reasons they were living in Anchorage, aside from employment considerations, was that they wanted their children to receive a good education. Implicit in their reasoning was the fact that they might have suffered from not having an adequate education.

Even though there are practically unlimited opportunities

for vocational training in Alaska, only 37.9 percent (48.6 percent of the males and 32.5 percent of the females) had any vocational training. The majority of this training lasted less than one year. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was the most frequent sponsor of vocational training. The most frequent vocational training was that of practical nursing.

Becuase of the emphasis on the necessity of a high school education throughout Alaska, education will be examined further in Chapter 4.

Access to Information Channels

In a media-oriented urban system like Anchorage, access to information channels or communication linkages is important for learning about job opportunities, contacting potential employers, purchasing items on sale, etc. Given the Anchorage communication network, an informed prioritization of the most necessary communication channels would be: motor vehicle, newspaper, telephone, television, and radio. The actual distribution of these channels among the Anchorage Eskimo population is practically in direct opposition to the ideal distribution: radio (92.6), television (87.2), telephone (68.9), motor vehicle (68.3), and daily newspaper (66.1).

A continuum of communication integration was constructed according to the presence and absence of the five communication channels. This continuum is displayed in Table 19. The one pole,

isolation, reflects the absence of any of the communication channels while the other pole, integration, reflects the presence of all the communication channels.

Table 19

Communication Integration By Sex

Degree	Sex						
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
Isolation-0	4.3	11.1	13.8	8.8	.8	-	1.8
1	2.7	3.2	6.9	-	2.4	4.3	-
2	12.8	12.7	10.3	14.7	12.9	15.9	9.1
3	9.6	9.5	6.9	11.8	9.7	11.6	7.3
4	25.7	20.6	20.7	20.6	28.2	30.4	25.5
Integration-5	44.9	42.9	41.4	44.1	46.0	37.7	56.4
Total:	100.0 N=187	100.0 n=63	100.0 n=29	100.0 n=34	100.0 n=124	99.9 n=69	100.1 n=55

It is evident from the data in Table 19 that the Anchorage Eskimo is moderately well-linked to the Anchorage communication system. Forty-four point nine percent hall all five communication channels and another 25.7 percent have four channels. Individuals from the Northwest are significantly more linked than individuals from the Southwest, females more than males, and married individuals

more than non-married individuals. However, it is necessary to emphasize that these channels only provide access to information. The individual Eskimo may be reluctant or unable to act on the information because of individual concerns and/or restraints imposed by the external setting.

Income Level

This section exclusively focuses on those individuals who actually received a usual monthly income. These individuals were 56.3 percent of the total population. Temporarily ignored by this category are individuals with access to income but who are not actual recipients of income because they are either dependent housewives (23.7) or unspecified joint contributors to a household's income (7.9). For a variety of reasons, 12.1 percent could or would not estimate their usual monthly income.

For descriptive purposes, the usual monthly income was converted to an usual annual income. Table 20 indicates the usual annual income of the Anchorage Eskimo.

It is important to note that for all possible categories, the income of males significantly exceeds that of females, and the income of married individuals is significantly higher than that of non-married individuals.

At first glance, the income level of the Anchorage Eskimo might seem to be moderately high. However, when adjusted for the Anchorage cost of living index, these levels take on a different

Table 20

Anchorage Eskimo Usual Annual Income By Sex

Income	TOTAL	Sex: MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
Less than $5,400	41.1	19.6	13.6	24.1	60.9	68.6	47.6
$5,400 to $10,788	44.9	51.0	63.6	41.4	39.3	31.4	52.4
More than $10,800	14.0	29.4	22.7	34.5	-	-	-
Median	$4,944	$8,100	$7,200	$9,000	$4,500	$4,140	$4,860
Total:	100.0 N=107	100.0 n=51	99.9 n=22	100.0 n=29	100.0 n=56	100.0 n=35	100.0 n=21

meaning. Among the metropolitan areas of the United States, Anchorage consistently ranks as the most expensive place in which to live. The expensiveness of Anchorage is most apparent in the average amount of income required by a family of four to live at low, moderate, or high standards of living. Utilizing the cost of living data for 1969 and 1970 (Anchorage Daily Times, September 9, 1969:1 and December 23, 1970:1), it is possible to approximate the income required to maintain a certain standard of living and to then compare the Anchorage Eskimos' income with this approximation. This comparison is presented in Table 21.

Table 21

Standard of Living Income Levels Compared to Anchorage Eskimo Income Levels: 1969-70

Standard of Living	Required Annual Income	Eskimo Percent
Less than Lo-lower	less than $8,092	64.5
Lo-lower	$ 8,092	8.4
Low	$ 9,969	13.1
Upper Lower-Low Moderate	$11,846	5.7
Moderate	$13,723	3.7
Upper Moderate-Low Higher	$16,251	.9
High	$18,778	3.7
		100.0
		n=107

As the preceding data indicate, the Eskimo, as an income recipient with an average household size of five, clearly is in a disadvantageous position in the Anchorage market place. With 64.5 percent earning less than is necessary to maintain a lo-lower standard of living, it is not difficult to conclude that, in general, the Eskimo's adaptation to Anchorage, when viewed exclusively in an income framework, has been unsuccessful. This conclusion is further substantiated by comparing the 1969 median household income in Anchorage of $12,848 (Anchorage Daily Times April 7, 1969:22) with that of the Eskimo population as displayed in Table 20. The overall Eskimo median income is less than 50 percent of the average Anchorage income. Even though the male Eskimos 30 through 39 have the highest Eskimo median income, it is still 30 percent below the Anchorage average.

While there are many possible explanations for the marginal amount of income received by most Anchorage Eskimos, the primary explanation is that Eskimos simply occupy low-paying jobs. Of those stating their sources of income, 86.2 percent received income from employment related activities. Contrary to popular opinion, only 7.8 percent received income that could be classified as governmental welfare or child support, and only 1.7 percent were currently receiving unemployment compensation.

Level of Employment

Within the Anchorage Eskimo population, there is an active labor force of 118 individuals (62.1 percent of the total population),

i.e., these individuals are either employed or are seeking employment. The data regarding the employment status of these individuals are presented in Table 22.

Table 22

Employment Status By Sex

Status	Sex						
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
Underemployed	38.1	37.9	36.0	39.4	38.3	48.5	25.9
a. part-time or temporary employment	(6.7)	(3.4)	(4.0)	(3.0)	(10.0)	(12.1)	(7.4)
b. unemployed	(31.4)	(34.5)	(32.0)	(36.4)	(28.3)	(36.4)	(18.5)
Employed Full-Time	61.9	62.1	64.0	60.6	61.7	51.5	74.1
Total:	100.0 N=118	100.0 n=58	100.0 n=25	100.0 n=33	100.0 n=60	100.0 n=33	100.0 n=27

Prior to discussing the employment of Eskimos in Anchorage, it is necessary to emphasize that one's sex, age, marital status, or region of origin does not make a significant impact on whether or not the individual is employed or underemployed.

The most revealing employment statistic is the underemployment rate of 38.1 percent. While these data were not seasonally adjusted, the interviews took place continuously so the impact of seasonal

unemployment, which is very important in Alaska, is minimized in this data. By simply utilizing the 31.4 percent unemployment rate, it can be shown that the Eskimo unemployment rate is four times greater than the 7.9 percent rate of the total Anchorage population (Chapter 2). Additionally, 54.7 percent of the workforce were unemployed at least once during the previous calendar year.

Given the fact that the only factor significantly associated with employment was a commitment to permanence and that having a high school diploma, going to a vocational training program, or living in Anchorage for a specific length of time were not significantly associated with an individual's employment status (see Appendix B), the explanation for the very high rate of Eskimo unemployment seems not be within the Eskimo population but, rather, it resides within the external setting of Anchorage itself.

In Chapter 2, the lack of data regarding Alaska Native employment in Anchorage was examined. It was then explained that this lack of data made it impossible to conclusively determine which, if any, employment sectors were discriminatory in their hiring practices, i.e., the nonhiring of individuals for reasons not immediately related to the performance of a particular job.

If, as I strongly suspect, Eskimos are discriminated against in the Anchorage labor market simply because they are Eskimos, there are four particular hiring criteria that might be utilized to facilitate the nonemployment of Eskimos: work experience records, credentialism, written tests, and background records.

Presumably, a work experience record is an indicator of a person's employment stability and performance. However, for an Eskimo migrant who has no formal work record because there are few formal work opportunities in Village Alaska, he or she is automatically at a disadvantage in the competitive job market. Thus, the job can be denied because of a lack of work experience. Also, among some employers, there is the feeling that Eskimos and other Alaska Natives are unreliable workers who cannot be counted upon to appear regularly for work. While it is true there are unreliable Alaska Natives, just as there are unreliable Caucasians, this commonly accepted generalization neglects two important facts. First, the vast majority of Alaska Natives are reliable employees. Secondly, absenteeism may relate more to an Alaska Native perception of why one works than as an indicator of unreliability. For many Alaska Natives, work is not an end in and of itself, nor is it carried out for long-range future accumulation. It often is simply a short-term means to other immediate ends.

A second potential discriminatory device is credentialism, i.e., the individual, irrespective of other qualifications, is required to have a certain credential before being considered for employment. Although there are many able Anchorage Eskimos with a vast amount of experiential knowledge, these individuals are often denied employment because they lack a certain credential. For example, 56.5 percent do not have a high school diploma, a prerequisite for obtaining many other credentials.

A third and complex device which is potentially discriminatory is the written test requirement. Many job openings in Anchorage, especially those in the governmental sector, require the applicant to pass a written test prior to being considered for employment. This raises two questions:

1. To what extent is the content of the written test related to the performance of a particular job; and,

2. To what extent is the written test culturally skewed?

If the written test material is not related to the performance of a particular job but merely relates to general knowledge, one could argue that it discriminates against individuals lacking general knowledge. If one assumes that general knowledge is acquired by participating in the formal educational system, the Eskimos' low level of formal educational attainment could result in a poor performance on written tests stressing general knowledge.

If the written tests are culturally skewed, i.e., oriented toward a particular cultural set, one could argue that nonmembers of the particular cultural set are discriminated against. Since most of the written tests are related to the larger, western system, Eskimos, as marginal members of the western system, may well be discriminated against.

The final discriminatory area, personal background, is an all embracive category. Of particular import for Eskimos is the requirement for many jobs that the applicant not have a police

record. For example, one arrest for public drunkenness constitutes a police record. As I intend to demonstrate in Chapter 5, Alaska Natives are selectively arrested for being Drunk-In-Public, and because of this selectivity, they are then selectively discriminated against in obtaining certain jobs. Additional factors in this category can include sex, physical characteristics, language fluency, drinking habits, etc., that are not necessarily related to the ability to perform well on a given job.

In light of the previous conditions for employment that are operative in the Anchorage labor market, it is not surprising that a large number of Eskimos are unemployed. Also, for those Eskimos who are employed, it is equally not surprising that the majority (66.6) are employed in unskilled or semi-skilled positions. Unskilled positions (17.3) were considered as jobs that required no prior preparation and which did not lead to a marketable growth in skills over time; for example, a maid or dishwasher. Semi-skilled positions (49.3) were those jobs which could be learned by experience on the job and which did not necessarily require a credential prior to employment; for example, painter or postal clerk. Skilled postions (28.0) were those jobs which generally required a formal credential prior to employment; for example, a licensed practical nurse. Professional positions (5.3) were those positions requiring a college or professional degree; for example, an elementary school teacher. While these job categories are arbitrary designations, they tend to reflect the types of jobs open to and occupied by Eskimos in Anchorage.

CONCLUSION

In focusing on selective characteristics of the Anchorage Eskimo population, this chapter has attempted to provide an overview of the Eskimos' existence in Anchorage.

Although the Anchorage Eskimo population, ages 20 through 39, is a recently arrived migrant population, it is primarily a permanent, as opposed to transient, population. In general, the population is composed more of females than males, and more of individuals from Northwest Alaska than Southwest Alaska.

Most of the Anchorage Eskimos migrated to and continue to reside in Anchorage because of employment opportunities either for themselves or their spouses. However, for a sizeable portion of the population, these employment aspirations have not been fulfilled in the Anchorage labor market. Those individuals who did find employment in Anchorage tend to occupy low-paying, unskilled, or semi-skilled positions. This contributes to the fact that the majority of the Eskimo income recipients are unable to maintain even a lo-lower standard of living in Anchorage.

Primarily because of income-related considerations, most Anchorage Eskimos live in those residential areas that are characterized by high density, low income, and a concentration of Non-White population. Most of these residents are married individuals who have established separate nuclear families. A large proportion of these individuals, particularly females, are married to Caucasians.

While most Eskimos have sufficient communication linkages with the larger Anchorage system, the vast majority tends to interact within and adapt to Anchorage on a solitary vis-a-vis group or associational basis. Few Eskimos are members of formal associations or active participants in larger institutions.

In sum, the migrant Eskimo exists, at best, on the periphery of the Anchorage urban system. The specific adaptation patterns which reflect this peripheral existence will be examined in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

ANCHORAGE ESKIMO ADAPTATION PATTERNS

The previously presented data regarding the vast complexity of the Anchorage urban system (Chapter 2) and the variability in the characteristics of the Anchorage Eskimo population (Chapter 3) strongly suggest that the adaptive patterns of the Anchorage Eskimos may not be uniform.

The intent of this chapter is to describe the various ways Alaska Eskimos, ages 20 through 39, have adapted to the urban system of Anchorage. Specifically, it attempts to develop four statistically derived adaptation patterns from three induced or observed adaptive patterns.

To reiterate, it is assumed that the external setting of Anchorage, a composite of several public and private situations, directly and/or indirectly influences the behavior of individuals within that setting. When an Eskimo migrant enters the external setting of Anchorage, this type of orientation is concerned with the ways in which the individual's behavior fits into and/or is fitted into the external setting (Mitchell 1966:38). For example, John, a young, single Eskimo from the Southwest, had moved to Anchorage after completing a twelve-week vocational training program in refrigeration. His primary concern was finding a job. He had an unblemished personal background, a high school degree,

and a good knowledge of refrigeration. For a month, he daily canvassed the Anchorage job market until he had "worn out one pair of shoes" and was rapidly wearing out another. As his meager savings were spent and no job prospects forthcoming, one could observe John literally being transformed from a self-confident, trained individual into a dubious, frustrated person simply trying to survive in Anchorage. He began to spend a considerable amount of time in bars and, simultaneously, he began to devalue his abilities. In the end, John left Anchorage for Village Alaska; more properly, the esternal setting of Anchorage, with its job market, requirements related to money, etc., forced John out of Anchorage.

However, many Eskimo individuals are unlike John in that they choose to remain in Anchorage and by doing so, they implicitly "fit into" and/or are "fitted into" the Anchorage urban system. The question then is how to describe these adaptation patterns.

INDUCED ADAPTATION PATTERNS

Since Anchorage is a complex social system and the process of adaptation is equally complex, an attempt was made to narrow the scope of this study to the domain of public situations, i.e., those situations in which interaction was usually on nonkinship basis.

As the fieldwork for this dissertation progressed, I was constantly confronted by individual cases that caused me to reconsider what I previously had thought might be an acceptable framework

for describing the Eskimo adaptation patterns. Toward the end of the fieldwork phase of this research and in the absence of any analyzed statistical data, I abstracted three general adaptation patterns that, for the most part, applied equally to both males and females.

The pattern that I was most familiar with, probably because it was the most visible, can be described as a "survival" pattern. It was demonstrated by individuals who had problems in adequately adapting to Anchorage in that they seldom had adequate funds, employment, regular housing, etc. Because of these difficulties, they were more oriented toward day-to-day physical survival than they were to long-range improvements in their status. Thus, most of their behavior was based on satisfying exigent needs. This behavior pattern embraced a wide range of survival strategies. For example, begging, going to jail, or entering into temporary sexual liasons. More often than not, these individuals were habitues of the Fourth Avenue bar area. Generally, these individuals were non-married and it seemed that there were more males than females in this category.

The second major pattern can be termed the "success" pattern. I was the least familiar with this pattern because the people displaying this pattern were relatively "invisible" in Anchorage. This "invisibility" is a consequence of two factors: the number and characteristics of the individuals displaying this pattern. There are very few individuals displaying this pattern

and those that did display it had a life style resembling, at least from external appearnaces, that of the average Anchorage dweller. These individuals had full-time jobs that paid well, good housing, etc., which tended to integrate them into the Anchorage socio-physical landscapte. For example, Ann was a younger Eskimo woman married to an Alaska Native with a full-time, well-paying job. They had built a large home in a "good" residential area. They associated with both Caucasians and other Alaska Natives, but seldom in the Fourth Avenue area. They participated in some of the Cook Inlet Native Association's activities, but did not belong to other formal associations. They were concerned about the adaptation problems of Eskimos in Anchorage, but it was more the concern of an outsider looking in, rather than an insider looking out. In sum, they had successfully adapted to the Anchorage urban system according to the terms of the Anchorage system. Like Ann, most individuals in this category are married individuals.

One of the main reasons for the stereotyping of Eskimos in Anchorage is that individuals in the "success" pattern are only visible to their neighbors, friends, or fellow employees. They are not "street people" nor are they the subject of media accounts.

The last general pattern is difficult to label and even more difficult to describe. For lack of a better term, it will be considered as the "pressure" pattern. The individuals in this pattern are, to some extent, economically integrated into the Anchorage system in that they or their spouses tend to be employed.

Their interaction patterns are both public and private, and involve both Caucasians and other Alaska Natives. There appear to be no disproportionate distinctions in this pattern based on age, sex, or marital status.

The distinction between this pattern and the success pattern seems to be in the area of public social behavior. Individuals in the "success" pattern are relatively conservative in their public social behavior. Individuals in the "pressure" pattern seem to vary from public conservatism to public excessiveness. In many ways, this pattern resembles social schizophrenia--periodic drinking periods, periodic suicide threats, or periodic public disputes, along with periods of moderate or nondrinking, and periods of personal stability. If there is an enigma in Eskimo adaptation patterns, it is this pattern. Both the survival and success patterns are explainable, for the most part, by degrees of integration into the Anchorage system; the pressure pattern is not. It seems reasonable to view individuals in this pattern as individuals who are adapting to, rather than simply surviving in Anchorage, but who are having difficulty in doing so.

Although these induced categories accurately describe the gross adaptation patterns of the Anchorage Eskimos, they fail to account sufficiently for the variation associated with these patterns and the distribution of these patterns within the Anchorage Eskimo population. The utilization of complementary, statistically-derived adaptation patterns is intended to remedy these deficiencies and

thereby provide an added dimension for understanding the Eskimos' adaptation to Anchorage.

