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## Trans-national Problems and Northern Native Peoples

FEATURE ARTICLES

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# ANTHROPOLOGICA

Volume XXIX, No. 2, 1987

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## BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

# INTRODUCTION: TRANS-NATIONAL PROBLEMS AND NORTHERN NATIVE PEOPLES[1]

George Wenzel
*McGill University*

The papers presented in this volume are an outgrowth of a thematic symposium held at the 11th Annual Meeting of the Canadian Ethnological Society in 1984. The symposium's purpose was to examine the assimilative threat to western Fourth World (see Müller-Wille and Pelto 1979:5) northerners in terms of the processual similarity present in both northern North American and Fenno-Scandian experiences of the intrusions of the surrounding national majorities.

This pragmatic approach, rather than one focussed on the apparent uniqueness of any single group's experience, was chosen for several reasons. The first was that, despite differences of ethnicity among these Native societies and the characteristics of the surrounding national majorities, many of the basic forces and methods used by these majorities transcend, at least in the West, national boundaries. The second was related to the fact that much recent research on the situation of Native northerners has been concerned with the political relations between these groups and the governing majority, while specific, and often local, consequences of contemporary contact are far less known (as an exception, however, see Paine 1982 and Freeman 1984 concerning the consequences of highly localized events).

It was felt by the symposium participants, therefore, that to focus our attentions exclusively on Fourth World political processes in relation to Western national states and majorities would beg comparative analysis across this broad spectrum of indigenous groups if only because the national legislative and judicial approaches in each state toward Native peoples have their own histories and complexities. Furthermore, as we well know in Canada, a satisfactory political articulation between native groups and national majorities has not yet been constructed.

One further point also contributed to the selection of this pragmatic focus. This is that it can no longer be said that all confrontations between Native

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minority and national majority are conflicts embodied on the majority side by the State or large-scale industrial interests. As several authors remark, situations now exist in which northern societies are in conflict not with formal government or economic interests, but with popular movements of "conscience" which, in some cases, advocate causes that are seen by movement members to override indigenous political, legal or cultural rights. Therefore, to limit the symposium to a discussion of formal Native/State political articulation and separateness would overlook a major contemporary influence upon northern Native culture.

**Trans-National Problems and the Papers**

As originally organized for the Canadian Ethnology Society meeting, the symposium included presentations focussed on societies as diverse as the Aleut of the Pribilof Islands and the Sami of Norwegian Finnmark. In all, six papers were presented, covering the Pribilof Island Aleut (Oran Young, Center for Northern Studies), The Dene Nation (Michael Asch, University of Alberta), East Baffin Inuit (Wenzel), Québec James Bay Cree (Alan Penn, Grand Council of the Cree) and Norwegian Sami (Myrdene Anderson, Purdue University; Tom Svensson, University of Oslo). In each paper, the author sought to examine in detail some of the major elements or results of tacit or direct majority society intrusion into and upon local indigenous social, political or economic development.

The topics covered in the symposium spanned the involvement of the Dene in Mackenzie Delta oil development, the local impact of anti-sealhunt protests on the Aleut and Inuit socioeconomic situations, the problems of mercury leaching in the James Bay watershed used by the Cree in the aftermath of local hydro development, the human ecological implications of hydro-electric construction for Sami reindeer herders and the partial factionalization of Norwegian Sami society as a result of inter-ethnic institutional polarization. All these papers underscore the fact that within the political struggles facing indigenous northern cultures there are serious social, cultural and economic implications.

Unfortunately, not all the papers presented at the 11th Canadian Ethnology Society symposium were available (Asch, Penn) for inclusion in this volume. However, the papers presented here include four of the original contributions (Young, Anderson, Svensson, Wenzel) with the valuable addition of a new paper by Robert Paine on the Sami, as well as a comment on it by Vigdis Stordahl. The intent of the volume remains the same as that originally expressed through the CES symposium; that is, the importance of understanding local consequences within the larger framework of northern minority/national majority relations. While recent attention has tended to

centre on the larger political-economic scope (see Dacks 1981; Asch 1984; Boldt and Long 1985; see also Svensson 1976), considerably less currency seems to now be paid to the analysis and understanding of small-scale, local reverberations that occur as a result of these macro-developments.

Two Sami[1] papers in this volume (Anderson, Svensson) ostensibly focus on two different aspects of Sami/Norwegian relations, but in fact articulate well in presenting the severe internal consequences that have resulted from Norway's institutional and economic intrusions into Sami life. Svensson deals directly with one major conflict, the confrontation between the Sami and the Norwegian State over the development of the Alta/Kautokeino hydro-electric project. In his presentation of this material, Svensson underscores situational elements which evoke strong parallels to the Cree-Inuit problems as a result of the James Bay Project in Nouveau Québec.

Anderson is concerned with the long-term consequences of Norwegian institutional incursions among the Sami. Similarly, she addresses the problem that members of a colonized indigenous minority become even more marginalized through the emphasis placed on specific cultural symbols and attributes, both in terms of the dominant national majority and by the minority members, themselves.

Wenzel and Young are both concerned with the economic and social effects of the animal rights movement, as represented by seal hunting protests of the 1960s and 1970s, on Canadian Inuit and the Bering Strait Pribilof Islanders. In these papers, the main focus is not on the impact of state-sanctioned activities on native minorities, but rather on how a non-governmental coalition, which bases its concern on the ethically and ecologically wise use of wildlife, has essentially destroyed the basis for local Aleut and Inuit economic control.