DERIVED ADAPTATION PATTERNS

While the concept of adaptation was extensively discussed in Chapter 1, it has yet to be operationalized in that empirical indicators of adaptation have not been provided. As with many broad social science concepts, adaptation proves difficult to operationalize; indeed, any operationalization of such a concept, in part at least, is an arbitrary procedure on the part of the researcher.

The foundation for operationalizing adaptation resulted from a selective review of the literature related to acculturation, assimilation, adaptation, and urban migration. Epstein (1967), Germani (1965), Gordon (1964), Mayer (1962), Mitchell (1966), Peterson and Scheff (1965), and Shannon and Shannon (1967) were particularly useful sources. This literature foundation was then coupled with my personal knowledge of Anchorage and Alaska Eskimos in order to operationalize the concept of adaptation. The questions of the structured-interview guide (Appendix A) reflect the operationalization of adaptation.

In general, adaptation will be considered as a two dimensional concept. The first dimension concerns itself with empirical evidence of Eskimos having participated in selective external structures of the Anchorage urban system. For this

dimension, the term structural adaptation will be employed.

The second dimension concerns itself with the Eskimos' own general evaluation of life in Anchorage. For this dimension, the term perceptual adaptation will be employed.

Before discussing each of these dimensions, it is necessary to reiterate that there need be no congruity between the level of structural adaptation and the level of perceptual adaptation.

Structural Adaptation

Indicators of structural adaptation. To derive indicators of structural adaptation that were both manageable and illustrative, several possible indicators were narrowed down to seven indicators: communication integration, income level, employment status, associational membership, type of residential occupancy, intensity of agency utilization, and voter participation.

In general, each of these indicators relates to the actual or potential performance of a role in public structural situations and, as such, they indicate the individual's degree of structural adaptation to the larger Anchorage system.

The degree of communication integration (Table 19) was selected as an indicator of structural adaptation as being linked to Anchorage's information network affords the Eskimo access to more knowledge of other structural features of the external setting and more awareness of appropriate behavioral blueprints associated

with these features. It is assumed that the greater the number of communication links, the higher the level of structural adaptation.

The level of income (Table 20) was a more obvious indicator of structural adaptation in that the esternal setting of Anchorage functions by income transactions. To a great degree, one's level of income determines one's housing, diet, clothing style, etc. Without income, it is almost impossible for an individual to survive in, let alone adapt to, Anchorage. It is assumed that the greater the income, the higher the level of structural adaptation.

The importance of employment (Table 22) in the adaptation process is twofold: first, it provides a source of income for the necessities of existence, and secondly, it indicates that one has been able to participate in probably the most crucial external structure of an urban system--the economic structure. It is assumed that an employed individual has a higher level of structural adaptation than an underemployed individual.

Membership in formal associations (Table 16) was selected as an indicator of structural adaptation in that such membership is a voluntary extension of the individual's social involvement beyond the immediacy of kinship and friendship relationships, i.e., it indicates participation in the larger urban system. It is assumed that the more associational memberships, the higher the level of structural adaptation.

When an Eskimo moves to Anchorage, he or she must locate a dwelling place if physical survival, let alone adaptation, is to

occur. Residential occupancy (page 77) was considered as an indicator of structural adaptation because it describes how the individual has adjusted to the Anchorage housing market. It is assumed that the buyer-status, renter-status, and stayer-status, in descending order, indicate levels of structural adaptation.

While the role of service agencies in the adaptation process will be discussed in the next chapter, the usage of service agencies was selected as a negative indicator of structural adaptation. Individuals relying on service agencies tended to be individuals having problems in structurally adapting to the Anchorage system. It is assumed that individuals not relying on service agencies will be the most structurally adapted. Table 23 indicates the degree to which Anchorage Eskimos utilized twenty, nonhealth related, popular service agencies.

Table 23

Usage of Service Agencies By Sex

Usage	Sex						
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
Intensive	38.4	54.7	55.2	54.3	30.2	31.9	28.1
Moderate	40.5	28.1	31.0	25.7	46.8	42.0	52.6
None	21.1	17.2	13.8	20.0	23.0	26.1	19.3
Total:	100.0 N=190	100.0 n=64	100.0 n=29	100.0 n=35	100.0 n=126	100.0 n=69	100.0 n=57

Moderate agency usage ranges from using one agency occasionally up to using one agency frequently and another occasionally. Intensive agency usage indicates the use of four or more agencies on an occasional basis, two or more agencies on a frequent basis, or one agency on a frequent basis and two or more on an occasional basis.

It is evident that, in terms of service agency usage or reliance, Eskimos have not adapted well to the Anchorage external setting. Only 21.1 percent have not relied upon one of the twenty agencies, while a very large percentage (38.4) have intensively utilized the service agencies. It is important to note that females and married individuals significantly are less reliant upon service agencies. In part, this reflects the large number of dependent housewives who are not in need of and/or eligible for agency services.

The selection of voter participation as an indicator of structural adaptation assumes that when an individual voluntarily votes in Anchorage, that individual is expressing an interest in the decision-making process of the larger external setting. Unlike Village Alaska, voting in Anchorage is not physically easy, does not involve a personal acquaintance with a candidate, and there is little to no social pressure to vote. It is assumed that the greater the degree of voter participation, the higher the level of structural adaptation.

The degree of voter participation, as shown in Table 24,

was established by whether or not the individual voted in the 1968 State Primary Election, the 1968 National Election, and the last City-Borough Election. In support of selecting voter participation as an indicator of structural adaptation, the intensity of Eskimo voting patterns varied indirectly with the socio-physical distance from the decision-making unit--46.8 percent voted in the National Election, 39.9 percent voted in the State Primary, and only 16.6 percent voted in the last local election.

Table 24

Degree of Voter Participation By Sex

Degree	Sex						
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
Maximum	14.0	25.4	17.2	32.4	8.1	3.0	14.3
Moderate	21.5	19.0	20.7	17.6	22.8	22.4	23.2
Minimum	16.7	11.1	10.3	11.8	19.5	17.9	21.4
None	47.8	44.4	51.7	38.2	49.6	56.7	41.1
Total:	100.0 N=186	99.9 n=63	99.9 n=29	100.0 n=34	100.0 n=123	100.0 n=67	100.0 n=56

The data in Table 24 clearly indicate that approximately two-thirds of the Anchorage Eskimo population have little to no interest in the selection of decision makers for the larger external

settings--city, state, and nation. The fact that males, older individuals, and married individuals had a significantly higher degree of voter participation reaffirms the general lack of interest in selecting decision makers as these individuals all have a greater stake in the external setting. For example, males are more affected by employment policy decisions, older individuals have fewer alternatives, and married individuals have a higher economic dependency ratio. Each of these groups seem to be more aware of the influence of government upon their daily lives.

Continuum of structural adaptation. In this and the preceding chapter, the seven indicators of structural adaptation were examined separately. It was demonstrated that the Eskimo was less than successful in structurally adapting to the external setting of Anchorage when separately measured by his or her level of income, employment status, membership in formal associations, and independence from service agencies. A moderate degree of structural adaptation was achieved in terms of communication integration, housing occupancy, and voter participation. For these separate indicators, sex and marital status were the most important sources of variation. For most indicators, married individuals were more structurally adapted than non-married individuals and, with the exception of income level, females tended to be more structurally adapted than males.

However, considered separately, these indicators do not account for the variation or distribution of a composite structural

adaptation pattern among the Anchorage Eskimo population. Thus, I constructed a simple continuum of structural adaptation that, to some extent, mirrors the patterns of adaptation that I induced during the fieldwork phase of this research--survival, pressure, and success patterns.

Because of data coding and manipulation problems, the continuum was not constructed according to any sophisticated scaling technique. Rather, most of the indicators were trichotomized and points were assigned on a 1 to 6.5 basis. The point assignment schema (Appendix C) does attempt to give more importance to two indicators that, based on field data, are of crucial importance in the adaptation process--income level and employment status. The importance of these two indicators is not ignored by the Eskimos themselves. The two, most frequently mentioned problems in Anchorage were employment opportunities (23.1 percent) and drinking (35.8 percent), a situation which, in part, is a result of a lack of employment and/or income.

The minimum and maximum scores on the continuum are ideal types representing the least and highest possible degrees of structural adaptation. The least structurally adapted individual would be a person who was isolated from the Anchorage communication network, underemployed, staying in a residence, receiving an income less than $5,388 per year, not a member of a formal association, heavily relying on service agencies, and not participating in the voting process. At the highest pole, the person would be employed

full-time, earning more than $10,800 annually, buying a home, belonging to two or more formal associations, not relying on a service agency, totally integrated into the Anchorage communication network, and quite active in the political voting process. In that the highest level approximates, what I would term, the average Anchorage level, the continuum is more useful in understanding the variations in the levels of Eskimo structural adaptation than it is in comparing Eskimo adaptation to the adaptation of the general Anchorage population. Table 25 portrays these levels of Eskimo structural adaptation.

Table 25

Continuum of Eskimo Structural Adaptation By Sex

Level		Sex					
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
One--Lowest	17.8	23.6	29.6	17.9	15.1	19.4	9.6
Two	40.2	23.6	29.6	17.9	47.9	53.7	40.4
Three	36.2	36.4	33.3	39.3	36.1	26.9	48.1
Four--Highest	5.7	16.4	7.4	25.0	.8	-	1.9
Total:	99.9 N=174	100.0 n=55	99.9 n=27	100.1 n=28	99.9 n=119	100.0 n=67	100.0 n=52

Consistent with previous statements regarding the variability of the Anchorage Eskimo adaptation patterns, Table 25 demonstrates that the adaptation patterns are not homogeneous. Secondly, the data reaffirm that the Eskimo has not been very successful in structurally adapting to Anchorage's external setting: three times as many individuals have a low degree of adaptation than have a high degree, and only 5.7 percent have attained a degree of adaptation that would be equal to or above the average Anchorage level. In order to consider the Eskimos' structural adaptation to be successful, the distribution of adaptation levels would have to be reversed.

While the levels of structural adaptation are distributed unevenly throughout the total population, they also vary significantly among the major subpopulations--males are more structurally adapted than females, older individuals (30-39) more than younger individuals, and married individuals more than non-married individuals. However, there are no significant differences based on region of origin.

The variation based on sex seems mostly attributable to the nature of the Anchorage economic system which, as a western economic system, offers more encouragement and reward to males. Because income and employment were weighted indicators, males would tend to be proportionately more represented in the upper ranges of structural adaptation.

The variations based on age and marital status, since they disregard the possible sex bias of the Anchorage economic system,

seem to highlight the underlying dynamics associated with successful structural adaptation. Based on interviews and observations, it seems that age and/or marital status act as stabilizing influences which positively assists in the individual's structural adaptation. For example, in talking with many young, non-married individuals, an undercurrent of unsettlement was expressed in that there were hopes or illusions of moving outside Alaska or back to Village Alaska. Among older individuals, I found similar expressions of dissatisfaction with Anchorage, but I did not encounter many who wanted to leave Anchorage. It was as if the older individuals had a fatalistic acceptance of their remaining in Anchorage and consequently, they attempted to make the most of their life in Anchorage. This in turn seems to have resulted in higher levels of structural adaptation.

While the marriage of 38.1 percent (Table 13) of the married Eskimos to Caucasians probably helped to raise the level of structural adaptation for married individuals, I believe the mere fact of being married also is an important factor in the adaptation process. Since it was not my intent to study familial relationships among Anchorage Eskimos, the following comments regarding marriage and structural adaptation are more impressionistic comments than comments buttressed by a solid data base. Generally, marriage seemed to provide an Eskimo with a stable focal point in Anchorage. It served both as a stimulus for attaining the best possible level of adaptation and as an anchor when difficulties in adapting were encountered. Many married individuals are beset with the same problems

as non-married individuals. However, in either seeking a solution to these problems or after experiencing the consequences of a solution, the marital relationship generally provides a supportive foundation that many non-married individuals lack. This is especially true for married individuals who are periodic problem-drinkers as it gives them the support necessary to return to the task of trying to successfully adapt to Anchorage.

Factors related to structural adaptation. In order to account for the variation in the patterns of structural adaptation beyond age, sex, and marital status, I examined the association between eight factors and the indicators and levels of structural adaptation. Each of these factors is assumed to be an independent variable in the sense that it hypothetically will explain variation in the levels of adaptation (Goode and Hatt 1952:353). Since Appendix B contains a listing of all the significant relationships between the independent variables and the various measures of adaptation for all the major subpopulations, this section only describes the significant relationships within the total population.

The selection of the independent variables followed the same procedure as the selection of the indicators of structural adaptation. To reiterate, the process of selecting variables or indicators in social science research, because the focus of inquiry is human behavior, is a controversial matter. For example, after explaining my research proposal to a psychologist employed by a governmental agency dealing with Alaska Natives, the psychologist

stated the only relevant variable needed to understande Eskimo behavior in Anchorage was the individual's personality characteristics formed during childhood. While one could convincingly argue for the acceptance or rejection of this or any other variable, this section is concerned with only the variables that were selected. These independent variables are: length of time in Anchorage, commitment to permanence, years of formal education, attendance at religious ceremonies, pattern of social association, frequency of speaking Eskimo, maintenance of contact with Village Alaska, and experience outside Alaska.

In selecting the length of time in Anchorage as an independent variable, it was assumed that the longer an individual has lived in Anchorage, the higher the individual's level of adaptation. Over time, the individual will have gained more familiarity with the requirements of the Anchorage system and will have had more opportunities for successful structural adaptation. Table 26 indicates the length of time Eskimos have resided in Anchorage.

Even though the Anchorage Eskimo population is a recently arrived population, the median residence period being 5.8 years and the average period being 7.8 years, there was a strong (>.08) tendency for the length of time in Anchorage to be directly associated with an individual's level of structural adaptation. In part, this is because length of time in Anchorage also is significantly associated with an individual's income level and

type of residential occupancy. By living in Anchorage for a longer period of time, the individual is able to develop more links to the Anchorage employment structures and/or to establish an employment record leading to monetary increases over time. Simultaneously, there is an increased awareness of and ability to participate in the Anchorage housing market. Conversely, recent arrivals generally do not have the option for selectivity in employment or housing. They are required, for economic reasons, to take the first available employment position and to secure the least expensive housing.

Table 26

Length of Time in Anchorage By Sex

Time	Sex						
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
1-5 years	47.4	43.8	55.2	34.3	49.2	59.4	36.8
6-10 years	26.3	21.9	20.7	31.4	28.6	27.5	29.8
11 plus years	26.3	34.4	24.1	34.3	22.2	13.0	33.3
Total:	100.0 N=190	100.1 n=64	100.0 n=29	100.0 n=35	100.0 n=126	99.9 n=69	99.9 n=57

An individual's subjective commitment to remaining in Anchorage on a permanent basis (Table 11) was selected as an

independent variable under the assumption that a permanent attitude would lead to behaviors oriented toward maximizing one's structural position in Anchorage. This expected relationship proved to be significant. Of particular import is the fact that permanence is significantly related to employment, house occupancy, and voter participation. An individual who is more committed to permanently remaining in Anchorage, out of necessity, would have to make a greater effort to secure employment. Given Anchorage's high rent structure and an inflationary economy, the purchase of a house is clearly an advantageous strategy for a permanent dweller as the cost of housing becomes less expensive over time. The permanent dweller's greater stake in the external setting seems to result in a greater degree of voter participation.

Because Anchorage is a western urban system that tends to emphasize the value of formal education and credentials, the number of years of formal education (Table 18) was selected as an independent variable. It was assumed that the individual who had twelve or more years of education would be more structurally adapted than the individual who did not complete high school. This did not prove to be the case. In fact, for the population as a whole, the absence of a high school degree was not significantly associated with any of the separate indicators of structural adaptation. However, it is interesting to note that those males without a high school degree significantly tended to have a lower income than males with twelve or more years of formal education.

Unlike the previous independent variables, the reason for the selection of religious attendance (Table 17) is not quite so evident. In most Alaska Native villages, organized religion is an inescapable social, moral, and often, political presence. Since most, if not all, organized religion in Village Alaska is part of the western Judeo-Christian tradition, it was assumed that attendance at similar religious ceremonies in Anchorage would lead to a higher level of structural adaptation because:

1. there would be a strain of continuity in experiences for the individual which would assist the individual in maintaining his or her personal stability;

2. it would provide experience in one structural component of the Anchorage system which could be transferred to other components; and,

3. there would be a ready-made network of social associations involving other participants which could assist in the adaptation process.

For the population as a whole, this did not prove to be the case. However, for individuals from the Northwest, there was a strong tendency (.06) for religious attendance to be directly associated with the level of structural adaptation. Although religious preference was not considered as an independent variable, this strong association might be related to the active efforts of the Anchorage Swedish Covenant religion, a popular religion in Northwest Alaska, to have programs for Alaska Natives. Also, like the Roman

Catholic church, the Swedish Covenant church has a practitioner specifically assigned to meet the needs of Alaska Native church members.

Although there was no significant association between religious attendance and the level of adaptation, the hypothesized "transfer effect" seemed to be verified in that religious attendance was significantly associated with membership in formal associations. If all the formal associations were religious in nature, this would be expected; but, they are not. By participating in religious institutions, the individual participates in an institution that has many of the same structural features of a formal association--voluntary participation, nonkin based interaction, etc. Thus, it seems the experience gained from attending religious ceremonies is transferred to another component of the Anchorage system--formal associations.

The selection of the usual pattern of social associations (Table 15) as an independent variable is based on the assumption that the more social relationships an Eskimo has with Caucasians, as opposed to social relationships with other Alaska Natives, the higher the level of structural adaptation. The reasoning behind this assumption involves both the concept of role models and the idea of information links. In terms of role models, it is thought that Eskimos who socially associate more with Caucasians, will not only better learn the cognitive rules for behavior appropriate to Anchorage, but they also will have more opportunity to experience

these rules being acted out in specific situations (Bruner 1956). Secondly, by associating more with Caucasians, it is assumed that the Eskimo will have access to more pragmatic information about the Anchorage system that will be of assistance in the adaptation process. Obviously, if the Caucasians are aberrant role models or uninformative sources, the pattern of social associations may have an inverse or negative effect of the level of structural adaptation.

For the population as a whole, the pattern of social associations had no bearing on the individual's level of structural adaptation. However, there was a significant association between it and membership in formal associations and the degree of voter participation. Thus, it does seem that associating with Caucasians is related to more participation in and active concern with the non-economic sectors of the larger Anchorage system.

The frequency of speaking Eskimo was derived from data relating to the frequency of speaking Eskimo in the home, with relatives and with friends. Its selection as an independent variable relates to the fact that Anchorage is a monolingual, English speaking community. In interacting with the structures of the Anchorage system, one is forced to speak English and one's ability to express one's self in English often determines the outcome of such interactions, i.e., the level of structural adaptation. It is assumed that the less frequently an individual speaks Eskimo in the specified situations, the higher the individual's level of structural

adaptation. A correlative assumption, although most certainly an exploratory one because of bilinguality, is that the less one speaks Eskimo, the more one becomes conversant in English. An additional assumption is that the nonfrequent Eskimo speaker will be more likely to fully identify with and participate in the structures of the larger Anchorage system. Table 27 indicates the frequency with which Anchorage Eskimos speak Eskimo in the home, with relatives and with friends.

Table 27

Frequency of Speaking Eskimo By Sex

Frequency	Sex						
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
Frequent Speaker	28.4	21.9	17.2	25.7	31.7	24.6	40.4
Occasional Speaker	35.3	29.7	27.6	31.4	38.1	43.5	31.6
Nonspeaker	36.3	48.4	55.2	42.9	30.2	31.9	28.1
Total:	100.0 N=190	100.0 n=64	100.0 n=29	100.0 n=35	100.0 n=126	100.0 n=69	100.1 n=57

The accumulative effects of culture change in Alaska are clearly indicated in Table 27 as only 28.4 percent speak their first language in most private situations and 36.4 percent are nonspeakers

of Eskimo. This is further supported by the fact that the least educated group, females, and individuals from the least acculturated area, the Southwest, significantly spoke Eskimo more frequently than did males or individuals from the Northwest.

For the population as a whole, the frequency of speaking Eskimo was not inversely associated with the level of structural adaptation or the indicators of structural adaptation. In fact, the contrary relationship was found for the largest subpopulation, females 20 through 29, in that the more Eskimo was spoken, the higher the level of structural adaptation. This strongly suggests that, for young females, the frequent speaking of Eskimo is a positive, rather than a negative, factor in the process of structural adaptation. As many individuals apologetically mentioned that they were nonspeakers because they never learned or forgot "their language," a tentative explanation for this unexpected association is that language ability in Eskimo might provide a nondisputable identity referent for an individual which is of assistance in adapting to a different cultural system. This point will be further explored in the next chapter.

The degree to which an Anchorage Eskimo maintains contact with Village Alaska was selected as an independent variable under the assumption that it represents a lessening of cultural space separating Village Alaska from Anchorage. If one maintains intensive contact with Village Alaska, it is assumed that one is more cognizant of and responsive to cognitive blueprints operative in

Village Alaska and that this will inhibit the development of cognitive blueprints more appropriate for successful structural adaptation. For example, the maintenance of village-based kin ties often requires the Anchorage Eskimo to assist, at an economic sacrifice, his or her kinsmen.

Table 28 portrays the degree of contact with Village Alaska. Intensive contact involves visiting Village Alaska at least once a month. Occasional contact is simply contact that is not as frequent as intensive contact.

Table 28

Contact With Village Alaska By Sex

Contact	Sex						
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
Intensive	22.7	8.5	15.0	3.7	29.1	38.6	17.4
Occasional	55.3	63.8	50.0	74.1	51.5	43.9	60.9
None	22.0	27.7	35.0	22.2	19.4	17.5	21.7
Total:	100.0 N=150	100.0 n=47	100.0 n=20	100.0 n=27	100.0 n=103	100.0 n=57	100.0 n=46

As the data indicate, most individuals only maintain occasional contact with Village Alaska. In terms of differential rates of contact, males significantly maintain less contact than

females, older individuals less than younger individuals, and individuals from the Northwest less than individuals from the Southwest.

The fact that younger individuals and individuals from the Southwest maintain more frequent contact with Village Alaska seems attributable to the fact that these individuals have lived in Anchorage the fewest number of years (Table 26). In a temporal perspective, they are less removed from their associations in Village Alaska and, thus, they would be more likely to maintain these associations. The monetary difference in air fare between the two regions is not sufficient to account for the differential contact rate.

The fact that females maintain more contact than males, in part, seems to be a consequence of females having a greater dependency role in Eskimo society. Generally, females are more responsive to and restricted by kinship obligations than are males. Some indication of this female kinship involvement is evident by the fact that many females visited their villages because their air fare was paid by relatives in the villages. The family usually paid for the ticket in advance and informed the female that she could come and visit whenever she wanted to. I did not find any males who had their tickets paid by their families in Village Alaska.

Contrary to what was expected, the degree of contact did not vary inversely with the level of adaptation or any of the

structural indicators. The fact that contact varied directly with the degree of agency utilization, i.e., the more contact with Village Alaska, the less reliance on service agencies, will be commented upon in the next chapter.

The final independent variable, experience outside Alaska, was selected as an independent variable because it was assumed that having experience outside Alaska or in a non-Alaskan western system would better prepare the individual to structurally adapt to the western system of Anchorage. In particular, these individuals should have more experience in negotiating with the esternal structures of a western urban system, for example, government or employers.

Furthermore, many individuals, who had experience outside of Alaska, tended to negatively evaluate this experience. For example, one individual claimed to have regularly walked fifty blocks in Oakland, California in order to save twenty-five cents because the Bureau of Indian Affairs training stipend was so sparse; another was stranded in Chicago after being denied transportation back to Alaska by the B.I.A.; and, another returned to Anchorage because she did not like the climate and prejudice of a southern state. For these individuals, returning to Anchorage was the optimal solution as they were once again in Alaska and they still resided in an urban environment. One could assume these type of individuals not only profited from their experience outside Alaska, but that they also would take those steps necessary

to adapt well to Anchorage in order to remain in an urban, Alaskan environment.

While 43.2 percent of the population had lived outside Alaska, there were no significant associations between this variable and the level of structural adaptation or the structural indicators. Also, there were no significant intrapopulation differences.

Structural adaptation summary. The Anchorage Eskimos' participation in selective structural components of the Anchorage system, as severally and jointly indicated by the indicators of structural adaptation, has been demonstrated to be anything but successful. The potential high degree of communication integration did not result in the Eskimo being actually integrated into the Anchorage system. By almost any criteria, the Eskimo is isolated from the mainstream of Anchorage. Although males, older individuals, and married individuals are significantly more integrated into the Anchorage system, their levels of structural adaptation are much lower than the Anchorage norm.

Since only one independent variable, commitment to permanence, was significantly associated with the level of structural adaptation, it suggests that there are either other independent variables related to the adaptation, or that the primary causes for the differential levels of structural adaptation are found in the external setting of Anchorage rather than in the individual Eskimo. Both the statistical and field data tend to support the latter explanation, particularly as it pertains to the two most important

adaptation components--employment and income. Whether or not an Eskimo is employed and/or receives an adequate income results much more from the noncontrollable decisions and policies of the larger external setting than it does from the characteristics or motives of the individual Eskimo.

In the absence of any changes in the external setting of Anchorage, the data suggest that the longer the Eskimo lives in Anchorage and simultaneously develops a permanent commitment to Anchorage, there will be some improvement in the overall level of structural adaptation. The question is whether or not the Eskimo, over a long period of time, will develop the necessary commitment to permanence after being forced to endure the unfavorable structural conditions of Anchorage. A partial answer to this question will be sought in the following section on perceptual adaptation and in the next chapter on responses to the various adaptation levels.

Perceptual Adaptation

This section examines the individual's perceptual adaptation to the Anchorage urban system. Perceptual adaptation is an illusive but important category. Its creation is premised on the assumption that individuals evaluate the setting around them and that individuals who have moved to different settings compare their old setting with their new setting. It combines an individual's expressed satisfaction with life in Anchorage, particularly in contrast with life in Village Alaska, with the individual's expressed degree of

alienation from life in Anchorage. It is assumed that these two measures, satisfaction and alienation, reflect the individual's subjective evaluation or perception of his or her adaptation to Anchorage. However, there is no basis for presuming that how one perceives his or her adaptation will necessarily correspond to one's level of structural adaptation. As Shannon and Shannon (1967) and others have pointed out, an individual could be at the lowest level of structural adaptation in the city and still perceive that his or her adaptation was successful because there has been relative upward progress from a lower rural level. Conversely, an individual could be at the highest level of structural adaptation and still perceive that his or her adaptation was less than successful because it was not at a parity with the urban standard.

Alienation. The individual's degree of alienation was derived from responses to Srole's scale of alienation. Srole's five question scale is an instrument that:

> could be constructed in an opinion-poll format to represent, directly or indirectly, the respondent's definition or perception of his own interpersonal situation. To this end, we set down the ideational states or components that on theoretical grounds would represent internalized counterparts or reflections, in the individual's life situation, of conditions of social dysfunction (1956:712).

Srole's questions were modified to be particular to Eskimos and Anchorage and, for cultural reasons, the extreme agreement and disagreement responses were omitted (refer to Questions 88, 90, 92, 94, and 96 in Appendix A). Because of these modifications,

the results are not amenable to cross-cultural comparisons.

In general, an analysis of the five questions revealed that the Anchorage Eskimos are, at best, only moderately alienated in the Anchorage setting. On a scale of 5 (low) to 25 (high), the mean and median for the entire population was 13, the exact mid-point of the scale. There were no intrapopulation significant differences in the degree of alienation. Given the generally low level of structural adaptation, one must ask why there is not a higher degree of expressed alienation. The answer seems to lie in the data regarding satisfaction with life in Anchorage, and the relationship between satisfaction and alienation.

Satisfaction. The satisfaction scale (see Questions 87, 89, 91, 93, and 95 in Appendix A) was a generally self-designed unit that attempted to obtain the individual's overall assessment of his or her life in Anchorage, partly through a comparison with Village Alaska.

Given the low level of structural adaptation, it is somewhat surprising to find that the Anchorage Eskimos are quite satisfied with life in Anchorage. On a scale of 5 (dissatisfaction) to 25 (complete satisfaction), the mean and median for the entire population was 18. Even when employment was controlled for (Question 93), only 24.5 percent thought they would return to Village Alaska in the immediate future. Since the scale implicitly compared life in Anchorage to life in Village Alaska, this high degree of satisfaction may be more a condemnation of conditions in

Village Alaska than it is satisfaction with conditions in Anchorage.

Typology of perceptual adaptation. The typology of perceptual adaptation is a statistical device that combines the degree of alienation with the degree of satisfaction. At first glance, alienation and satisfaction may seem to measure the same phenomenon. However, a layman's analysis of the varimax rotated factor matrix of a multiple regression analysis of the ten questions (Nie, Bent, and Hull 1970:214-215) revealed that the measures are not overlapping. Thus, the two are combined because it is assumed they jointly indicate how Eskimos perceive their adaptation to Anchorage. In further support of this assumption, there is a significant inverse association between the two, i.e., the higher the satisfaction, the lower the alienation, or vice-versa.

So that the typology will have explanatory relevance for the Anchorage Eskimo population, the mean score on both measures was used as the dividing point so that there would be a relative high group and a relative low group. Obviously, this technique makes the categories specific to Anchorage Eskimos. These categories are:

Type 1: It is composed of those individuals who are the highest in alienation and the lowest in satisfaction. It is assumed to reflect the lowest degree of perceptual adaptation.

Type 2: It includes those individuals who are generally satisfied with life in Anchorage, but who simultaneously feel alienated in the Anchorage setting. This category is assumed

to indicate a moderately low degree of perceptual adaptation.

Type 3: It is composed of those individuals who are not generally satisfied with life in Anchorage, but who also do not feel alienated in the Anchorage setting. This category is assumed to indicate a moderately high degree of perceptual adaptation.

Type 4: This category is assumed to represent the highest degree of perceptual adaptation. The individuals in this category not only are generally satisfied with life in Anchorage, they also do not feel alienated in the Anchorage setting.

The data in Table 29 indicate that the various categories of perceptual adaptation are relatively evenly distributed throughout the entire population. However a significant difference emerges when sex is controlled. Females, particularly those who are non-married or in the 20 through 29 age group, are significantly more perceptually adapted to Anchorage than are males. For example, 42.9 percent of the male Eskimos are both dissatisfied with and alienated from the Anchorage system. The fact that females are more perceptually adapted to Anchorage was not an unexpected association. Life in Anchorage is physically easier for females than it would be in Village Alaska, and the dependency status of many females removes them from necessarily having to interact with certain structural components of the Anchorage system.

For the population as a whole, three of the hypothesized

independent variables were significantly associated with the level of perceptual adaptation--commitment to permanence, experience outside Alaska, and formal education.

Table 29

Typology of Perceptual Adaptation By Sex

Category	Sex						
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
Type 1	28.8	42.9	52.0	35.5	21.9	22.6	21.2
Type 2	18.8	8.9	-	16.1	23.7	21.0	26.9
Type 3	20.0	14.3	20.0	9.7	22.8	24.2	21.2
Type 4	32.4	33.9	28.0	38.7	31.6	32.3	30.8
Total:	100.0 N=170	100.0 n=56	100.0 n=25	100.0 n=31	100.0 n=114	100.1 n=62	100.1 n=52

While commitment to permanence almost necessitates a higher degree of satisfaction with Anchorage vis-a-vis Village Alaska, it also is associated with a lower degree of alienation. Presumably, since these individuals tend to remain in Anchorage, they optimistically perceive both Anchorage and their life in Anchorage.

The relationship between having lived outside of Alaska and perceptual adaptation seems to result from two factors. First,

when the individual decided to live in Anchorage upon returning to Alaska, he or she was implicitly more favorable to Anchorage compared to Village Alaska. Secondly, individuals living outside of Alaska, having previous experience in a western system, would be less likely to be alienated from the western system of Anchorage than would be an Eskimo villager encountering such a system for the first time.

In that formal education, i.e., the completion or noncompletion of high school, was not significantly associated with the level of structural adaptation, it is interesting to note that it is associated with the degree of perceptual adaptation. In terms of Anchorage being viewed as a satisfactory, nonalienating place to live, it is necessary to remember than the "rewards" for a high school degree or beyond are minimal in Village Alaska. Regular employment opportunities in Village Alaska are limited for everyone, but those positions requiring a high school degree or college experience are even more limited. Also, by at least completing high school, the individual usually would have experienced nine months of relative physical ease in a western boarding school for each year in high school. For example, high school students at boarding institutions are anxious to return to their families for the summer months, but many, especially females, are not anxious to return to the comparatively harsh physical life of a village. Additionally, the completion of high school usually means that the individual was exposed, during the majority of his or her formative

years, to the adulation of western cultural values, often at the expense of Village Eskimo values. Consequently, the completion of high school makes it very difficult, if not impossible, for an individual to live contentedly in Village Alaska. Thus, the movement and successful perceptual adaptation to Anchorage.

CONCLUSION

The data presented in this chapter lend themselves to numerous and varied interpretations regarding the extent to which Eskimos, both structurally and perceptually, have adapted to the external setting of Anchorage. Rather than attempt to reiterate this mass of evidence, this concluding section will focus only on the major patterns that merit further considerations.

In this and the preceding chapter, ample evidence has been presented to demonstrate that the Anchorage Eskimo population must be viewed as a population attempting to permanently adapt to Anchorage. The presence of Eskimos in Anchorage is not a temporary phenomenon. The longer Eskimos live in Anchorage, the larger and more permanent the population will become. Indeed, of the many independent variables subjected to statistical analyses, one's subjective commitment to permanently remaining in Anchorage was the variable most frequently associated with adaptation.

The general nature of the adaptation process was conclusively demonstrated to be heterogeneous rather than homogeneous. The empirical data demand that Eskimos in Anchorage not be subject

to any gross stereotypic depictions. Indeed, the intrapopulation variation in the degree of adaptation is the result of many interrelated phenomena--particularly sex, age, marital status, and the relationship of these factors to the independent variables. However, in the end, the data suggest that the individual Eskimo's level of adaptation, especially structural adaptation, may be determined more by forces in the external setting than by the characteristics of the individual.

The structural adaptation of Eskimos, as measured by empirical evidence of participation in selective components of the Anchorage external setting, was revealed to be extremely low with nearly 60 percent in the two lowest categories. Only 5.7 percent had attained a level of structural adaptation thought to approximate the general Anchorage standard. Within the total population, the level of structural adaptation was significantly higher for males, individuals in the 30-39 age group, married individuals, and individuals committed to remaining in Anchorage on a permanent basis.

The degree of perceptual adaptation was derived from two measures: the individual's expressed satisfaction with Anchorage, and his or her expressed alienation in the Anchorage setting. While there was no particular trend in the degree of perceptual adaptation, it was proportionately higher than the level of structural adaptation as only 48 percent were in the two lowest categories. Within the population as a whole, the degree of perceptual adaptation was significantly higher for females, individuals permanently committed

to remaining in Anchorage, individuals with at least a high school diploma, and individuals who had once lived outside of Alaska.

The remainder of this chapter will attempt to integrate the derived patterns of adaptation with the induced patterns of adaptation in order to explain the distribution and variation in the general adaptation patterns of the Anchorage Eskimo.

However, to accomplish this, it is first necessary to examine whether or not the assumed structural and perceptual dimensions of adaptation actually are interrelated. As the data in Table 30 indicate, there is a very strong association (>.061) between how one has actually adapted and how one perceives his or her adaptation. For example, 50 percent of those individuals at the lowest level of structural adaptation are also at the lowest level of perceptual adaptation, and 57.1 percent of those individuals at the highest level of structural adaptation are also at the highest level of perceptual adaptation. Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that the more one is structurally adapted to Anchorage, the higher one tends to perceive his or her adaptation to Anchorage.

Because of the close association between the level of structural adaptation and the degree of perceptual adaptation, the two higher and two lower ranges of each dimension will be interrelated to form what are, both statistically and inductively, the three general adaptation patterns of the Anchorage Eskimos. Table 31 indicates the designation and distribution of these patterns.

Table 30

Relationship of Perceptual Adaptation
to Structural Adaptation

		Perceptual Adaptation				
		I (Low)	II	III	IV (High)	Total
Structural Adaptation	One (Low)	50.0 (30.4)	7.1 (7.4)	25.0 (20.6)	17.9 (10.2)	100.0
	Two	27.3 (39.1)	25.8 (63.0)	19.7 (38.2)	27.3 (36.7)	100.1
	Three	23.6 (28.3)	14.5 (29.6)	21.8 (35.3)	40.0 (44.9)	99.9
	Four (High)	14.3 (2.2)	0 (0)	28.6 (5.9)	57.1 (8.2)	100.0
Total: N=156		(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	

Chi-square 16.31821 9 d.f. sig.>.0605

Table 31

Anchorage Eskimo Adaptation Patterns By Sex

Pattern	Sex						
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
Survival	32.7	34.7	37.5	32.0	31.8	35.0	27.7
Pressure	41.7	32.6	37.5	28.0	45.8	48.3	42.5
Type A	(27.6)	(16.3)	(25.0)	(8.0)	(32.7)	(40.0)	(23.4)
Type B	(14.1)	(16.3)	(12.5)	(20.0)	(13.1)	(8.3)	(19.1)
Success	25.6	32.7	25.0	40.0	22.4	16.7	29.3
Total:	100.0 N=156	100.0 n=49	100.0 n=24	100.0 n=25	100.0 n=107	100.0 n=60	100.0 n=47

Survival Pattern

The survival pattern describes those individuals who have not structurally and perceptually adapted well to the Anchorage system. As the data in Table 31 indicate, nearly one-third of the total Eskimo population exhibits a survival pattern. While this is the most frequent male adaptation pattern, there is no disproportionate sexual distribution for this pattern, i.e., males comprise 33 percent of the individuals in this pattern and females account for the remaining 67 percent.