## The Volume in Contemporary Perspective

Since the time all the papers in this volume were originally submitted, a number of events have occurred which have contributed negatively to the situation of indigenous northerners. Several of these fall exactly within the framework of this volume's theme, although the most dramatic, the Chernobyl nuclear accident, with its consequent effects upon the Sami of Sweden and Norway, may represent only a temporarily unique occurrence and should serve as a warning about the future of the North (see Inuit Circumpolar Conference 1986:14-16, 26). Chernobyl also points out that academic concerns over trans-national northern problems must be forward-looking, as well as retrospective.

The impact of the animal rights movement, addressed by Young and Wenzel, is clearly an area with implications for indigenous hunters and pastoral-

ists living under all national jurisdictions and one which underscores the importance of understanding northern Native relations with southern majorities as a whole, rather than focussing solely on government/industry interactions with indigenous populations. In both Aleut and Inuit cases, the anti-sealhunt protest has clearly succeeded in severely limiting an important element of local northern economy and identity. While the seal "issue" has to a great extent now become history, it is also clear that seals are not the only biological resource of northerners that is of concern to the movement.

The problems of large-scale industrial projects and programs within the traditional territories of Sami, Cree and other Native northerners is also an ongoing one. While hydro-electric development has, for the moment, become an apparently dormant problem, events in Canada and northern Europe suggest that in the future such large-scale intrusion will continue to be a concern of northerners.

In Canada, it appears that the James Bay development project will soon enter a second phase and, although the basic political arrangements of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement remain in place, this new round of industrial expansion will present serious cultural, ecological and economic consequences for the Cree. By the same token, one of the results of Chernobyl may well be the initiation of extensive hydro-electric construction in the Sami homelands, especially if Sweden decides to abandon nuclear power. In such a case, the problems detailed by Anderson and Svensson will, at least, be exacerbated.

Other trans-national problems of concern to northerners, but which have not been raised here, include access to or competition from commercial fisheries (Alaska, Greenland, Canada), forestry developments (Alaska, Scandinavia) and hydrocarbon and other non-renewable resource developments (Fenno-Scandia, Greenland, Canada, Alaska), both on land and along the outer continental shelves bordering traditional northern lands. As well, there remain the secondary problems, discussed by Asch and Penn (original symposium), that arise out of primary industrial development.

If nothing else, it is the hope of the contributors to this volume that students of northern societies and of majority/minority culture relations will continue to critically examine key questions with regard to northern indigenous societies and their homelands. The problems discussed here represent not the end point of a set of conditions and relations, but only a snapshot of an evolving process of intrusion, colonization and assimilation.

**Acknowledgments**

I wish to express my thanks, first, to all the contributors to this volume and to the original Canadian Ethnology Symposium. We have chosen to leave

the different spellings of Sami/Saami and so forth as individual authors wished. I would also like to thank the editors and reviewers of *Anthropologica* for assisting in the publication of this set of papers. To the authors, editors and readers I express my apologies for the slowness in bringing these papers forth.

## Note

1. *Editors' Note:* Since this introduction was written, the editors of the journal have received a brief postscript from Myrdene Anderson: "A discrepancy is to be found in the spelling of Sami as it appears in the articles by Svensson, Paine and Anderson (and in the Introduction). The guest editor, while respecting the usage of each author, notes that Alf Isak Keskitalo (1976), a Sami social scientist, has put forth 'Sami' as the preferred linguistic form replacing 'Lapp.'"

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# TRANSFORMATIONS OF CENTRE AND PERIPHERY FOR THE SAAMI IN NORWAY[1]

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*Abstract:* The Saami minority in each of the Fennoscandian nation-states faces generalizable issues of articulation with national units. These issues also operate among and within national units. Historically, many Saami without a distinctive lifestyle such as reindeer breeding chose to assimilate into mainstream regional culture. As a consequence, Saami and non-Saami alike now tend to associate Saami culture with the reindeer-breeding minority within the Saami minority as a whole. Indeed, bureaucratic regulations and national measures impact differentially on various segments of the Saami population. This paper investigates repercussions for the Saami in North Norway who are simultaneously beneficiaries of national good intentions and victims of premeditated exploitation. All of this is exacerbated by the Saami minority's own faith in an eternal frontier and the policy makers' myth of a monolithic Saami culture.

*Résumé:* La minorité saami dans chacun des états-nations finoscandinaves est confrontée à des problèmes grandissants d'articulation aux unités nationales. Ces problèmes agissent aussi au sein des unités nationales et entre elles. Historiquement, plusieurs Saami, sans mode de vie distinct, comme l'élevage du renne, ont choisi de s'assimiler au courant dominant de la culture régionale. Par voie de conséquence, aussi bien les Saami que les non-Saami tendent maintenant à associer la culture saami avec les minorités où s'élève le renne à l'intérieur de la minorité saami entière. En effet, les règles bureaucratiques et les mesures nationales influent différemment sur les divers segments de la population saami. Cet article analyse les répercussions chez les Saami au nord de la Norvège en tant que bénéficiaires des bonnes intentions nationales mais aussi en tant que victimes d'une exploitation préméditée. Tout cela est exacerbé par la foi de la minorité saami en une éternelle frontière et de mythe d'une culture saami monolithique de ceux qui aménagent les politiques.