Consistent with the field observations, the major population characteristic of this pattern is the preponderance of non-married individuals, especially males. This pattern describes the adaptation of 43.6 percent of the non-married individuals as opposed to only 26.8 percent of the married individuals. The fact that two-thirds of the non-married males exhibit this pattern, as opposed to 16.2 percent of married males and 32.4 percent of non-married females, is of particular relevance to understanding the Eskimo drinking patterns discussed in the next chapter.

Two independent features that clearly set this pattern off from the other adaptation patterns are education and experience outside Alaska. A sizeable majority (70.6) of the survivors have not completed high school and an equally large number (72.5) have not been outside of Alaska.

Since most of these individuals tend to interact along Fourth Avenue, it is interesting to note that these individuals

generally are not transients: 39.2 percent are committed to permanently remaining in Anchorage and only 21.6 percent plan to move from Anchorage.

All the data suggest the survivors were unprepared for life in Anchorage and, consequently, their level of adaptation is such that mere physical survival is their uppermost consideration. Because they have only lived in Anchorage for a short period of time (52.9 percent less than five years), have a low degree of educational experience, and had no prior urban experience, these individuals lack an adequate experiential framework for managing the intricacies of an urban system. The fact that the Anchorage urban system is unyielding in its western orientation further compounds the already disadvantageous position of the survivors. Since the survivors accurately perceive their low level of adaptation and their resulting disadvantageous position in Anchorage, it should not be surprising to find that much of their behavior is directed at physically and/or psychologically coping with life in Anchorage. Survival, not improvement, is their paramount concern.

Pressure Pattern

In part, the use of statistical typologies has helped resolve the enigma of the induced pressure pattern. By first isolating and then interrelating the structural and perceptual dimensions of adaptation, it is now possible to explain why there is a pattern that represents problem adaptation as opposed to survival or successful adaptation.

The Anchorage Eskimos' pressure pattern of adaptation is characterized by an incongruity between the level of structural adaptation and the level of perceptual adaptation. However, prior to examining this pattern, it is useful to discuss the reference group concept, for it illuminates the dynamics associated with this pattern. While the reference group concept has been discussed extensively in the behavioral science literature and has been utilized in previous Alaskan research by Hughes (1957), Berreman (1964), and Parker (1964), its utilization in this section will be restricted to its minimal implications.

The foundation of reference group theory is the ". . . fact that men frequently orient themselves to groups other than their own in shaping their behavior and evaluations. . . ." (Merton and Rossi 1968:35). Thus, a reference group can be considered as ". . . that group whose outlook is used by the actor as the frame of reference in the organization of his perceptual field" (Shibutani 1968:107).

Type A. The Type A pattern is the first variant of the pressure pattern. It describes those individuals who actually have not structurally well adapted to Anchorage, but who perceives that they have adapted well. This incongruity was not readily apparent during the fieldwork as these types of individuals tended to merge into the induced survival and pressure patterns. They are included as a pressure pattern because, with Anchorage as a reference point, there is an incongruous association between one's structural

condition in Anchorage and how one perceives of one's life in Anchorage. They, too, must struggle to survive but, unlike the survivors, they perceive that their effort, or life in Anchorage, has been successful. However, over time, the constancy of the struggle leads to a build-up of pressure which, as will be discussed in the next chapter, periodically must be dissipated.

The Type A pattern is the second most frequent adaptation pattern which shows a sexual disproportion: females comprised 81 percent of this pattern, but only 67 percent of the total population.

While non-married individuals are again over-represented in this pattern (43.6 percent compared to only 18.9 percent of the married individuals), the distribution of the non-married individuals is opposite that of the survival pattern. The Type A pattern is more characteristic of non-married females (54.0) than it is of non-married males (22.3) or married females (21.4).

Individuals exhibiting this pattern resemble those of the survival pattern to the extent that they are more permanent (48.8) than transient (23.3), most (55.8) have lived in Anchorage for less than five years and the majority (74.2) have not severed their ties with Village Alaska. They differ from those of the survival pattern in that 50 percent have at least completed high school and 55.8 percent have had experience outside Alaska.

The main independent feature characteristic of this pattern is that over one-half of the individuals do not speak Eskimo and only 18.6 percent frequently speak Eskimo.

In that this pattern is exhibited particularly by females, recent arrivals and those who have not severed their ties to Village Alaska, it would appear that the reference group for these individuals is Village Alaska. Even though their Anchorage level of structural adaptation is quite low, when it is compared to structural conditions in Village Alaska it would appear to be high. Consequently, these individuals would tend to be satisfied with their life in Anchorage.

Type B. The other variant of the pressure pattern is the Type B pattern. It describes those individuals with a relatively high level of structural adaptation, but who also have a relatively low level of perceptual adaptation. Thus, this pattern is the antithesis of Type A.

The Type B pattern was the least frequent (14.1) Anchorage Eskimo adaptation pattern. Unlike the Type A and success patterns, this pattern is more characteristic of married individuals (18.8) than non-married individuals (5.5). Also, it pertains more to the 30-39 age group while the Type A and success patterns are more reflective of the 20-29 age group.

In many ways, the Type B pressure pattern seems to resemble the classic pattern of relative deprivation (Stouffer, Suchman, et. al.: 1949). An Anchorage Eskimo would be considered relatively deprived

> . . . when (1) he does not have X, (2) he sees some other person or persons, which may include himself at some previous or imagined time, as having X (whether or

> not they do have X), and (3) he wants X (whether or not it is feasible that he should have X (Runciman 1968:70).

Compared to other Anchorage Eskimos or Village Alaska, the level of structural adaptation exhibited by these individuals should lead to a positive evaluation of their life in Anchorage. However, it does not. For these individuals, it appears that the larger Anchorage society serves as their reference group. By comparing their level of structural adaptation with that of the larger Anchorage society, these individuals perceive that they actually are not well-adapted by Anchorage standards. Therefore, they are dissatisfied with life in Anchorage.

The relative deprivation characteristic of this pattern seems attributable to the fact that individuals in this pattern have had more need and opportunity to compare their relatively low level of structural adaptation with the Anchorage standard. These individuals are the most committed to permanently remaining in Anchorage and they have lived in Anchorage for the longest period of time, for example, only 13.6 percent have lived in Anchorage for less than five years.

Success Pattern

The fourth and final Anchorage Eskimo adaptation pattern is the success pattern. Compared to other Anchorage Eskimos, these individuals have both structurally and perceptually adapted to the Anchorage system. This pattern is characteristic of 25.6 percent of the Anchorage Eskimo population, and like the Type B and

survival patterns, there is no sexual disproportion in its distribution.

This pattern is slightly more reflective of older individuals, and clearly more reflective of married individuals, especially males. More than one-third of the married individuals exhibit this pattern as compared to only 7.3 percent of the non-married individuals. The fact that 48.5 percent of the married males, as opposed to 29.9 percent of the married females, have a success pattern is probably attributable to the weighing of income and employment in the structural adaptation scale (Appendix C).

Of all the adaptation patterns, the success pattern comes the closest to confirming the effect of the independent variables on the adaptation process. Successful individuals tend to be permanent rather than transient, they tend to live in Anchorage longer than five years, they tend to associate more with Caucasians, they tend to sever their ties with Village Alaska, they tend to have at least a high school degree, and they tend to have had experience outside Alaska. In sum, these factors suggest that successful adaptation involves prior preparation for living in an urban system as well as the nonethnic incorporation into the urban system. Given the overall conditions in Village Alaska and Anchorage, it is not too surprising that only 25 percent of the Anchorage Eskimo population have attained a comparatively successful level of adaptation. Nor, in light of these same conditions, is it surprising that the successful Eskimo level of adaptation,

particularly structural, is lower than the Anchorage standard.

Summary

This section has described the four basic Anchorage Eskimo adaptation patterns. Although statistically derived, these patterns accurately reflect the patterns induced during the fieldwork for this dissertation.

As the preceding discussion inferred, there are significant intrapopulation differences in the distribution of these patterns. Specifically, married individuals and older individuals are concentrated in the success rather than survival pattern. In a previous section, it was mentioned that both age and marriage were stabilizing influences on the individual which was of positive assistance in the adaptation process.

For the total population, three other factors were significantly associated with a tendency toward succe-sful adaptation--the completion of high school, living in Anchorage for a long period of time, and having experience outside Alaska. Since these factors directly relate to familiarity with the western cultural complex, one can conclude that the more a stabilized individual is prepared for and/or experienced in a western cultural setting, the more likely the individual will "succeed" rather than merely "survive" in that system. Although a commitment to permanently remaining in the western system was associated with various aspects of the adaptation process, it proved not to be a sufficient substitute for experience in that system. Given the barriers of the Anchorage

external setting, this experience does not as much qualify the individual to enter the system as it does teach him or her how to overcome the system.

In that three-fourths of the Anchorage Eskimo population, particularly non-married and younger individuals, have not been able to overcome the Anchorage system, it is imperative to examine how these individuals respond to both the Anchorage system and their low levels of adaptation to that system. The next chapter focuses on this matter.

Chapter 5

ANCHORAGE ESKIMO RESPONSES TO ADAPTATION PATTERNS

The previous chapter presented a detailed examination of the degree to which Eskimos have adapted to the external setting of Anchorage. It was concluded that most Eskimos have been unsuccessful and/or have had problems in adapting to the Anchorage urban system. The intent of this chapter is to examine how these individuals respond to the Anchorage system and their disadvantageous position within that system.

Since a total examination of the wide variety of individual responses is beyond the scope of an individual researcher, I will focus only on the three response patterns which are the most prevalent and important for understanding the Eskimos behavior in the Anchorage setting: involvement with the Anchorage agency complex, the individual management of personal stress, and the group formation of a voluntary street locality. Suffice to say that any one of these three patterns is of sufficient magnitude and complexity to be the focus of a separate research effort.

INVOLVEMENT WITH THE ANCHORAGE AGENCY COMPLEX

The structure of the Anchorage agency complex can only be described as labyrinthine. It is an unorganized web of approximately one hundred private and public agencies that potentially relates to

every facet of Eskimo existence in Anchorage. As was mentioned in Chapter 2, Eskimos most frequently are involved with public or governmental agencies, and because of the high degree of structural commonality between these agencies, they will be grouped into one general category--agency.

Consistent with the general conceptual framework of adaptation, the agency complex conceptually will be considered as that separate component of the Anchorage system which attempts to assist the Eskimos' adaptation by mediating the interaction between the individual Eskimo and the external system. However, as I will demonstrate, this is not always accomplished.

The existence of the Anchorage agency complex is, de facto, a recognition by the external system that individuals need assistance in adapting to that system. The agency complex's basic rationale for existing is simply to procure and dispense services needed by its clientele. While seemingly a simple task, its implementation in Anchorage is such that it invites vehement criticism from social observers. In attempting to analyze the Anchorage agency complex, it is fruitless to argue against the proposition that the existence of the complex and the provision of services are, in most cases, better for the individual than no complex or services. Yet, any observer of agency operations in Anchorage, would have equal difficulty in refuting State Representative Chance's (1969:7) claim that ". . . social services in Alaska are . . . massively inept, inadequate, and inappropriate, . . ."

At any level of analysis, one can state that the Anchorage agency complex, at the very best, has been only partially successful in assisting Eskimos in adapting to Anchorage. The reasons for this failure of the agency complex are so numerous that to adequately examine them one would have to start with the social philosophy of the United States President and end with the individual agent who personally dispenses a service. Rather than add yet another litany of problems inherent in the agency complex, I will utilize Chance's gross listing, which is an assemblage of the most common criticisms of the agency complex, as a sufficient analytic starting point even though it seems, at times, to be politically inspired:

Problems in Alaska's Social Services

Level A: Inadequate and Non-Existent Services
- I. Lack of Preventive Services
- II. Inadequacy of Services
- III. Lack of Services to the Private Sector

Level B. Basic Systemic Problems
- I. The public system is overcentralized.
- II. The entire system makes no provision for a systematic approach to the solution of pressing social problems.
- III. The current system lacks coordination and comprehensiveness.
- IV. The current system is slavishly adherent to Federal programs.
- V. This system has allowed the existence of parallel and essentially duplicating public subsystems organized on a racial basis.
- VI. The system is unclear in its definition of public responsibility for social service programs. Voluntary agencies are expected to subsidize programs that are tax-dollar responsibility (1969:3-11).

Many of the problems Chance refers to have their locus in the bureaucratic machinery of Juneau or Washington, D.C., and not in Anchorage. Indeed, the Anchorage agency complex's failure to adequately assist the adaptation of Eskimos is actually the State and/or Federal government's failure. For example, the two most important and inseparable functions of funding and policy are determined more by the central bureaucracy than by its localized version.

Since many of the agency complex's problems need to be examined at the State and Federal government levels, I will direct the remainder of this analysis at two localized concerns which are particularly disturbing because, in large part, they are the cause of the agency complex's failure. The first concern involves agency personnel and the second is the lack of coordinated services.

Agency Personnel

While one might argue that bureaucracies exist independent of individuals, in the end it is the individual agent who interacts with the Eskimo client. All too often this interpersonal interaction results in the Eskimo not receiving services. To understand the failure of the agency complex to provide services because of interpersonal reasons requires, on the one hand, a brief understanding of the Eskimo value and interaction system and, on the other hand, an understanding of the agent's attitude toward his position and clientele.

Contrary to what white Alaska may wish to believe, village or urban Eskimos are not enthusiastic seekers of governmental assistance. One need only examine the Eskimo testimony regarding the land claims settlement to see that individualism and independence remain positive values. Consequently, the seeking of assistance often, and quite mistakenly, is viewed by an Eskimo as an admission of failure, especially since "western" culture tends to categorize most social programs as programs for failures rather than as programs insuring legitimate human rights. Because of this value configuration, many Eskimos stated that they would not seek governmental assistance, even though they were entitled to it and would have benefited from it. Thus, it is important to understand that when an Eskimo actually seeks agency assistance, it is usually because of a serious need, and it is not an attempt to get something for nothing. For example, the seven agencies most frequently utilized by Anchorage Eskimos are:

1. State Employment Service (41.6 percent utilized)
2. Bureau of Indian Affairs Social Services (33.5)
3. Anchorage Native Welcome Center (29.3)
4. State Welfare Department (22.5)
5. Bureau of Indian Affairs Employment Assistance (19.7)
6. Civil Service Commission (18.7)
7. Alaska State Housing Authority (18.6)

For the most part, these agencies are concerned with the fundamental problems of existence in Anchorage, i.e., employment, income, and

housing. If the Eskimo's need for these services is examined by the agent in an accusatorial or disinterested fashion, one can easily see why the Eskimo's value configuration might lead to a withdrawal from the eligibility inquiry and the subsequent non-receipt of services.

A related factor is the Eskimo pattern of interaction. Generally, Eskimo interaction tends to be much more informal than formal, personal rather than impersonal, and circumspect rather than direct. In conversations, periods of unbroken silence are not uncommon, nor are they inappropriate; response patterns are short rather than detailed, etc. If the agent is not sensitive to this form of interaction, the interview will be even more stressful for the individual and, again, the individual could withdraw from the process and not receive services. As one informant stated:

> Why are they (agency) so mean? When I call them on the phone they are very mean to me and I never get a chance to say anything because they are always yak-yaking until I have to hang up because I get mad. I'm not going into the _____ program if I have to talk with that person again.

In dealing with Eskimos in Anchorage, agency personnel are operating in a cross-cultural situation. For this interaction to be successful, the agent must be aware of Eskimo value and interaction patterns; regretably, this awareness is often lacking. Because of agency staffing and training policies, most agents are academically trained Caucasians. Their awareness of Eskimo culture is seldom thorough and usually results from developing or reinforcing

stereotypic portraits of Eskimos through personal encounters with a few Eskimo clients. Few, if any, agencies have culturally oriented training programs. The resulting lack of understanding creates an endless list of misconceptions about Eskimos. For example, avoidance behavior is interpreted to mean a lack of understanding, and noninvolvement in programs is interpreted to mean noninterest in the programs.

Increasingly, perhaps due to equal opportunity legislation, several agencies have hired Alaska Natives. Some of these individuals are "token Natives," but others serve as cultural resources for the agency. An example of the "token Native" employee is an informant I saw sitting at a desk in a large office--when I asked her what she did, she candidly replied "Nothing." The resource Native employee, while a healthy admission of cultural ignorance on the part of the agency, often is expected to be the omnipotent "authority" on Native concerns. Indeed, the liberal Caucasian personnel often tend to view the individual as the "Great Brown Hope." Unfortunately, the Native individual is placed under a tremendous amount of pressure from these unrealistic expectations and, more often than not, he or she "fails" to fulfill these expectations. In the vast majority of cases, this "failure" is followed by statements such as "Natives cannot assume leadership," or "Natives cannot follow through." Obviously, the Native's "failure" is the failure of the agency--if all employees were subject to the same expectations as Native employees are, no individuals

would be employed. Almost as tragic is the Native employee who suddenly believes, usually unrealistically, all the expectations and becomes an instant authority on all Native groups and problems.

The problems created by cultural ignorance often are compounded by the agent's bureaucratic subservience and/or paternalistic officiousness. These attitudes reflect the agent's interest in his or her primacy vis-a-vis the client's, and they usually result in the insensitive, routine processing of the client. For example, the most frequent criticism of the Public Health hospital, the provider of medical services to most of Anchorage's Native population, was not the quality of the medical care, but centered around the treatment of patients like, as one informant stated, "cattle."

Lack of Coordinated Services

The second source of the agency complex's failure to adequately provide services lies in its lack of internal coordination. In spite of periodic efforts at coordination by such groups as the Anchorage Council on Community Services and the Coordinated Area Manpower Planning System (C.A.M.P.S.), interagency coordination, even at the simple level of a centralized receiving system with one common application form, was not eventuated during the period of this research. The reason for this lack of coordination is not financial, as the savings generated by a coordinated system would far outweigh the costs of its implementation.

Rather, the lack of coordination results from bureaucratic boundary maintenance which often is reinforced by personal animosities between agency administrators.

In the meetings I attended dealing with interagency coordination, two boundary maintenance strategies were commonplace. The first involved the refusal to consider the possible elimination of duplicating services. Thus, agencies continued to compete for limited funds in order to finance duplicating programs. The second tactic was simple evasion. If pressed for a commitment to do almost anything, the common response was "I'll have to check this out as I cannot take a position today." Indeed, the total tenor of these "coordinating" meetings involved the retention and increase of the agency's share of the bureaucratic power and financial structure. While overtly conceding that coordinated services were a necessity, no agency was willing to place the better procurement and dispensation of services to clients above the maintenance of their bureaucratic niche.

Because the agency complex will not provide a coordinated delivery system, Alaska Natives and other clients are forced to experience the "agency bounce." Quite simply, the "agency bounce" characterizes a varying process by which a needy individual is shuttled back and forth among the paths of the agency complex labyrinth. For example, over a two-day period, I accompanied an informant who was "bounced" between thirteen agencies.

Once an individual elects to enter the agency complex

for assistance, the outcome is entirely problematical. Since most individuals only have sketchy knowledge of agency services, the individual usually goes to the agency that is most familiar; for example, the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At one extreme, if the individual has the good fortune to choose an agency that can be of assistance, the "agency bounce" is avoided. At the other extreme, if the individual's need overcomes physical, monetary, temporal, and psychological exhaustion, the individual can endure the "agency bounce" until some assistance is received or there are no agencies remaining. Usually, however, an individual voluntarily terminates the "bounce" at some stage because of one or more forms of assistance, followed by a lack of good fortune, followed by one or two "bounces," and then the individual simply resigns himself or herself to the fact that assistance will not be received.

While the physical, temporal, and monetary costs of non-satisfaction are considerable, the psychological cost can be devastating. Given the previously discussed Eskimo reluctance to seek out agencies, each agency experience becomes a personally traumatic event. The individual repeatedly has to present himself or herself to an unknown agent, usually a Caucasian, for scrutiny knowing that there is a distinct possibility of being humiliated or, at the very least, rejected. It is little wonder then that most Eskimos viewed the government, the agency sponsor, as not caring about the position of the Eskimo in Anchorage.

In sum, the agency complex has not adequately assisted

the Eskimo in adapting to Anchorage because of intra-agency and inter-agency problems at both the systemic and personal level. Because some of these problems are not local in their origin or solution, this section only focused on the major problems at the local level - the attitude of the agent toward the Eskimo client, and the "agency bounce" syndrome resulting from a lack of coordination among the components of the agency complex.

Anchorage Native Welcome Center

In direct response to the failure of the agency complex to mediate the adaptation of most Alaska Natives to the Anchorage system, a group of individuals, primarily Caucasians representing various agencies and service organizations, created the Anchorage Welcome Center to serve as the panacea for the agency complex. The Center, which opened in February of 1968 and which later changed its name to the Anchorage Native Welcome Center, was to be the antithesis of the agency complex as:

1. it was to be centrally located so as to be available to most individuals whereas the various formal agencies were dispersed throughout the Anchorage area,

2. it was to be staffed by Alaska Natives aware of and empathic with the cultural values and urban problems of other Alaska Natives,

3. it was to provide 24-hour, walk-in services in contrast to the 8-hour, by appointment services which were offered by the agency complex,

4. it was to receive widespread cooperation and support from both the agency complex and the Anchorage public, and

5. it was to provide a centralized referral system so that needed services could be provided and the "agency bounce" prevented.

My field research on the Welcome Center, which involved frequent informal observations and interviews, as well as regular attendance at meetings, started five months after the center had opened, and continued through all of the second and most of the third year of its operation. Rather than provide an exhaustive and nongermane listing of the various events that transpired during this time period, I will briefly point out the three major reasons why the Center failed to assist Eskimos and other Alaska Natives in adapting to the Anchorage system.

The first and, perhaps, primary reason for its failure was the noninvolvement of the Anchorage Native population in the planning, organization, and initial operation of the Center. Similar to the agency complex, the Center was Caucasian inspired, planned, funded, and dominated. Had a representative cross-section of the Anchorage Native population been involved in the Center from its inception, numerous problems could have been avoided. For example, the Center might have been located away from, rather than adjacent to, the "Native bar area," it might have had an original Alaska Native board of directors, or it might have had an Alaska Native director rather than a Sioux Indian.

Second, the Center consistently had a tenuous and external funding base. Because of financial constraints, the orientation of the Center was to insure its day-to-day survival, rather than to develop effective programs. Additionally, the Center was funded by the Greater Anchorage Area Community Action Agency, the local "war on poverty" umbrella organization. Since the funding of the Center was the agency's only significant programmatic involvement with the Anchorage Native population, the agency frequently meddled in the affairs of the Center. Consequently, the Center's autonomy and identity, crucial factors for a fledgling organization, were undermined.

Third, the Center suffered from poor planning and direction. It was never able to define its clientele and, consequently, it never was able to develop viable programs. For example, the most frequent visitors to the Center were older Caucasian and Alaska Native alcoholics but the Center had no programs geared toward them.

In sum, the proposed panacea for the agency complex, the Anchorage Native Welcome Center, also failed to assist Eskimos in adapting to Anchorage because of similar systemic and personal problems.

While there are indeed isolated, specific cases of success, the toal number of these "successes" is not sufficient to warrant any conclusion other than that the needs of the Anchorage Eskimo population have not been met by the Anchorage agency complex. Thus, in adapting to Anchorage, the Eskimo necessarily has had to develop

his or her means of responding to the Anchorage system. The remainder of this chapter focuses on the Eskimos' informal means of response.

INDIVIDUAL MANAGEMENT OF STRESS

It was noted that one of the subsidiary goals of this research was to determine to what degree the adaptation experience was stressful for the individual in the sense of generating intrapersonal tension or strain which demands some type of individual response.

Levine and Scotch suggest that previous studies of stress have pointed out:

> The inadequacy and incorrectness of a mechanical or simplistic stimulous-response model to encompass the various phenomena in the stress continuum. The picture of stress that emerges reflects the complexity of the stress process so that we are presented with a more elaborate refinement and delineation of a number of specific components or dimensions of stress. These include such broad but delimited areas as (1) the sources of stress, (2) the perception and meaning of the stress stimulus to the individual, (3) the personality or response repertoire of the person, (4) the individual's coping with or management of the stress stimulus, and (5) the ultimate outcome of the stress experience (1970:280-281).

While such a complex and complete analysis of urban Eskimo stress admittedly would be useful, it would necessitate a separate intensive research effort because of the multitude of variables involved in the stress process. Thus, the following discussion only concentrates on a few aspects of stress--the amount of stress,

the stress-reducing behavioral responses, and the effect of these responses. However, prior to discussing these aspects, it is necessary to briefly review themajor sources of stress for the Anchorage Eskimo.

Sources of Stress

In attempting to isolate the adaptation experience as a source of stress, it quickly became apparent that there is no one single source of stress which impinges on every urban Eskimo. Rather, there is, what might be termed, a "stress source-complex," composed of a multitude of independent and interdependent sources of stress, which differentially affects each individual. For example, preurban personal experiences which were stressful in Village Alaska also can be sources of stress in Anchorage, or they can be coupled with urban sources of stress to form a new stress-complex.

For the urban Eskimo, there are three, somewhat interrelated, urban sources of stress: adaptation patterns, the lack of supportive structures for the individual, and the physical-spatial-audio environment of Anchorage.

The generally stressful nature of the Eskimo adaptation patterns was described in the previous chapter. It was demonstrated that the structural adaptation of most Eskimos was quite low, especially when measured by income and employment levels. It is assumed that the individuals subjected to the most stress are those who accurately perceive their adaptation to be low, i.e.,

the survivor adaptation pattern. Additionally, the incongruity between how one has actually adapted and how one perceives one's adaptation is, especially over time, a potential source of stress for those individuals exhibiting the pressure adaptation pattern.

The general isolation of the individual Eskimo in Anchorage was alluded to in the previous chapter. In contrast to Village Alaska, the Anchorage Eskimo generally has no pragmatic or psychologically supportive structures beyond, in some cases, the nuclear family. As the residential data indicated, there is no geographic Eskimo community in Anchorage from which an individual could receive support based on community membership. The recency of the Eskimos' migration to Anchorage, coupled with its individual or nuclear family nature, has resulted in the lack of a supportive extended kinship system. The noninvolvement of Eskimos in formal associations, particularly the various Alaska Native organizations, has rendered these associations as ineffective support mechanisms. The fact that the agency complex has failed to adequately assist the Anchorage Eskimo further isolates the individual in the Anchorage system. Thus, without an extensive supportive structure, the individual is placed under a considerable amount of stress, especially in times of difficulty or need, because there is nowhere to go for assistance. While the individual might attempt to activate a portion of his or her personal network, these networks, as was mentioned, generally are impotent in terms of providing pragmatic support and tenuous in terms of providing

psychological support. In talking with many individuals threatening to commit suicide, a recurrent theme was a sense of isolation that was verbalized by statements like "nobody cares," "what difference does it make," or "why go on living?" In fact, many of these suicidal threats seemed more to be desperate devices to elicit a response from someone, than they were statements of intent. It is indicative of the degree of isolation felt by some that they had to resort to threatening suicide before someone would listen to them.

For some, the sensorial dissimilarity between the Anchorage environment and that of Village Alaska is a source of stress. For example, individuals repeatedly offered comments like "it's too noisy," "everything is built too close," "there's no room," or "there's no place to hunt." For the most part, males expressed more feelings of confinement in Anchorage than did females.

Amount of Stress

Assuming that every individual in under stress, I attempted, during the structured interview phase of this research, to obtain an individual's measurable degree of stress through employing a standardized instrument, the Health Opinion Survey. The modified Health Opinion Survey (Leighton and Cline 1968) is a simple twenty question screening device which elicits an individual's opinion about his or her state of health. It can be utilized to indicate for a population "which segments are experiencing varying amounts of stress"(Leighton 1968:personal communication). The

instrument comprises questions 108 through 127 in the structured interview guide (Appendix A).

The Health Opinion Survey data in Table 32 are arranged into approximate quartiles in order to merely indicate that a certain percentage of individuals appear to be experiencing more or less stress than another group. Thus, the data are noncomparable and nondefinitive as to the amount of stress experienced by the Anchorage Eskimo population. While a similar version of this instrument has been used successfully with Alaskan Eskimos (Murphy and Hughes 1965), this purposeful distortion of the data stems from my unconfirmable opinion that the amount of stress experienced by Anchorage Eskimos is higher than the stress scores indicate. Most of the data obtained from arrest records, unstructured interviews with Eskimos, and interviews with professionals involved in mental health fields indicate that the Anchorage Eskimo population is experiencing a high degree of stress. Yet, the mean survey score is only 27.2 on a 20 to 60 scale.

For the most part, the low scores seem attributable to the very personal nature of the health questions. Within the context of the structured interview, the health questions were perceived to be too personal and unrelated to finding out about the individual's life in Anchorage. In retrospect, I would not have utilized this instrument during the first interview, nor would I have utilized it in a nonhealth related context.

Although males, ages 30 through 39, are experiencing the

most stress, there are no significant differences in the degree of stress based on sex, age, marital status, or region.

Table 32

Quartile Distribution of Stress By Sex

Degree	TOTAL	Sex: MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
Least	20.7	19.0	24.1	14.7	21.6	19.1	24.6
Low	26.6	27.0	34.5	20.6	26.4	27.9	24.6
Moderate	28.7	30.2	31.0	29.4	28.0	26.5	29.8
Most	23.9	23.8	10.3	35.3	24.0	26.5	21.1
Total:	99.9 N=188	100.0 n=63	99.9 n=29	100.0 n=34	100.0 n=125	100.0 n=68	99.9 n=57

Because most of the Eskimo structural adaptation patterns are low and therefore stressful, there was no significant relationship between the level of structural adaptation and the degree of stress. However, there was a significant relationship between the level of perceptual adaptation and the degree of stress, i.e., the more an individual perceives, in terms of satisfaction and alienation, his or her adaptation to be successful, the less amount of stress. This finding lends support to Levine and Scotch's (1970)

emphasis on the analytic importance of the individual's perception and meaning of stress in stress studies.

For the population as a whole, the type of adaptation pattern was not significantly associated with the degree of stress. In part, this reflects the previously mentioned difficulty in isolating sources of stress.

It is particularly interesting to note that there was a strong tendency for the degree of stress to be associated with the type of adaptation patterns for the 20-29 age group. This group is the most "western" oriented group, and the amount of stress increases when these individuals do not adapt well to the Anchorage "western" system. This again suggests that comparative perception is an important variable in the study of stress.

Individual Management Responses to Stress

In using the terminology of management response, I am assuming that an individual's response to stress is an attempt at stress reduction even though the response may be unconscious rather than conscious, involuntary as opposed to voluntary, or covert rather than overt. Further, I assume that an individual's response repertoire can include, either singly or in combination, biological, psychological, or behavioral responses (Levine and Scotch 1970). Implicit in these assumptions is the belief that the same source of stress can elicit different individual responses, or conversely, different sources of stress can elicit the same individual response. Since I had no method to ascertain and measure the purely biological

or psychological responses that were not reflected in behavior, the following discussion focuses exclusively on the behavioral management responses.

The preeminent management response of the Anchorage Eskimo is drinking alcoholic beverages. This response usually precedes other, less common management responses such as behavioral threats or hysteria, temporary sexual liasons, criminal deviance, or physical relocation. Unfortunately, with the exception of Berreman's (1956) study of drinking in an Aleut village and Norwick's (1966) cursory study of Alaska Native drinking in Anchorage, little detailed knowledge exists about the behavioral complex associated with alcohol usage among Eskimos and other Alaska Natives.

Similar to Clairmont's (1963) analysis of Aklavik drinking patterns, I tend to view Eskimo drinking as a purposeful "flight" response that attempts to temporarily minimize stress. A brief sample of some verbal statements related to drinking illustrate the purposeful nature of Eskimo drinking behavior:

> A young man was asked why he was starting to drink at 2:00 A.M. and he replied, "I'm bored."
>
> A woman married to a Caucasian was asked why she was drinking alone on Fourth Avenue and she replied, "I like to see my (Native) friends and my friends usually don't like to come to my house because I'm married to a white."
>
> A young woman was asked why she was drinking and she replied, "I want to get drunk because I had an argument with my boyfriend."
>
> A young woman was asked why a particular older Alaska Native woman might be drinking so much and she

> replied, "She probably has problems, was having a good time, or was looking for a man."
>
> A man in his late twenties explained he was drinking because "I stopped feeling like a human being four years ago."

Given this and similar data, Eskimo drinking will be viewed as a personal and individual adaptive response to stress rather than as a character flaw, or a form of degeneracy. However, it is essential to emphasize that not all Anchorage Eskimos drink alcoholic beverages. In fact, 25.5 percent of the 137 individuals for which complete drinking data were available were total abstainers.

The only major drinking pattern that pertains to the Eskimo population as a whole is that individuals seldom drink in isolation (Norwick 1966). Even those individuals who might start out drinking in isolation, usually make physical or phone contact with someone else during the course of the drinking period. It was quite common to observe individuals coming to Fourth Avenue by themselves after they had already been drinking at their home. The interactive or nonsolitary nature of Eskimo drinking is important in understanding the dynamics of Fourth Avenue and will be commented upon in the last section of this chapter.

In discussing Eskimo drinking patterns, it seems useful to concentrate on the severity of consumption, the frequency of occurrence, and the usual type of interaction situation, i.e., public or private. Figure 4 portrays these dimensions and indicates the major Anchorage Eskimo drinking patterns.

Frequency	SEVERITY				
		Chronic Alcoholic	Problem Drinker	Variable	Social Drinker
	Continuous	Public	Public		
	Episodic		Public	Public/ Private	
	Occasional			Public/ Private	Public/ Private

Figure 4. Anchorage Eskimo Drinking Patterns

In attempting to establish some quantitative indicators to describe these observed drinking patterns, I developed a drinking-problem scale which, to some degree, measures the severity of Eskimo drinking. The results of this scale are displayed in Table 33. The scale was devised by combining data related to the frequency of drinking alcoholic beverages, the incidences of getting high or forgetting events when drinking, and whether or not an individual was arrested for being Drunk-In-Public during 1968 in the City of Anchorage. Because I only had temporary access to the Drunk-In-Public records, I was unable to verify the records of 27.9 percent of the interviewed population and, thus, the data only include 75 percent of the male population and 70.6 percent of the female population. The scale is most accurate in indicating the abstainers among the Eskimo population and those with severe drinking problems.

Table 33

Severity of Anchorage Eskimo Drinking By Sex

Severity		Sex					
	TOTAL	MALE			FEMALE		
		Total	20-29	30-39	Total	20-29	30-39
None	25.5	10.4	6.3	12.5	33.7	36.7	30.0
Minimal	54.0	52.1	50.0	53.1	55.1	57.1	52.5
Moderate	3.6	4.2	-	6.3	3.4	4.1	2.5
Severe	16.8	33.3	43.8	28.1	7.9	2.0	15.0
Total:	99.9 N=137	100.0 n=48	100.1 n=16	100.0 n=32	100.1 n=89	99.9 n=49	100.0 n=40

To provide a context for discussing the major Eskimo drinking patterns, it is important to note that male Eskimos, especially those in the 20-29 age group, have significantly more severe drinking problems than female Eskimos. Although the inclusion of Drunk-In-Public arrest data somewhat distorts the severity of the female drinking as females are more insulated from the Drunk-In-Public arrest procedure, the severity of the male Eskimo drinking is quite consistent with my observational and interview data.

Also, non-married Eskimos, particularly males, have significantly more severe drinking problems than married Eskimos. This finding further reinforces the previous references to the stabilizing effect of marriage upon the individual Eskimo.

Continuous chronic alcoholic or problem drinker. The continuous chronic alcoholic and the continous problem drinker can be considered as different patterns of alcoholism, i.e.,

> A disease, or disorder of behavior, characterized by repeated drinking of alcoholic beverages, which interferes with the drinker's health, interpersonal relations or economic functioning (Indian Health Service Task Force on Alcoholism 1969:26).

Because individuals manifesting these continuous patterns invariably frequent the public bars of Fourth Avenue, they are quite visible to the general public and the general public erroneously infers that these patterns characterize most Eskimos. However, the data in Table 33 indicate that only 16.8 percent of the Eskimo population manifest behaviors associated with the continuous pattern.

Both the quantitative and observational data indicate that the continuous chronic alcoholic and problem drinker tend to be males. Generally, these individuals are unmarried, unemployed, and, because they often lack a permanent residence, they reside in free institutional dormitories. Almost without exception, these individuals have multiple arrest records, usually confined to being Drunk-In-Public or other alcohol related offenses against the public such as physical violence or disturbing the peace. For most, going to jail is the rule, not the exception.