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## Introduction

This exploration of the social rhetoric in contemporary confrontations between Saami and other Norwegians transcends the detail of description to expose some of the numerous temporal and regional patterns in this rhetoric. To a considerable extent, this broad-brush outline applies to the evolution of relations in Fennoscandia as a whole, if not to other settings involving embedded indigenous minorities. Specifically, the heuristic of non-equilibrium dynamical systems (variously used by Boulding 1978; Jantsch 1980; Koestler 1978; Laszlo 1983; Maruyama 1976; Prigogine and Stengers 1984; and Simon 1969) will elucidate both data and analysis of specific case histories in this continual renegotiation of "centre" and "periphery" for minority and majority alike. This process sometimes condenses in nodes of patronage, clientism and brokerage (Amsbury 1979; Eisenstadt and Roniger 1981; Paine 1971), but should not simply be reduced to these networks.

In this scenario, I will argue that in prewar times—for all the sporadic proselytization, linguistic discrimination, taxation, trade, regulation, colonization, resource extraction and even out-migration—Saami society exhibited stronger centripetal than centrifugal ties. Even so, during this period, particularly in recent centuries, a number of Saami found it convenient to exchange ethnicity for nationality. These Saami tended to be or become sedentary. Those who remained in North Norway became dependent on coastal small stock raising, dairy farming and ocean fishing for subsistence. Throughout this period, the seasonally nomadic reindeer-breeding Saami, mostly residing on the inland tundra, embraced both ethnicity—identified with their livelihood and lifestyle—*and* nationality, associated with extrinsic emblems such as the monarchy.

To skip several transitional steps, we now find some Saami, usually emerging from the former group of sedentary Saami and assimilated Norwegians, who wish to exchange nationality for political ethnicity. This new ethnicity, for some, merges with another sort of nationality, carried by identification with some future (perhaps fanciful) autonomous, amorphous, pan-Saami territory we might call "Saamiland" (or *Samieatnam*, as Saami have always called their unbounded arctic home). Ethnic nationalism (Svrakov 1979) for Saamiland rarely emerges in the rhetoric, however, despite Saami being spread over and suspended between four contemporary countries (Norway, Sweden, Finland and the U.S.S.R.). Instead, the new ethnicity focusses on interlocking pragmatic and expressive issues, such as usufructory rights and cultural survival.

This has brought about new alignments—of persons, groups and symbols (Anderson 1981a, 1981b, 1982a, 1982b; Bjørklund and Brantenberg 1981; *Charta* 79 1982; Eidheim 1971; Kleivan 1978; Ottar 1981; Paine 1982,

1985; Thuen 1980). One consequence of this is a polarization on certain issues within as well as between ethnic groups and nationalities. When such polarization precipitates from complex, overlapping issues, contradictions with many permutations ensue. For example, when some Saami disapprove of the tactics used to oppose governmental resource extraction projects, by default they may be interpreted as being in favour of the projects simply because of their opposition to those who are against such projects. It is naïve to expect unambiguity or "rationality" in the political arena (Blair and Pollak 1983; Claessen 1979; Huizer 1979; Kurtz 1979; Ross et al. 1980).

## Demographic Overview

The Saami throughout the Fennoscandian Pan North number some 50 000, of which about 70 percent are Saami speakers (Aarseth 1975). The Saami-speaking segment comprises both sedentaries and nomads. Virtually all 10 percent of Saami engaging in seasonally nomadic reindeer breeding speak Saami as their first language. In the far north or in reindeer-breeding districts, sedentary Saami who farm and fish tend to retain the Saami language. Throughout recent centuries, Saami dispersed at a distance from these districts have been at risk for total assimilation into the national language and culture.

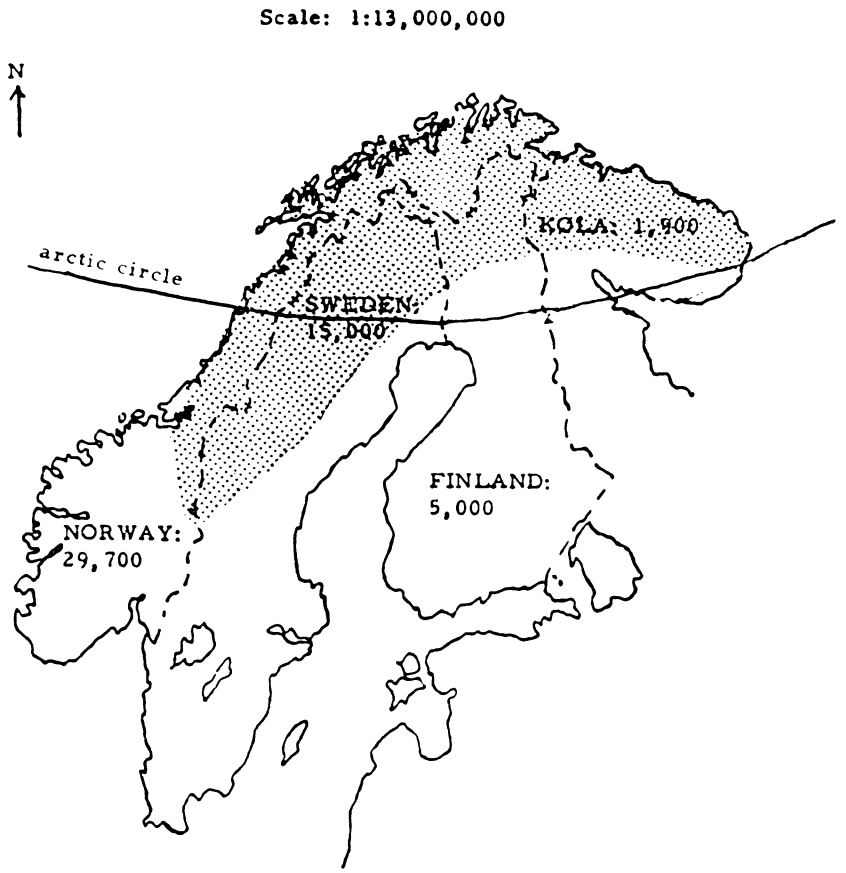
Saami constitute about one percent of the total population within their encompassing nation states, so that the 10 percent of Saami who are reindeer breeders are literally a minority within a minority. Nevertheless, until now this seasonally nomadic, reindeer-herding group has been the standard-bearer for Saami identity. Some of this detail appears in Table 1 and on the map (Figure 1).