For the most part, these individuals exhibit the survival pattern of adaptation. In attempting to survive and, at the same time, drink, these individuals attempt to drink as cheaply as possible and, unless they need room and board, they attempt to avoid being arrested.

Drinking cheaply is accomplished by at least three techniques: panhandling money, panhandling drinks, and surreptitious supplies. In order to panhandle money or a drink, the most frequent technique is to ask an Alaska Native "friend" of the same sex who has been seen to be spending money. This is a difficult task, for the panhandler operates in the context of a Fourth Avenue bar which only tolerates the presence of individuals with money.

The most interesting "drinking cheaply" technique involves surreptitious supplies of alcohol. Since the continuous drinkers invariably interact in public bars, it becomes quite expensive to pay bar prices for alcohol. For example, in 1968-1969, the price

of bottled beer ranged from 75¢ to $1.00, and mixed drinks were $1.00 or above. To avoid these high prices and yet continue to drink in a public situation, the continuous drinkers resort to surreptitious supplies. One method is to hide a bottle, usually wine, outside of the bar but near enough to the bar so that periodic trips can be made. Another method might be termed the "belly bottle"--the individual places a pint bottle of wine or whiskey under the front of his shirt and secures the bottle by tucking it in the waist of his pants. With this method, the individual can clandestinely pour his own drinks or, as is the usual case, simply go to the restroom for a drink. While the "belly bottle" method is physically convenient, it is also more precarious as bottles frequently tend to get dislodged or dropped.

The techniques used to avoid arrest depend upon the time of day. In the daytime, the individual must be out of the bar area as it is usually sparsely populated and thus, the individual is more visible. Depending on weather conditions, the individual attempts to find a natural area or sympathetic resting spot like the Welcome Center. At night, the individual attempts to avoid the exposure of the street by moving along the back alley of Fourth Avenue and using the back entrances of the bars. However, because of the police department's patrol and arrest procedures, the continuous drinker is seldom successful in avoiding arrest.

Episodic drinker. Episodic drinking patterns are characterized by regular drinking sprees of limited duration which are

separated by periods of mild social drinking or, in some cases, nondrinking. The length of time between these intensive drinking sessions varies according to each individual's need. Based on observations and interviews, it seems the episodic pattern serves to periodically dissipate a build-up of stress. It is a safety valve that represents an adaptive response to stress in that it allows the person to continue functioning in a stressful environment. In some ways, it is an individual's "Time-Out" (MacAndrew and Edgerton 1969) from the day-to-day problems of living in and adapting to Anchorage.

The major distinction between episodic problem drinkers and episodic variable drinkers is the probability of the drinking spree resulting in arrest, work absenteeism, disrupted personal relationships, etc. For the problem drinker, there is a much higher probability that these events will occur. For the most part, males tend to exhibit the episodic problem pattern and females tend to exhibit the episodic variable pattern.

For females, episodic drinking seems to precipitate the entering into a temporary sexual liason with a male and/or hysterical-suicidal threats. Typically, the hysterical-suicidal behavior pattern involves uncontrollable crying, explosive verbal outbursts, sudden violence directed at the nearest person, sudden and nondirectional physical flight, or alternating verbal loudness and withdrawal. While this type of behavior pattern temporarily is disruptive, it does seem to result in a temporary period of

personal stability in which the individual returns to the task of adapting to Anchorage.

The episodic pattern, particularly the problem drinker pattern, seems to be a preliminary stage of the continuous or alcoholic pattern. As the periods between the drinking episodes lessen in duration or the length of the drinking sprees increase, the individual's probability of becoming a continuous drinker increases. This suggests that, in the long run, drinking may be an ineffective response to managing stress.

Variable and social drinker. The occasional variable and social drinkers are the least visible of all Eskimo drinkers and, yet, they are the most frequent Eskimo drinking patterns. While these drinkers do frequent public drinking areas, they also drink in private situations without following this drinking by public drinking as do the continuous and episodic drinkers.

Based on limited observations, the most typical occasional drinker is a married female. The only distinction between the two types of occasional drinkers is the probability of intoxication--the variable drinker would have a higher probability of becoming intoxicated.

Summary. In this section, Eskimo drinking patterns were considered as the Anchorage Eskimos' major management response to stress.

While there was no significant statistical association

between the type of adaptation pattern and the severity of the drinking problem, observational and interview data indicate that a continuous drinker is more likely to have a survivor adaptation pattern and that an episodic drinker will tend to exhibit one of the two pressure adaptation patterns.

Throughout this discussion, it has been implied that the severity of the drinking problem might be associated with the individual's level of stress. Even though the stress scores are low, there proved to be a significant association between the level of stress and the severity of the drinking problem, i.e., the higher the level of stress, the more severe the drinking problem. Thus, it is possible to conclude that drinking is an attempt at stress reduction.

Consequences of Individual Responses to Stress

Since the major Eskimo management response to stress involves the usage of alcohol, this section focuses exclusively on whether or not drinking effectively reduces stress and aids Eskimos in adapting to Anchorage.

At best, drinking is only a temporarily effective response in that it might result in the individual momentarily forgetting about the sources of stress. However, drinking does not remove the intraindividual or external sources of stress. Thus, it simply becomes a matter of time until the amount of stress is such that it requires dissipation by drinking.

Unfortunately, drinking usually results in other, more adverse consequences for the individual Eskimo. It is these short and long term negative aspects of drinking that resulted in drinking being named by Eskimos as the most serious problem for Eskimos in Anchorage.

Arrest. By far, the most widespread and predictable consequence of drinking alcohol is being arrested for public drunkenness. While I did an enormous amount of research related to the arrest, conviction, and incarceration process, it will suffice to state that Alaska Natives, irregardless of sex or age group, are disproportionately arrested for being "Drunk-In-Public" within the City of Anchorage.

Since there are no data to indicate that Alaska Native drinking is more severe than Caucasian drinking, the disproportionate arrest rate for Alaska Natives is attributable to the City of Anchorage's variable enforcement of the "Drunk-In-Public" statutes. Specifically, there is selective geographic and racial enforcement of the "Drunk-In-Public" law. Of all the areas of Anchorage, the Fourth Avenue area is the most intensively patrolled. Because Alaska Natives tend to drink in the Fourth Avenue bar area, they are more exposed to the possibility of arrest than individuals drinking elsewhere in Anchorage. Furthermore, within the Fourth Avenue bar area, an intoxicated Alaska Native individual, especially a male, invariably will be arrested for public drunkenness while a similarly intoxicated Caucasian seldom is arrested. If an

intoxicated Alaska Native female is with a male, particularly a Caucasian male, she is insulated from the arrest procedure as the patrolling officers seem to think she is "being taken care of."

Because most Alaska Native individuals do not have and are unable to locate sufficient funds for bail, they are usually incarcerated in the City Jail until they are sober enough for arraignment in the Municipal Misdemeanor Court. Most Natives plead guilty to the public drunkenness charge and are sentenced by the presiding judge. There is a more or less standard monetary fine system--$25.00 for the first offense, $50.00 for the second offense, etc. However, since most Alaska Native individuals do not have sufficient funds to pay the fine, they are required to work off their fine at the rate of $5.00 a day. Also, the presiding judge often arbitrarily assigns additional days in jail. Such a system obviously discriminates against the legally unsophisticated or the poor.

If the incarceration experience served to deter future excessive drinking or to rehabilitate problem drinkers, one could argue for its continuance; but, it does neither. For example, Alaska Natives account for 52.5 percent of all individuals arrested for public drunkenness and, yet, they account for 66.3 percent of all individuals having multiple arrests. In fact, seven out of ten Alaska Natives arrested had at least one prior arrest during the 1968 calendar year.

There seem to be several reasons why the incarceration

experience does not stop Alaska Natives, particularly Eskimos, from being recidivists. First, the arrest procedure is not changed and therefore, Alaska Natives still are disproportionately arrested. Secondly, Eskimos do not categorize being arrested for public drunkennness as a social stigma. While being arrested is a temporarily unpleasant experience, it does not engender guilt feelings on the part of the individual, nor does it cause the individual to be socially sanctioned by other Eskimos. Thirdly, the judge's admonition to participate in an Alcoholic Anonymous-like program, based on public confession of wrongdoing, is simply antithetical to the Eskimo value system. Fourthly, the judicial system provides no supportive medical and/or psychological counseling services for arrested individuals. Fifthly, and most importantly, the incarceration experience does nothing to remove the sources of stress, particularly those embedded in the external setting of Anchorage, which are often associated with an individual's reasons for drinking.

The primary outcome of the arrest-incarceration experience is that the individual now has a jail record for being "Drunk-In-Public." This is quite detrimental for the Eskimo attempting to adapt to Anchorage in that it precludes his employment in some governmental jobs and, most unfortunately, it reinforces other potential employer's stereotype of the "drunken Eskimo." It becomes quite convenient to substitute "drinking problem" for "Eskimo" in explaining why someone was not hired for a job. Thus, a "vicious circle" is initiated--no job, no income; no income, stress; stress, drinking; and drinking, arrest.

In part, this research effort contributed to the formation of an Ad Hoc Drunk-In-Public Committee. This committee attempted to eliminate the crime of Drunk-In-Public from the Anchorage statutes and, simultaneously, to develop a well-funded, multivariate alcohol rehabilitation program.

Although the crime of Drunk-In-Public was not eliminated, the arrest procedure was altered to allow for two custodial arrests per twelve-month period, i.e., the individual is held for a sobering-up period and then released without being arraigned. If the individual is not arrested again in the next twelve-month period, the individual can petition to have the arrest record sealed and, in effect, the individual would have a "clean slate." While this procedural change does not benefit the recidivist, it does mitigate the economic and employment effects of a Drunk-In-Public arrest. Unfortunately, it does nothing to change the selective enforcement of the Drunk-In-Public statute.

The committee's rehabilitative efforts resulted in the Greater Anchorage Area Borough employing a full-time alcohol coordinator and a part-time aide within the Borough's health department.

Disruption of essential relationships. The second major consequence of drinking alcohol is the potential disruption of two relationships important in the adaptation process--employer/employee and husband/wife.

The disruption of the employer/employee relationship results

from alcohol related absenteeism. For the most part, this pattern involves the episodic drinker who is unable to report to work after starting a drinking spree. While a few absences might be tolerated or deducted from an individual's accrued leave, repeated absences result in termination. Although I do not have supportive statistical data, there seem to be a considerable number of individuals who have lost jobs for alcohol related reasons as compared to those losing their job for other reasons. Once an individual loses a job for an alcohol related reason, it is very difficult to overcome the "drinker" reputation and find another job. Thus, one's level of adaptation is decreased along with a possible increase in stress.

The fact that severe drinking contributes to the disruption of familial relationships is not as obvious as it may seem. Most Eskimo individuals are quite tolerant of individuals with drinking problems. It seems that it is only when the drinking problem leads to other problems such as violence, or desertion, that familial relationships are disrupted. Based on scanty data, it appears that the primary cause of intra-Eskimo divorce is alcohol related behavior.

Reduction of life expectancy. For many continuous drinkers, the ultimate consequence of drinking is the development of life reducing illnesses, either alcoholic or nonalcoholic based. While the nature of these illnesses do not easily lend themselves to statistical analysis, continuous drinking is undoubtedly involved in the deaths of many individuals. For example, a young female informant, who was a continuous drinker, suddenly died after drinking four beers

and a fifth of whiskey. In these types of cases, the cause of death is usually the primary cause of death, such as heart failure, rather than the actual cause of death--alcoholism. Alcohol related accidents and suicides, although they also are difficult to statistically verify, only add to the terminal nature of some Eskimo drinking patterns.

Erosion of "self." The final, major consequence of drinking alcohol is, for lack of a better phrase, the erosion of "self," i.e., a consistent guilt complex associated with alcohol consumption and the behaviors which result from this consumption. This guilt complex is manifested by social drinkers as well as by episodic and continuous drinkers. It's most common expression is either a statement which cites a self-imperfection as the cause for drinking, or a statement which expresses a desire or intention to stop drinking because of its negative effects on one's self or others. Most of these statements are expressed in a drinking context and they often serve as preambles to extensive introspective narrations. This appears to be another "vicious circle" in that the individual may drink because of an erosion of "self" and after drinking, the "self" is further eroded.

Summary

This section has focused on the individual Eskimo's attempts at managing stress that result from either preurban or urban sources.

While there are no significant differences in the distribution of stress within the Anchorage Eskimo population, most Eskimos attempt to reduce the amount of stress by a common, purposeful behavior--drinking alcohol. However, there is no typical Eskimo pattern of alcohol consumption. Rather, there are occasional drinkers, episodic drinkers, and continual drinkers.

In general, the drinking of alcohol is, at best, only a temporarily effective stress reduction mechanism as the underlying sources of stress remain unchanged. Unfortunately, alcohol consumption also results in other consequences which are detrimental to the individual's chances for successfully adapting to the Anchorage system.

FOURTH AVENUE

Throughout this dissertation, continual reference has been made to the Fourth Avenue bar area. This section attempts to justify these continual references by demonstrating that the Fourth Avenue bar area plays an essential and integral part in the adaptation of Eskimos to Anchorage.

The Fourth Avenue bar area is probably the most well-known, and the least understood, area in Anchorage. If one simply reads the Anchorage daily newspapers, one develops a very negative image of the area. The following is a typical sample of Fourth Avenue-related news items: "Man is Beaten, Robbed in Alley" (Anchorage Daily Times, October 17, 1968:2); "Downtown Mob Teeters

Near Riot" (Anchorage Daily News, April 28, 1969:2); "Man Shot in Attack" (Anchorage Daily Times, August 8, 1969:2); "Attack on the Streets" (Anchorage Daily Times, October 3, 1969:5); "Bystander Injured in Barroom Fight" (Anchorage Daily News, January 5, 1970:3); and "Stabbing on Fourth Avenue" (Anchorage Daily News, July 12, 1970:2).

Similarly, if an individual drives by the area during the evening or takes a "tourist" visit to the area, the individual sees many bars, many drinkers, some drunks, etc.,--which serve to create, or reinforce, a negative image of the area.

For most Anchorage residents, including some Eskimos, Fourth Avenue is the "skid row" of Anchorage. It is an eyesore to the community which should be razed. When the northern side of Fourth Avenue was destroyed in the 1964 earthquake, many Anchorage residents viewed it as instant urban beautification. However, if an individual proceeds to systematically investigate the dynamics of Fourth Avenue, one will find an enduring and somewhat unique form of urban social organization which is instrumental in the adaptation of Eskimos to the larger Anchorage system.

Rather than add yet another new term to the anthropological lexicon, I have chosen to modify Leeds' (1973) concept of "locality" to formulate the concept of a "voluntary locality" in order to describe the enduring and unique form of social organization characteristic of Fourth Avenue. Leeds (1973:20-24) advances several features of a locality that are pertinent for the understanding of the Fourth Avenue area:

1. The locality should have a relatively stable population. While Leeds implies this population will be composed of stable and identifiable individuals, it seems more profitable to consider a population as being composed of relatively the sam "categories" of individuals, even though the unique individuals occupying these categories may vary over time. In the Fourth Avenue area, the stable categories of people are male and female, teenage and adult Alaska Natives of all ethnic groups, and male Caucasians, usually in their twenties and past fifty. Occasionally, there are a few young Black males. There is a notable absence of non-Alaska Native females and middle-aged males. These categories of individuals tended to engage in distinct, identifiable behaviors. For example, Alaska Natives, either individually or in groups, tended to engage in socializing and drinking behaviors. Young Caucasian males generally were looking for female companionship or a fight, and they tended to travel in, what might be termed, "packs." Older Caucasian males generally were alcoholics who drank individually or with another person.

2. The locality should be a sensorily distinct unit. The Fourth Avenue area definitely is visually distinct from other areas in Anchorage. Its high concentration of bars, amusement arcades, etc., clearly separate it from adjacent areas. More importantly, Fourth Avenue is conceived of as

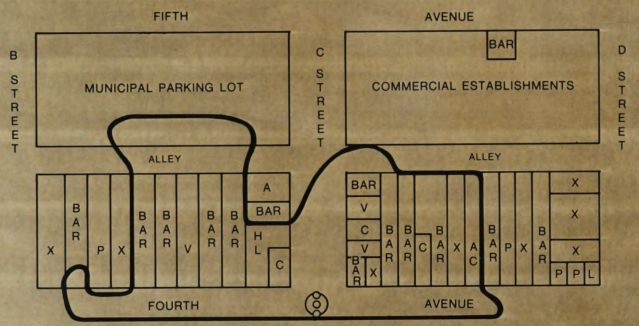
a separate unit by the majority of the Anchorage population, including Eskimos.

Within the Fourth Avenue area, Alaska Natives have covertly defined a socially distinct, interaction locality which can be considered as the voluntary locality. Figure 5 indicates the location of the various establishments of the Fourth Avenue area as well as the social boundaries of the voluntary locality. Although at least one of the non-included bars tends to discriminate against Alaska Natives, I do not believe discrimination, physical facilities, or price are responsible for the social definition of the voluntary locality. The social boundaries seem to exist as part of a tradition rather than because of any particular event.

3. ". . . localities comprise nodes of interaction. . . , the points of greatest density and widest variety of categories of behavior in the area . . ." (Leeds 1973:20. This is certainly true of Fourth Avenue. The voluntary locality, while temporally constant, attains its full realization during the evening hours. Compared to any adjacent locality, the density of interaction is much higher and the range of behaviors is much wider. The corner of Fourth Avenue and C Street is the central mode of interaction.

4. A locality is also characterized by ". . . a

FIGURE 5: CHART OF THE VOLUNTARY LOCALITY OF FOURTH AVENUE
(NOT DRAWN TO SCALE)



SYMBOLS:

A = ARCADE
C = CAFE
H = HOTEL
L = LIQUOR STORE

P = PAWN SHOP
V = VACANT BUILDING
X = OTHER COMMERCIAL ESTABLISHMENT
= TRAFFIC SIGNAL

= APPROXIMATE SOCIAL BOUNDARY OF VOLUNTARY LOCALITY

CENSUS TRACT 11

NORTH

highly complex web of diverse types of relationships . . . (and) Individuals choose among these modes, mobilizing now one, now another, as occasion and utility warrant" (Leeds 1973:21-22). This is particularly true for Fourth Avenue. The modes of relationships vary from specific kinship obligations to generalized categories, such as Black person, depending on the nature of the situation. While this diversity allows for a multitude of possible individual responses, it also can create conflict situations when interaction is nondyadic and conflicting modes of interaction are involved. For example, one young woman was interacting on a kinship basis with her father, but when a young Caucasian male sat down, she had difficulty in simultaneously fulfilling the expected role of daughter and that of "Eskimo girl in a bar."

This fluid interactional situation, with its potential for personal adaptation and conflict, helps explain the mobility patterns along Fourth Avenue. An individual seldom remains in one location for the duration of the evening. Because individuals are constantly changing situations, individuals are called upon to employ various modes of interaction throughout the evening. If a particular mode of interaction becomes uncomfortable or conflict-producing, the individual usually moves to a different situation rather than an unpleasant form of interaction.

While the previous data suggest that the concept of locality is an appropriate category to describe Fourth Avenue, it should be mentioned that the voluntary locality differs from Leeds' (1973) concept of locality in that it is not a locus of power, i.e., it does not have the ability to exercise control over resources, nor does it have any organizational autonomy in relation to other localities. Because Fourth Avenue does not have these boundary maintenance characteristics, I have chosen to employ the concept of voluntary locality in that it only exists by virtue of the fact that specific categories of individuals voluntarily interact within this specific area.

While each individual has his or her own reason for interacting on Fourth Avenue at any specific time, there seem to be several, previously discussed factors which have led to the formation of a voluntary locality along Fourth Avenue. These factors are:

1. The numerical Caucasian predominance throughout Anchorage.
2. The preponderance of females in the Eskimo population.
3. The geographic dispersement of the Eskimo population throughout the Anchorage area, which prevents the establishment of any identifiable Eskimo physical community.
4. The distances between Eskimo residences, coupled with the shortage of personal transportation and the non-existence of public transportation, make social interaction with a wide range of Eskimos both difficult and costly.

5. The nonexistence of any Eskimo structural organizations or associations based on a community of interest and/or need.
6. The isolative position of individual Eskimos in the Anchorage urban system.
7. The Anchorage Eskimos' cultural penchant for interactive drinking and recreation.
8. The disadvantageous or low level of structural adaptation which characterizes most Anchorage Eskimos.
9. The existence of covert discriminatory attitudes by many, if not most, Caucasians.

When viewed as a constellation rather than as isolates, these factors, perhaps unconsciously, have led Eskimos and other Anchorage Natives to spatially centralize many of their personal, public interactions within the voluntary locality. By so doing, a comfortable interaction situation, especially when it is contrasted to other interaction situations in Anchorage, is established and maintained. Alaska Natives, with similar problems and levels of adaptation, are the majority rather than the usual, unique minority. In this perspective,

> the social organization of the locality may be seen as a highly flexible situation of human adaptation. Its very flexibility and looseness of organization, its unchartered and unspecified (or, one might say, unrationalized and unbureaucratized) complexity permits a wide range of response to an almost infinite variety of events, contexts, and exigencies (Leeds 1973:23).

While the existence of the voluntary locality of Fourth Avenue allows numerous adaptive functions to be fulfilled, there are

several which are of particular importance for Eskimos adapting to the Anchorage urban system.

The first, and perhaps most important, function performed by Fourth Avenue is that it provides a means for the individual Eskimo to bridge his or her physio-social isolation. Because it is a definite physical location, an Eskimo is guaranteed of being able to meet and socially interact with other Eskimos if he or she goes to this physical space. The existence of this "communal space" is one of the primary reasons why most Eskimos choose to interact on Fourth Avenue as opposed to other recreation-entertainment areas that are closer to their residences.

A second function of Fourth Avenue is an informational one. The Eskimo's adaptive dependence on the larger Anchorage system requires that the Eskimo have knowledge of that system. Through interaction along Fourth Avenue, individuals are not only made aware of some previously unknown services or resources, but they also learn of previously attempted adaptive strategies that were either failures or successes. In this sense, Fourth Avenue serves as an enculturative mechanism for the new migrant to Anchorage. For example, one of the most important strategies for a young female to learn is how to deal with the young Caucasian male. These strategies are partly learned by experience, but I observed numerous instances of one female cautioning or directing a less experienced female as to how to get free drinks, how to "learn to lie a lot," etc.

One of the principal "informational brokers" on Fourth Avenue is the Caucasian bartender. Many individual Eskimos establish personal dyadic relationships with bartenders and by so doing, they are linked into the bartender's informational network. Bartenders generally seemed to be most knowledgeable about where housing might be obtained and, to a much lesser degree, about employment opportunities. Their knowledge of the agency complex is very limited. At best, the bartender is a source of information for short-term or emergency situations.

The last major function of Fourth Avenue is that is provides a location for carrying out the major management response to stress--the drinking of alcoholic beverages and the attendant responses of temporary sexual liasons and hysterical behavior. In many ways, the "communal space" of Fourth Avenue provides a supportive and conducive environment for these stress-reduction behaviors. The normative restraints within this locality are generally quite flexible. The extremes of these behavioral responses find a more tolerant acceptance than they would if they were carried out elsewhere in Anchorage and thus, the individual has more opportunity to dissipate the stress. However, the aftermath of the extreme instances of these behaviors, as was mentioned, can be quite debilitating. In a brief poem entitled "Slaughter on Fourth Avenue," Vernita Zilys, an Alaska Native, eloquently expresses the long-term consequences of drinking to extreme on Fourth Avenue:

> Gliding, biding its time, riding the lily-white
> froth of wine,
> my age slips on.

Jumping, bumping my feet, dumping my cares
to the litter-torn street,
my high wears on.
Swearing, wearing my wine, bearing the lily-
white froth of wine,
my lips talk to prate.
Sending, bending my mind, rending all of the
ties that bind,
my wine flows on.
Clinking, winking at me, sinking to tills
unowned by me,
my money is gone.
Torn, worn out of sight, borne on the skids
of society's blight,
my home is gone.
Torn, worn out of sight, borne on the wings
of society's blight,
my pride is gone (1969).

From time to time, there are public demands for the elimination of the Fourth Avenue area. Some, usually Caucasians, argue that the existence of Fourth Avenue is a blight on the image of Anchorage. While some individuals espousing this view are motivated merely out of a sense of physical improvement, others desire to remove the Alaska Native from the public eye. Others, including many Alaska Natives, argue that the elimination or clearing up of Fourth Avenue will solve the "Native drinking problem."

While these individuals are motivated out of a concern for Alaska Natives in Anchorage, their rationale is faulty. The elimination of Fourth Avenue will not diminish or solve the "Native drinking problem," but will simply force Alaska Native drinkers to go elsewhere. The causes for drinking, as was mentioned, are not the existence of bars. Rather, drinking, in part, is caused by the existence of structural inequities in the larger Anchorage system which have impeded or prevented the Alaska Native from adequately

adapting to this system. These inequities must be remedied before drinking, a stress response, will be diminished.

Additionally, by advocating the removal of the voluntary locality, these individuals, quite unknowingly, would be destroying the social configuration that has made it possible for many Alaska Eskimos to physically and psychologically survive in Anchorage. Without such a "communal space," I would hypothesize an increase, rather than a decrease, in behaviors reflecting personal disorganization.

Until some structural changes occur within the Anchorage system, it seems much more profitable to view Fourth Avenue as a voluntary locality that contributes to the adaptation of Eskimos to Anchorage, rather than as a detrimental factor in the adaptation process.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion to this chapter is a pessimistic one. The Eskimos' responses to their structural position in the Anchorage system--utilizing public agencies, drinking alcohol, and forming a voluntary locality--have not been successful in significantly improving the Eskimos' adaptation level. At best, they have offered short-term or temporary relief from generally low levels of adaptation; at worst, they have led to an even further decline in the level of adaptation.

The agency complex, for numerous reasons, has failed to

adequately mediate between the Eskimo and the external setting of Anchorage. Thus, the individual must interact with the Anchorage system on a solitary basis.

The many sources of stress--the low level of adaptation, the failure of the agency complex, etc.--have led the Anchorage Eskimo to drink alcoholic beverages in order to reduce the amount of stress. This attempt at stress reduction is, at best, only temporarily effective as the major sources of stress are extra-individual.

The nonintentional formation of the Fourth Avenue voluntary locality is of immense significance for the adaptation process for it provides the only collective social anchor in Anchorage. Its prime importance is that it provides a social arena in which the individual Eskimo can find the social-psychological support necessary for the continuation of his or her attempt at adaptation.

Given the long-term inadequacy of the Eskimos' attempts to alter their structural position in Anchorage, one necessarily must ask whether or not there is any prospect for future improvement in the Eskimos' position within the larger Anchorage system. A section of the concluding chapter of this dissertation addresses itself to this question.

Chapter 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

For anthropologists, the Eskimos of the Arctic always have been a fascinating people. The first wave of anthropological interest properly emphasized the ingenious socio-technological system utilized by Eskimos to successfully adapt to a harsh, inhospitable ecosystem. The second wave of anthropological interest was concerned with effects of "westernization" upon the traditional Eskimo ecosystem. In some ways, this research represents the third wave of anthropological interest for it focuses on those Eskimos who have left their traditional ecosystem to reside in a quantitatively and qualitatively distinct ecosystem--a "western" urban system.

This chapter attempts to highlight some of the major findings regarding Alaska Eskimos who have left their traditional ecosystem and who now reside in the "western" urban system of Anchorage, Alaska.

Although urban anthropological research covers a myraid of research domains, the specific research domain of this dissertation is the adaptation of Eskimos to the Anchorage urban system. It was believed that a description and explanation of this limited research domain would generate data that eventually might lend themselves to cross-cultural comparison so that urban researchers

might better determine what factors are involved in the urban adaptation of ethno-racial migrant groups. Toward this end, extensive field data were collected through structured interviews as well as the more traditional data collection techniques of participant observation and nondirective interviews. The statistical data then were subjected to innumerable cross-tabulations so that insight could be gained into what factors seemed to be associated with the various levels of adaptation.

The particular individuals studied in this research effort were Alaska Eskimos, ages 20 through 39, who had resided in Anchorage for at least one year. This group was selected because its members comprised most of the adult Anchorage Eskimo population. Also, these individuals were migrants to Anchorage.

The conceptual orientation of this research centered around the concept of situational adaptation (Mitchell 1966). In essence, it assumes that individuals adapt to new situations and that the task of the anthropologists is to discern these adaptation patterns. As such, it demands an empirical description and explanation of the degree to which Anchorage Eskimos fit into and/or are fitted into the larger, external Anchorage system. It is important to note that this research was not concerned with acculturation of the Anchorage Eskimo population, i.e., no attempt was made to determine the degree to which Eskimos have internalized the "western" value configuration of Anchorage. While acculturation studies are commonplace, they often belie the fact that value

internalization is not a prerequisite for, nor a guarantee of successful adaptation by a migrant population.

Given the existing opportunity structure and physical conditions of Village Alaska, many Alaska Eskimos view Anchorage as the source of economic opportunity and physical comfort, and they decide to migrate from Village Alaska. Although most migrants do not move directly to Anchorage, Anchorage becomes the terminus for most Eskimo migrants. During the 1968-70 period of this research, the composition of the migrant population was roughly two-thirds females and one-third males.

Upon arriving in Anchorage, the Eskimo immediately encounters a behavioral system that bears little to no resemblance to that of Village Alaska. The Eskimo is required to interact within and adapt to this large urban system that was founded by, is maintained by, and exists for Caucasians. The "western" ethos of Anchorage are all pervasive. Especially important for the adaptation of the Eskimo is the fact that the economic structure of Anchorage is a cash-service oriented system. The ability to earn or obtain income, rather than the ability to pursue subsistence activities, becomes the deciding variable in whether or not an individual survives in Anchorage. The usual means of obtaining income in Anchorage is by employment. However, the employment market of Anchorage is oriented toward the provisions of services and, as such, most jobs require certain skill levels as well as a facility with "western" symbols.

Although the Eskimo, like many others in Anchorage, is a recent arrival who is committed to permanently remaining in Anchorage, this research has demonstrated that the Anchorage Eskimo, as a categoric group, occupies an isolated position within the Anchorage system. The Eskimo is set apart from the Anchorage mainstream because:

1. The Eskimo is a member of an "exotic" migrant group that is racially and culturally distinct from the dominant Caucasian majority. This distinctness gives rise to erroneous stereotypes and overt discriminatory practices on the part of many Caucasians.

2. The Anchorage Eskimo is less educated than his or her Caucasian counterpart and thus, even though there may be no employment discrimination, the Eskimo is at a distinct disadvantage in the Anchorage job market. Consequently, many Eskimos are unemployed and those fortunate enough to secure employment are generally employed in unskilled positions with little to no opportunity for advancement.

3. Because of their ethno-racial status and low educational levels, the few employment positions open to Anchorage Eskimos are such that the resulting Eskimo income level is abominable. The vast majority of Eskimos are unable to maintain even a low standard of living in a city which has the highest cost of living in the United States. Indeed, even if the Eskimo were not a member of an

ethno-racial minority, the Eskimos' poverty would be sufficient to isolate them from the remainder of the Anchorage system.

4. Because of their recency of arrival and low income levels, most Eskimos are forced to reside in the poorest and most densely populated residential areas of Anchorage. In general, these areas show tendencies of being an incipient ghetto that is dispersed over a very large area near the downtown business district and military bases. Since one-third of the Eskimos do not have vehicular transportation, their movement within the Anchorage system is restricted to distances that can be physically walked, or taxi rates that can be afforded since Anchorage does not have a system of public transportation.

5. Paradoxically, the Eskimos' actual isolation in the Anchorage system has led to the formation of a distinct "Native" bar area along Fourth Avenue, which further serves to isolate the Anchorage Eskimo.

Although the Eskimo, as a categoric group, is isolated from the Anchorage system, this research also has demonstrated that the individual Eskimo, in many ways, is isolated from the support of other Eskimos.

Since Anchorage Eskimos are not involved in the formal associations of the Anchorage system, particularly the Alaska Native

associations, the individual Eskimo must interact with the Anchorage system on a solitary basis rather than through a supportive group affiliation. This leads the individual Eskimo to rely on the mediation of the agency complex and/or a network of personal relationships.

Most Eskimos, at one time or another, make use of the agency complex in order to survive, or improve their level of adaptation in Anchorage. Regrettably, the Anchorage agency complex is seldom a source of effective assistance for the individual Eskimo.

The extensity of an individual's network of personal relationships is limited because of migration and/or marriage. In migrating to Anchorage, many individuals separated themselves from supportive kinship relationships. Although the majority of Eskimos are married, many are married to Caucasians, which tends to isolate them from normal social interaction with other Eskimos. These individuals tend to lack cultural, rather than economic, support.

In sum, the individual Eskimo's network of personal relationships is not extensive and, because of the Eskimo's generally disadvantageous position in Anchorage, the network seldom is reliable or effective. Given these conditions, it is not surprising that two-thirds of the Anchorage Eskimos felt they did not know who they could really count on.

In addition to the Anchorage Eskimos' structural position in the Anchorage system, another set of conclusions relates to the actual adaptation patterns of the Anchorage Eskimos. These conclusions specifically relate to the patterns of structural adaptation,

perceptual adaptation, and general adaptation.

The structural adaptation of the Anchorage Eskimos focuses on the degree to which they fit into the structural organization of the external system. While theoretical and temporal concerns restricted the measurement of this pattern to seven indicators--communication integration, income level, employment status, association membership, residential occupancy, dependency on agencies, and voter participation--I believe any similar measurement of structural adaptation would yield the same results--most Eskimos have not structurally adapted to the external Anchorage system. Although males and older individuals tended to have higher levels of structural adaptation, their levels are low when compared to the Anchorage norm. In fact, if more weight were given to the crucial areas of income and employment, it is likely that the Eskimos' level of structural adaptation would even be lower than the level reported in this dissertation.

In attempting to account for the variation in the levels of structural adaptation, it was demonstrated that only one of the hypothesized independent factors was significantly associated with the level of structural adaptation--the individual's commitment to remaining permanently in Anchorage. Of all the independent variables, this has the least explanatory power, as a high level of adaptation could have resulted in the decision to remain permanently in Anchorage.

The particular independent variables examined in this

research generally related to extrinsic or objectifiable characteristics that could be acquired by individual action over a relatively short period of time and which, theoretically, should account for variation in the levels of structural adaptation. Since these characteristics, with the exception of commitment to permanence, were not significantly associated with an individual's level of structural adaptation, it seems there must be another set of factors which affect an individual's level of structural adaptation. Specifically, for the population as a whole, the findings of this research strongly suggest that the Eskimos' structural adaptation to the Anchorage system may be dependent upon factors that are not easily controlled or changed by an individual Eskimo. These factors, either severally or jointly, could involve particular intrinsic abilities of an individual such as intelligence, deep-seated characteristics of an individual formed over a long period of time such as personality structure, or features of the external Anchorage system such as hiring practices.

The Eskimos' level of perceptual adaptation was derived by combining the individual's expressed degree of satisfaction with life in Anchorage and the individual's expressed degree of alienation from the Anchorage system. In general, the Eskimos' level of perceptual adaptation is slightly higher than the level of structural adaptation. In contrast to the level of structural adaptation, females are more perceptually adapted to Anchorage. For the most part, a female's life in Anchorage is physically easier than it would be in Village Alaska.

While a commitment to permanence also is related to the degree of perceptual adaptation, other, more important independent variables are involved--experience outside Alaska and the level of formal education. These variables suggest that having more experience in the "western" cultural system results in a more positive self-evaluation of that system.

By corroborating my observational and nondirective interview data with the data of the structured interviews, four general adaptation patterns were derived.

The first and most frequent pattern is that of a survivor. One-third of the Anchorage Eskimos exhibit this pattern, which is characterized by a low level of structural adaptation and a low degree of perceptual adaptation. For the most part, the goal of these individuals is survival in the Anchorage system. Generally, these individuals are the "street" Eskimos and they are involved in most public accounts of the "Native problem."

The next most frequent adaptation pattern has been labelled the Type A--pressure pattern. These individuals also have a low level of structural adaptation but, primarily because they are females, they have a high level of perceptual adaptation. For these individuals, the incongruity between the low level of structural adaptation and the high degree of perceptual adaptation seems to be stressful. These individuals regularly frequent Fourth Avenue in order to engage in various stress-reducing behaviors.

The third most frequent general adaptation pattern is the

success pattern. One-fourth of the Anchorage Eskimos, particularly married individuals, exhibit this pattern, which is characterized by higher levels of structural adaptation and higher degrees of perceptual adaptation. Of all the Anchorage Eskimos, these are the only individuals who appear to be adapting comfortably to the larger Anchorage system. Unfortunately, these individuals are seldom in the limelight and thus, most of the Anchorage public is unaware of their existence.

The least frequent adaptation pattern has been termed the Type B--pressure pattern. Only 14 percent of the Anchorage Eskimos exhibit this pattern. It resembles a classic definition of relative deprivation in that these individuals have a high level of structural adaptation by Eskimo standards, although not by Anchorage standards, and yet, they exhibit a low degree of perceptual adaptation. In part, these individuals appear to use Anchorage, rather than Village Alaska, as their evaluative reference point.