**Table 1**
**Distribution of Populations in Fennoscandia**

| | Population as of 1975 (thousands) | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Norway | Sweden | Finland | U.S.S.R. | All |
| Total National | 3998 | 8043 | 4695 | 500 | 17 236 |
| Ethnically Saami | 30 | 15 | 5 | 2 | 52 |
| Saami speakers | 22 | 10 | 4 | 1 | 37 |
| Reindeer owners | 2.5 | 2.5 | 1.5 | 0.5 | 7 |
| | Saami-managed Domestic Reindeer (thousands of head) | | | | |
| | 124 | 261 | 33 | 15 | 433 |

Sources listed in Anderson 1978.

**Figure 1**
**Map of Fennoscandia**




Saami populations in Norway, Sweden, Finland and on the Kola peninsula of the U.S.S.R. reside largely in the shaded areas. Populations circa 1975. Scale: 1:13 000 000

These figures and categories abstract a complex social and cultural landscape. First, self-disclosure of ethnicity equivocates culture, language, livelihood, identification, mood and awareness/acknowledgement of roots. Most of North Norway has been occupied by Saami, Finns and Swedes; most of the Finns and Swedes originated as Saami (or came from Saami areas in Finland and Sweden) and the majority in each group tended to become Norwegianized. When awareness of assimilation has not been totally suppressed in the oral tradition of a family or a region, some individuals predictably will rebel by literally flying or wearing the colours of Saamihood.

The various ethnic boundaries tended to be permeable and de-assimilation began before any explicit Fourth World ideology emerged. Now this movement, drawing on an international sensitivity to ecological and political issues, informs as well as generates events at the local level in Saamiland.

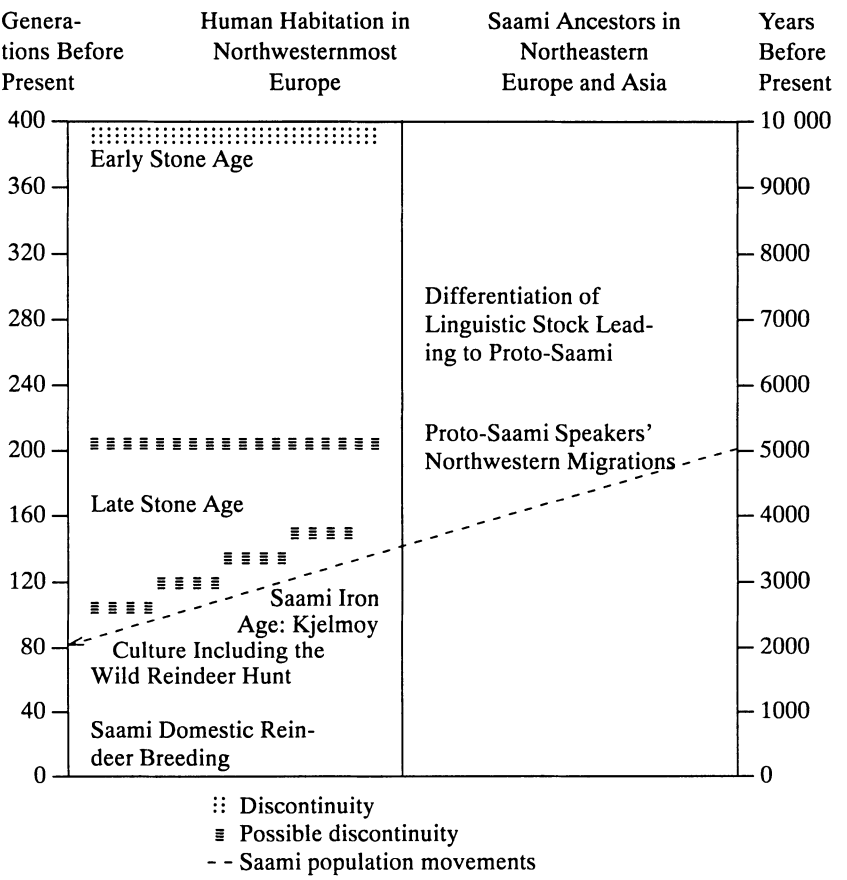
## Historic Backdrop and the Generation of Ethnic Distinctions

Ten thousand years ago, during the terminal phase of the last ice age, humans lived along the ice-free coast of North Norway. As indicated in Figure 2, the origin of this population or populations is unknown. They may not be ancestral to either the Saami or the Scandinavians. The records of habitation are discontinuous nearly to our era, when at last we can identify the language and cultural groups antecedent to those of today's Fennoscandia, namely, the Indo-European Scandinavian speakers, and the Finno-Ugric speaking Finns and Saami.

Contemporary Saami speak the Finno-Ugric language of the same name. The Saami language probably emerged from the prehistoric admixture of one Uralic language with another, the latter being a Finno-Ugric antecedent to Finnish. One millennium or more later, linguistic contact between Saami and Old Norse indicates that there were also extensive relations along that cultural boundary.

In prehistoric periods, long before we can ascertain the relationship of residents in the Pan North to present-day Saami, trade extended over thousands of kilometres. Thus it is not surprising that in historic times Saami were affected by the Black Death, that they decimated their own wildlife through participation in the fur trade and that their coastal regions were devastated by collapsing post-Reformation fish markets in Europe. Even though they were once dispersed hunters and gatherers at the very edge of Europe, the Saami appear in Tacitus' AD 92 account, in Ottar's AD 892 interview in the court of King Alfred and in Schefferus' widely translated cultural survey, first published in 1673. Meanwhile, from the early centuries of this millennium, Saami have been taxed, if not plundered, by representatives of the governments of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Novgorod, Russia and by smaller corporations as well (Holmsen 1977).

**Figure 2**
**Ten Millennia of Saami Prehistory**




As indicated in Figures 2 and 3, only four centuries ago some Saami became nomadic reindeer-breeding specialists while others became fishers and farmers (Vorren 1973). Before that time, specialization tended to be tied to locality and to season, with the wild reindeer hunt generally a common seasonal pursuit. The transition, by some, to domestic reindeer management was a consequence of the Saami's expanding fur trade and their participation in a global economy. To the present time, however, both the seasonally nomadic and the sedentary segments of the population have continued to extract natural resources—for household consumption, for barter and sale, and for sport. These traditional activities unite the Saami people, while primary subsistence habits, dress and even language can separate their two subgroups glossed as nomadic and sedentary.

**Figure 3**
**Five Centuries of Saami History**

| Generations Before Present | River Valleys and Coastal Regions in Saamiland | Mountain and Tundra Regions in Saamiland | Years Before Present |
|---|---|---|---|
| 20 | Continuation of taxation, proselytizing, and colonization, especially along waterways. | | 500 |
| 18 | Diversification and specialization in Saami subsistence activities, replacing the hunt: | | 450 |
| | Fishing; Farming. | Reindeer herding; Some farming. | |
| 16 | Depletion of fur-bearing species following participation in international fur trade. | | 400 |
| 14 | Local specialization in reindeer management: | | 350 |
| | Intensive – small herds, auxiliary to settled farming. | Extensive – large herds, migrations, year-round nomads. | |
| 12 | Extermination and appropriation dissolves last wild reindeer herds. | | 300 |
| 10 | Intensive reindeer herd management as auxiliary livelihood diminishes. | Extensive territorial expansion, largely from north to south. | 250 |
| 8 | International borders jell in Fennoscandia; the Sweden-Norway treaty with an appendix guarantees Saami all traditional access. | | 200 |
| 6 | A new wave of northward-expanding swidden agriculturalists – Saami, Finnish, and Swedish – moves into North Norway; borders close to reindeer; uprising in 1852. | | 150 |
| 4 | Further assimilation of Saami into national languages and cultures; conflicts between sedentaries (including Saami) and nomads over reindeer grazing rights; further appropriation of range by public and private interests; money economy. | | 100 |
| 2 | German occupation during World War II. | | 50 |
| | Governmental rationalization of reindeer breeding intensifies; | | |
| 0 | Fourth World activism. | | 0 |

Most remarkable is the fact that the Saami persisted and thrived throughout these millennia of intrusion and exploitation, capped off by several centuries of severe cultural and linguistic discrimination. This may be explained by the relative autonomy of the Saami social system at the periphery of contact with non-Saami. These Saami were cohesive and often incorporated

stray members of other groups with whom they came in contact. Extrinsic factors, including World War II and the welfare state, have resulted in considerable information dumping and energy extraction in Saamiland. Such a trade of information for energy is analogous to predator/prey relations, where energy accrues to the individual predator while information accrues to the *population* of prey. Saami culture as a whole has condensed the information from millennia of contact with extrinsic forces (Anderson 1978, 1981b; Ingold 1980).