Although the lengthy description of adaptation patterns in Chapter 4 conclusively demonstrated that the Anchorage Eskimos' adaptation patterns are heterogeneous, it also inescapably indicated that three-fourths of the Eskimo population have experienced problems in adapting to the Anchorage system. Generally, the minority of Eskimos displaying the higher levels of adaptation are either married individuals or older individuals. This suggests that age and marriage are stabilizing influences in the adaptation process. Secondly, these individuals tended to be more familiar with the intricacies of a

"western" cultural system in that they completed high school, had experience outside Alaska, and they had lived in Anchorage for the longest amount of time. Thus, preparation for urban adaptation seems a prerequisite for successful adaptation.

Although it would be possible to conclude this research effort with the discussion of adaptation patterns, such a conclusion would belie an understanding of many overt Eskimo behaviors in the Anchorage system, particularly the behavioral complex associated with drinking alcohol. These overt behaviors are direct responses, on the part of Anchorage Eskimos, to their low level of adaptation. Unfortunately, the majority of Anchorage residents erroneously conclude that these overt behaviors are indicators of Eskimo adaptation levels, for example, the stereotypes of the drunken Eskimo, the parasitic Eskimo, or the Fourth Avenue Eskimo.

The behavioral complex associated with drinking alcohol is a purposeful attempt at reducing stress caused by the isolation of the Eskimo in the Anchorage system, the low level of adaptation to the Anchorage system, the failure of the agency complex to successfully mediate the Eskimos adaptation, and the ineffectiveness of an individual's network of personal relationships. At best, this behavioral complex is only temporarily effective as the sources of stress have not been removed. However, in many instances, it actually further hinders the Eskimos' adaptation because it leads to arrests, loss of jobs, or debilitating illnesses.

If this research suggests one, overall conclusion, it is

that many, if not most, Anchorage Eskimos are balanced on the edge of a precipice--they are isolated, they have a low level of adaptation, they are not receiving support from agencies, and they are developing serious drinking problems. If the structure of the Anchorage system does not change in a dramatic fashion, I would predict a further decline in the Eskimos' level of adaptation and with it, an increase in those behaviors that are so often reflective of personal disorganization. The question is, can the conditions be changed, and if so, what needs to be done?

RECOMMENDATIONS

While one convincingly can argue that what is needed is action and not another series of recommendations, it seems that part of the problem in Anchorage, as well as elsewhere, is that action programs usually fail because they are not grounded in a solid theoretical and empirical base.

One of the goals of this research was to provide a solid data base for those involved in programs relating to the Anchorage Eskimo. However, the findings of this research also suggest there are a few areas of pragmatic action that could immediately serve to assist Eskimos adapting to the Anchorage system. These are:

1. It was demonstrated that successful adaptation tended to be associated with previous exposure to and/or familiarity with the structures of a "western" cultural system. It is recommended that a regional center-Anchorage orientation system be established to assist both the potential

migrant and the Anchorage Eskimo. In each of the major regional centers of Village Alaska, a migration information center could be established in conjunction with the activities of a public agency. The center could provide realistic information about the potential problems encountered in an urban center as well as information about the intricacies of the urban system. In Anchorage, an orientation center could be established that would not only assist the individual in fulfilling his or her immediate survival needs, but which also would provide a series of short-term programs to familiarize the individual with strategies necessary to operate successfully in the Anchorage urban system. For example, some topics might be how to get a job, what are my legal rights, and money management. Such an urban orientation center is not without precedent:

> What happens when an Alaska Native tries to make a better life for himself in the lower 48?
>
> If he is lucky and is part of a program sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, he will find himself in Seattle at the Seattle Orientation Center, a motel unit near the University of Washington.
>
> According to the BIA's Employment Assistance Branch in Alaska, the Alaska Native, whether Eskimo, Indian, or Aleut, needs orientation to urban life before he can be successfully trained or employed Outside (Anchorage Daily Times, January 28, 1969:13).

Since many more individuals will migrate to the urban system of Anchorage than will migrate outside Alaska, it seems a

similar center for Anchorage could easily be justified.

2. At one time or another, most Eskimo individuals attempt to receive assistance from the Anchorage agency complex and, more often than not, adequate assistance is not provided. In order to improve the delivery of services, it is minimally recommended that two tasks be undertaken--the creation of a permanent training institute for agency personnel and the establishment of a centralized referral system.

The permanent training institute, perhaps operated by the University of Alaska--Anchorage, could provide both orientation and in-service training programs for agency personnel. Of particular importance is the development of a cross-cultural awareness program so that agents will be more responsive to the values and needs of their clients.

The need for a centralized referral system, with a common application form, has already been discussed in Chapter 5. By centralizing the referral system and minimizing the duplication of programs, individual Eskimos will not only receive better services, they also will avoid the agency bounce.

3. One inescapable recommendation that emanates from this research is the need for the active solicitation of cases of discrimination and the effective enforcement of existing legislation regarding discrimination. The

area of discrimination in employment practices needs to be particularly investigated for it does no good to have a proliferation of vocational training programs, if there are not equal employment opportunities for the individuals in these programs. Many cases of discrimination are never reported because the individual Eskimo is reluctant to file a claim. This reluctance stems from a fear of being rejected and a feeling that the Black or Caucasian administrative agent will not be interested in a Native claim. If the field staffs of the Anchorage Human Relations Commission and the State's Human Rights Commission were expanded to include several Alaska Native investigators, and these investigators were to operate in neighborhood locations, I would predict a considerable increase in the number of cases of discrimination reported in Anchorage. The successful prosecution of these cases would do much to improve the Eskimos' chances of entering the Anchorage opportunity structure.

4. A frequent theme of this research has been the isolated position of the Anchorage Eskimo in the Anchorage system. Eskimos do not participate in formal associations, nor have they developed any voluntary associations. One consequence of this structural isolation is that the Eskimo has no political influence in

the Anchorage system. Beyond filing a complaint for an alleged grievance, there is little the individual can do to prod the system toward a desired course of action. However, if there were a powerful and autonomous Anchorage Alaska Native organization, a considerable amount of pressure could be brought to bear on the Anchorage system in order to make it more responsive to the needs of Alaska Natives in Anchorage. Since the Cook Inlet Native Association has been designated as the regional organization to represent the interests of Anchorage Natives in the land claims settlement, it is recommended that the Cook Inlet Native Association expand its activities so that it represents and politics for the interests of Alaska Natives in the Anchorage system.

5. It was mentioned that one goal of this research was to obtain data so that the typical Eskimo stereotypes would be dispelled. The data in this dissertation clearly indicate that the Anchorage Eskimo population is anything but a homogeneous population that can be stereotyped. It is recommended that there be a concerted effort to publicize the fact that Anchorage Eskimos are not "wards of the government," but that the Anchorage Eskimos, like others in Anchorage, are committed residents who simply are attempting to obtain the means for a successful life in Anchorage.

There are innumerable recommendations that also could have been advanced in this section, e.g., the need for better counseling and mental health facilities, the need for more low income housing, and the need for a public transportation system. The preceding five recommendations were selected because they center around, in my opinion, the five major barriers to the Eskimos' entry into the Anchorage opportunity system--lack of manipulative knowledge, lack of adequate mediating devices, discrimination, lack of political power, and public stereotypes.

Notably absent from these recommendations was a suggestion that the individual Eskimo needs to be changed into something other than an Eskimo. The adaptation problems of the Anchorage Eskimo seldom have their locus in the individual Eskimo. Rather, the problems most Eskimos encounter in adapting to the external system of Anchorage are rooted in the external system. The Anchorage Eskimo cannot change the system alone. Unless there is a concerted community effort to remove the external barriers to Eskimo adaptation, the probability of any significant, future improvement in Eskimo adaptation levels is negligible.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Structured Interview Guide

--- denotes open ended response

The information in this survey will be used to gain an understanding of the characteristics of the Alaska Eskimos in Anchorage, and will be held in strict confidence. Under no circumstances will a person's name or address be used in connection with this information.

FAMILY

1. Sex: Male Female
2. Age: --- Birthdate: ---
3. Hometown: ---
4. Marital Status: Single Married Widow Separated/Divorced
5. Spouse: Alaska Native Caucasian Other: --- Not Applicable
6. Number of people living in this household: ---
7. Relationship to you and age: ---

RESIDENTIAL

8. How long have you lived in the Anchorage area? --- years
9. What towns did you live in before coming to Anchorage, how long and when? ---
10. What was your main reason(s) for moving to Anchorage? ---
11. When you first moved to Anchorage, did you plan to stay in Anchorage permanently? Yes Wasn't Sure No
12. Are you BUYING, RENTING, or STAYING at this residence?
13. Type of residence: ---
14. Approximate rate per month: ---

15. Approximately how many times have you changed your residence since moving to Anchorage? ---

16. During the last year? ---

17. When you first came to Anchorage, did anyone help you with housing? Yes No Who: ---

WORK

18. Are you working now? Yes No

19. What job? ---

20. Full-time or part-time?

IF NO:

21. Are you looking for work now? Yes No

22. What type of work? ---

23. IF NO 21, are you: Housewife Student Physically Unable ---

24. How many months have you been unemployed during the past twelve months? ---

25. How much do you usually earn per month or per year? --- per ---

Household Head Household Head and Spouse

26. Sources: ---

27. What did you do before coming to Anchorage? ---

28. How much did you usually earn per month or year before coming to Anchorage? --- per ---

29. Sources: ---

30. How did you find your first job in Anchorage? --- Not Applicable

OTHER

How frequently do you speak Eskimo: Often Sometimes Never

31. in your home?

32. with friends?

33. at work?

34. with relatives?

35. How many years of formal education have you completed? ---

36. Schools: ---

37. Years: ---

38. How many years of vocational training have you completed? ---

39. Type of training: ---

40. Where at? ---

41. Sponsor: ---

42. How many years did you serve in the U.S. Armed Forces? ---
Not Applicable

43. How many years did you serve in the Alaska National Guard? ---
Not Applicable

44. How many times do you usually visit your home village each year? ---

45. How many times do you usually write to relatives or friends in your home village? ---

Who do you usually socially associate with?

46. Mostly with Alaska Natives: ---

47. Equal number of Alaskan Natives and whites: ---

48. Mostly with whites: ---

49. What, if any, is your religious preference? ---

50. How often do you attend religious services? ---

Did you vote in the:

51. August 1968 Primary Election? Yes No

52. Last City-Borough Election? Yes No

53. November 1968 General Election? Yes No

Do You:

54. have a telephone in the house? Yes No

55. own a radio? Yes No

56. own a television? Yes No

57. receive a daily newspaper? Yes No

58. own a car or truck? Yes No

59. What do you usually do for recreation in Anchorage? ---

Are you a member of: Yes No Attend Meetings: Often Sometimes Never

60. Cook Inlet Native Association

61. Alaska Federation of Natives

62. Alaska Native Brotherhood

63. Any other groups or clubs? ---

64. Do you plan on remaining in Anchorage permanently?
Yes No Don't Know

65. IF NO, where do you want to go? ---

66. When? Soon Someday

SERVICES

How frequently do you use the following services?
Often Sometimes Never

67. Anchorage Welcome Center

68. B.I.A. Social Services

69. B.I.A. Employment Assistance

70. G.A.A.C.A.A. Neighborhood Council

71. Alaska Legal Services

72. State Department of Welfare

73. Red Cross

74. G.A.A.C.A.A. Neighborhood Center

75. Community Chest

76. M.D.T.A. Training Programs

77. State Department of Vocational Rehabilitation

78. Salvation Army

79. Alaska Housing Authority

80. State Employment Office

81. Rescue Mission

82. State Human Rights Commission

83. Catholic Charities

84. Y.M.C.A.

85. Civil Service Commission

86. Anchorage Human Relations Commission

87. In general, would you say living in Anchorage is:
Good Mostly Good All Right Mostly Bad Bad

88. In general, there is little use in contacting governmental officials because they are not really interested in the problems of the Alaskan Eskimo:
Agree Undecided Disagree

89. If you returned to live in a village, would life in general be:
Much Better A Little Better Not Any Different
A Little Worse Worse than if you had stayed in Anchorage?

90. In Anchorage, a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself:
Agree Undecided Disagree

91. In general, an Alaskan Eskimo moving from a village to Anchorage is better off than one who stays in the village:
Agree Undecided Disagree

92. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average Alaskan Eskimo in Anchorage is getting worse, not better:
Agree Undecided Disagree

93. If you were offered a job equal to the one you now have in a village and could leave any time, when would you plan to go?
Right Now Soon Someday Don't Know If I'd Go Would Not Go

94. There's hardly any use in making plans with the way things look for the future in Anchorage:
Agree Undecided Disagree

95. An Alaskan Eskimo living in Anchorage has the same chances for a good and successful life as everyone else living in Anchorage:
Agree Undecided Disagree

96. These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on:
Agree Undecided Disagree

97. In your opinion, what is the number one advantage for an Alaskan Eskimo living in Anchorage? ---

98. In your opinion, what is the number one problem for an Alaskan Eskimo living in Anchorage? ---

HEALTH

How frequently do you use the following health services?
Often Sometimes Never

99. Alaska Native Medical Center

100. G.A.A. Borough Health Department

101. A.P.I.

102. Providence Hospital

103. Anchorage Community Hospital

104. State Mental Health Clinic

105. Arctic Health Research Center

106. In general, how would you describe the health services used by you: Good All Right Poor

107. How has your health been on the whole: Good All Right Poor

108. Do you have any physical or health problems at the present?
Often Sometimes Never

109. Do your hands tremble enough to bother you?
Often Sometimes Never

110. Are you troubled by your hands or feet sweating so that they feel damp and clammy?
Often Sometimes Never

111. Are you bothered by your heart beating hard?
Often Sometimes Never

112. Do you tend to feel tired in the morning?
Often Sometimes Never

113. Do you have trouble getting to sleep or staying asleep?
Often Sometimes Never

114. How often are you bothered by having an upset stomach?
Often Sometimes Never

115. Are you bothered by nightmares (dreams that frighten or upset you)?
Often Sometimes Never

116. Are you troubled by "cold sweats?"
Often Sometimes Never

117. Do you feel that you are bothered by all sorts (different kinds) of ailments in different parts of your body?
Often Sometimes Never

118. Do you smoke?
Often Sometimes Never

119. Do you have a loss of appetite?
Often Sometimes Never

120. Does ill health affect the amount of work (or housework) that you do?
Often Sometimes Never

121. Do you feel weak all over?
Often Sometimes Never

122. Do you have spells of dizziness?
Often Sometimes Never

123. Do you tend to lose weight when you worry?
Often Sometimes Never

124. Are you bothered by shortness of breath when you are not exerting yourself?
Often Sometimes Never

125. Do you feel healthy enough to carry out the things that you would like to do?
Often Sometimes Never

126. Do you feel in good spirits?
Often Sometimes Never

127. Do you sometimes wonder if anything is worthwhile anymore?
Often Sometimes Never

128. How often do you drink beer?
Often Sometimes Never

129. How often do you drink liquor?
Often Sometimes Never

130. How often do you drink wine?
Often Sometimes Never

131. How often do you get to feeling high or good when drinking?
Often Sometimes Never

132. How often do you get so you don't remember much after drinking?
Often Sometimes Never

133. What is the main reason(s) why you are now living in Anchorage? ---

134. In your opinion, what could be done to make Anchorage a better place to live for Alaskan Eskimos? ---

APPENDIX B

Statistically Significant Associations Between Indicators of Structural Adaptation (Dependent Variable) and Independent Variables (IV)

Association	Total	Sex		Age		Marital Status		Region	
		Male	Female	20-29	30-39	No	Yes	N.W.	S.W.
Communication Integration (DV)/ Commitment to Permanence (IV)					X				X
Communication Integration (DV)/ Years in Anchorage (IV)			X						
Communication Integration (DV)/ Formal Education (IV)							X		
Communication Integration (DV)/ Religious Attendance (IV)									X
Communication Integration (DV)/ Not Speaking Eskimo (IV)		X							
Communication Integration Outside Alaska Experience (IV)				X					
Income Level (DV)/ Years in Anchorage (IV)	X								
Income Level (DV)/ Formal Education		X			X				
Income Level (DV)/ Not Speaking Eskimo (IV)	X inverse		X inverse						
Income Level (DV)/ No Contact Village Alaska (IV)				X inverse					
Employment Status (DV)/ Commitment to Permanence (IV)	X				X		X		X

Association	Total	Sex		Age		Marital Status		Region	
		Male	Female	20-29	30-39	No	Yes	N.W.	S.W.
Employment Status (DV)/ Religious Attendance (IV)						X inverse			X
Associational Membership (DV)/ Religious Attendance	X		X	X				X	
Associational Membership (DV)/ Social Associations (IV)	X								
Associational Membership (DV)/ Not Speaking Eskimo (IV)				X inverse					
Associational Membership (DV)/ Outside Alaska Experience (IV)		X							
Residential Occupancy (DV)/ Commitment to Permanence (IV)	X			X					
Residential Occupancy (DV)/ Years in Anchorage (IV)	X	X	X		X		X		
Residential Occupancy (DV)/ Religious Attendance (IV)	X		X						
Residential Occupancy (DV)/ Social Associations (IV)			X						
Agency Utilization (DV)/ Social Associations (IV)		X							X
Agency Utilization (DV)/ No Contact Village Alaska	X inverse		X inverse	X inverse					
Voter Participation (DV)/ Commitment to Permanence	X						X		

Association	Total	Sex		Age		Marital Status		Region	
		Male	Female	20-29	30-39	No	Yes	N.W.	S.W.
Voter Participation (DV)/ Years in Anchorage					X				
Voter Participation (DV)/ Social Associations (IV)	X	X					X		

APPENDIX C

Scale of Structural Adaptation

Indicator	Point Assignment						
	1(Low)	2	3	4	5	6	6.5(High)
Number of Communication Links (Table 19)	0/1	2	3	4	5		
Income Level (Table 20)	$5,388		$5,400/ $10,788	housewife/ joint			$10,800
Employment Status (Table 22)	under-employed		Not in Labor Mkt.				Employed full-time
Associational Membership (Table 16)	None		1		2 or more		
Household Occupancy (Page 77)	Stayer		Renter		Buyer		
Agency Utilization (Table 23)	Intensive		Occasional		None		
Voter Participation (Table 24)	None	Minimum	Moderate		Maximum		

Scale Range: 7.0 to 37.5

Structural Adaptation Categories	Point Range
1 (Low)	7.0 to 14.5
2	15.0 to 22.5
3	23.0 to 30.5
4 (High)	31.0 to 37.5

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