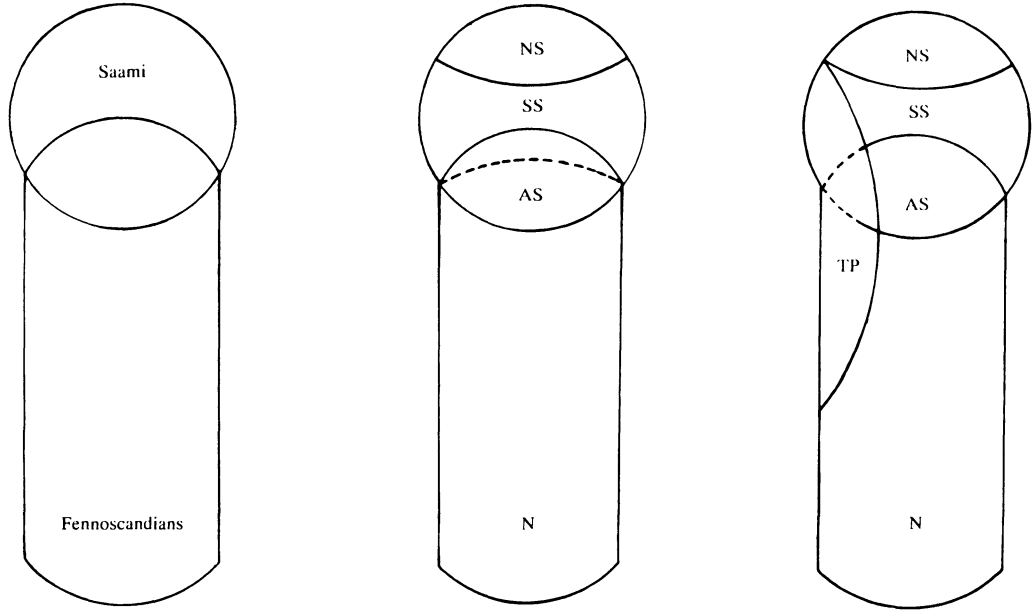
This Saami connection with hegemonies to the south has not seriously disrupted the dynamics of Saami culture. As long as the transactions of information and energy within Saami society surpassed those with the outside, exogenous problems did not magnify endogenous ones. Nevertheless, during this period when Saami identity was developing vis-à-vis the nation-state, the Saami were dividing internally along the lines of subsistence livelihood.

In Figure 4, events and processes generating the Fennoscandian ethnic landscape are summarized for the pre-confrontation period (a deliberately ambiguous term). Three stages are diagrammed. First, Saami contact with non-Saami brought about new ethnic, cultural and linguistic amalgams with their own negotiable boundaries. Secondly (but not simultaneously), specialized subsistence lifestyles developed, such as those of reindeer-breeding seasonal nomads, sedentary farmers and fishers, and Norwegianized segments of the sedentary population. Many Saami were thus assimilated. The final category is that of the trading partner. The hosting and trading partner had always been integral to the Saami lifestyle. Both the Saami and the Norwegian communities provided personnel essential to the operations of the nomads, based on reciprocal needs, resources and temperaments.

Thus far I have traced the genesis of some inclusive, exclusive and cross-cutting social categories and the permeability of their various boundaries. In pre-confrontation ethnic relations the nomad was the type specimen of the minority group, with the reindeer as its emblem. This stereotyping became a self-fulfilling prophecy, a dynamic increasingly understood by social scientists (e.g., Jones 1977).

Even today, non-Saami expect Saami to be reindeer breeders, and Saami oblige by claiming so to be (whether or not they are), at least when beyond their own communities. In the same situation, actual reindeer breeders considerably inflate their livestock holdings when given the opportunity. Within Saami communities, which almost always contain both nomadic and sedentary households, the nomad's lifestyle provokes envy and resentment among sedentary kin and neighbours. All seem to have agreed that there is something authentic and desirable about this occupation that has existed for half a millennium. For this reason, it is particularly interesting to witness a new as-

**Figure 4**
**Preconfrontation Differentiation of Ethnic Categories and Boundary Functions in North Norway**




A
Conjuncture in contact between Saami and non-Saami

B
Distinction between occupational subgroups of Saami

C
Trading partners, always important, now a heterogeneous category most crucial to nomad affairs

Legend: NS – Nomadic Saami; SS – Sedentary Saami; AS – Assimilated Saami; TP – Trading Partners; N – Norwegian.

sertiveness developing among the sedentary segment, in part a product of a fresh confrontation with the national government.

## Emergent Patterns of Confrontation

In pre-confrontation times, the Saami participated in national and global economies actively, reluctantly and by default. In post-confrontation times, the Saami figure in national and international politics. This transformation of an embedded, indigenous ethnic minority into a politically salient body has irreversible consequences, as discussed below.

The early nationalism of the governments in Fennoscandia alternately preyed on and protected the Saami minority. Often these rationales were scrambled. With few exceptions, such as an 1852 uprising in Kautokeino (as it is spelled on Norwegian maps), the Saami did not individually or collectively resist the imposition of other systems. Instead, they were frequently able to sidestep or subvert imposed policies, buttressed by strong values of individuality, independence and innovation, and their confidence in an ever-present (if now tightening) frontier. Figure 5 summarizes recently experienced limits to this accommodation process.

The premeditated exploitation and good intentions of the nation-state accelerated following World War II. During the German occupation of Norway, all parties recognized the strategic value of North Norway. In their retreat at the close of the war, the Germans evacuated the citizenry and razed all structures in the north. It took more than five years to rebuild these northern communities. The regulation frame dwellings did not duplicate the tents, sod huts, log cabins and houses previously used, nor did they permit the same lifestyles for their inhabitants, whether they were of Saami, Norwegian or of Finnish extraction. Within 20 years, those frame dwellings were judged substandard by the Norwegian government, and another round of subsidization was launched. The new, ultra-modern homes demand even more upkeep.

In the past, schooling was tied to literacy in the catechism. Today, education is standardized nationwide. Saami students in Saami communities may receive instruction in their first language during the early grades. School attendance is compulsory for 10 months of the year. This interferes with the traditional integration of the young into household activities, particularly for Saami nomads with their extensive circuit of transhumance, trading and visiting. Nomad parents prefer not to place their children in school dormitories. The mother usually strives to live in a central community with a school for those 10 months, sacrificing her routines on the reindeer range. On the other hand, she may own a reliable road vehicle which can be used for long-distance visiting and trading, with or without her children in tow.

**Figure 5**
**Norwegian Saami and the Nation-State as Transformed by Events of the Past Fifty Years**

| Year | North Norway: Coastal Norwegian and Saami Sedentaries; Interior Saami Sedentaries and Reindeer-Breeders | Years Before Present |
|---|---|---|
| 1935 | | 50 |
| | Reindeer Law regulates pasture areas and livestock limits by season. | |
| | Five years' seasonal education. | |
| 1940 | Regional economy; important links between coastal Saami and reindeer nomads. | 45 |
| | World War II; German occupation of Norway; construction of road system; appropriation of some reindeer and other livestock; | |
| 1945 | evacuation of most residents preparatory to German retreat south and destruction of all buildings and works. | 40 |
| | National organization of reindeer owners. | |
| 1950 | Reconstruction of North Norway. | 35 |
| | Family nomadism gives way to transhumance of herd with herding personnel; families based in seasonal hamlets, | |
| 1955 | relocating overland by reindeer sled. | 30 |
| | Beginning of heavy out-migration to industrial south. | |
| | Governmental research program on reindeer. | |
| 1960 | Introduction of snowmobile. | 25 |
| | Herding carried out by snowmobile commuters from seasonal centre; families moving seasonally by | |
| 1965 | motorized vehicles on roads. | 20 |
| | Compulsory schooling now nine ten-month years; introduction of Saami language. | |
| | Dam threatens Saami settlement. | |
| 1970 | Continual government-sponsored rationalization of reindeer management with emphasis on meat production; discouragement of small holders. | 15 |
| | Saami Institute, sponsored by Norway, Sweden, Finland, | |
| 1975 | Iceland, and Denmark. | 10 |
| | Beginning of Fourth-World conferences. | |
| | 1977 Reindeer Law intensifies regulation. | |
| 1980 | Relocated dam threatens reindeer management and endangered species in canyon; demonstrations at site and in capitol. | 5 |
| | 1982 Supreme Court decision upholds dam. | |
| | Contest continues on other fronts. | |
| 1985 | | 0 |

Government housing, schooling and the internal combustion engine have differentially affected the nomadic sector, for better and for worse. This underlines the perceived difference between nomadic and sedentary Saami at the local level. Subsidization of the reindeer industry and of reindeer-breeding households (which require several seasonal dwellings and snowmobiles) exacerbates antagonism among sedentaries and non-Saami.

The pre-confrontation divergence between nomadic and sedentary sectors, illustrated in Figure 4, is also represented in the first diagram in Figure 6. The balance of this figure deals with the evolution of attitudes among and toward Saami before and since about 1970. In that year a protest began against a government-planned hydro-electric project on the Alta-Kautokeino river in North Norway. The local-level activism of 1970 marks a watershed between the pre-confrontation and post-confrontation periods. Confrontations between Saami and the state have continued since the completion of the dam, but are seen as the result of a social structure which exhibits some fragmentation and discontinuity.

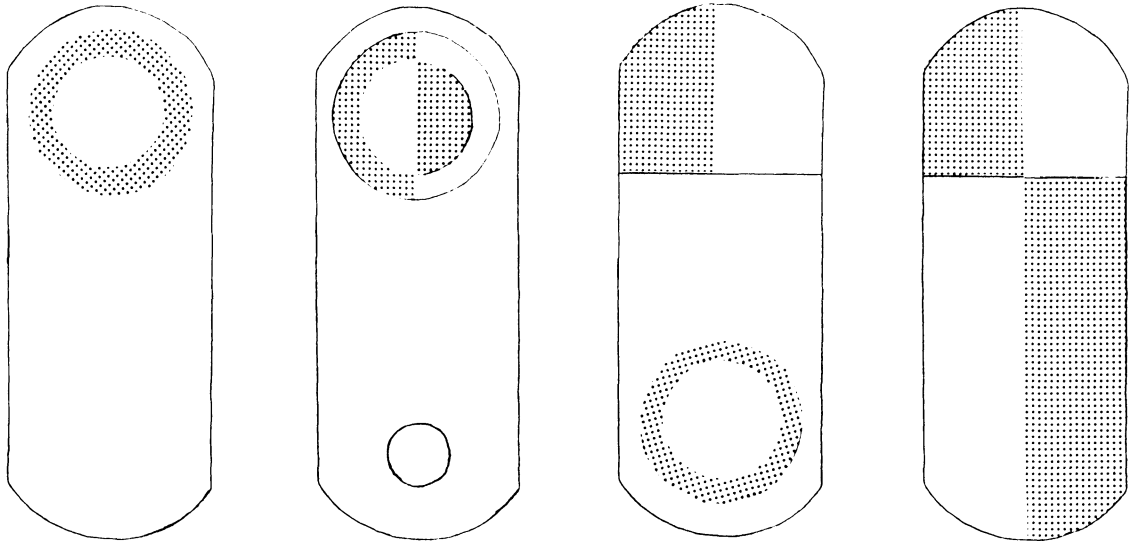
The initial blueprints of this dam called for flooding a Saami village, Masi, and displacing its 500 inhabitants, many of them farmers. Townspeople staged a demonstration, with banners written in Norwegian. Neither demonstrations nor public written messages are indigenous modes of communication. This demonstration was clearly modelled after other mass actions elsewhere in the world. It gained publicity, and it was successful. The engineers redrew their plans to tap this power source without flooding the town.

As shown in Figure 6, some local opinion criticized the resistance and the demonstration, and thus appeared to favour the dam. Differences of opinion did exist about the advantages and disadvantages of the proposed dam, but some who seemed to be for the dam were actually just against the demonstration. However, the demonstration sensitized some southern Norwegians to issues of ethnicity and resource management in the north.

By the summer of 1979, the government and its corporation, Norwegian Hydro, found an apparently viable site much farther downstream, and began preparing an access road to it. The manoeuvre did not go unnoticed. During that summer, many people, mostly young conservationists and/or foreigners, camped out and blocked the work crews and their equipment. A small number of Saami were involved in this demonstration, but official Saami organizations were ambiguous in their support.

This demonstration also appeared to succeed, at least as a stalling tactic until winter arrived. By October, however, it was clear that the government did not intend to honour its promise to investigate possible damages to reindeer pasturage and sensitive wildlife areas. A half-dozen Saami from different districts announced that they would stage a hunger strike in a traditional

**Figure 6**
**Increasing Polarization of Sympathies in Norway Regarding Resource Management in the North**



A
PRECONFRONTATION
Polarization between sedentary (outer circle) and nomadic (inner circle) Saami

B
POSTCONFRONTATION
1970: Demonstration in north nets sympathizers in south, but splits the Saami occupational sectors

C
1979: Demonstration in north, hunger strike in south, lead to polarization within as well as between ethnic groups

D
1980-81: Demonstration in north, hunger strike in south, further polarization process

Legend: Enclosed space – expectations of and sympathy with Saami rights in natural resource management
Hashed space – resistence to Saami rights to manage natural resources

tent, right outside the Parliament building in Oslo. This was also inspired by other international events, particularly those in Ireland. The week-long fast ended with apparent concessions by the Prime Minister.

The grass-roots Saami reaction to the strike was first incredulity, and then shame and criticism of the hunger strikers. Celtic fasting has no counterpart in Saami culture. The hunger strike was clearly in an international, political idiom and further complicated the crosscutting factions in the north. In the south, the Saami or conservationist cause (as it was variously rendered) gained a sizeable and vocal following. At the same time, these unprecedented acts of defiance predictably aroused other citizens, sometimes along party lines.

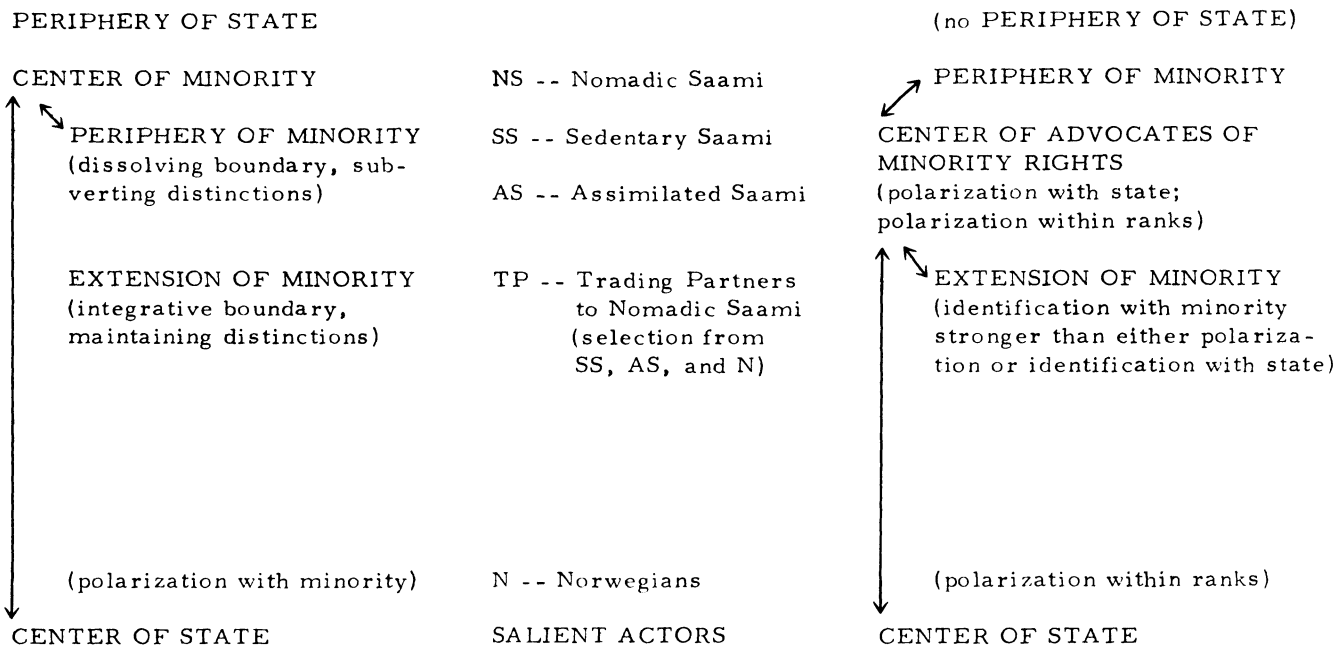
The next summer, in 1980, the threat of access road construction resumed and a mass encampment of largely non-Saami demonstrators appeared at the construction site. Finally, in harsh midwinter conditions, the remaining 100 demonstrators were forcibly removed and arrested by 700 police and military personnel; none were injured. Despite the harsh weather, the government resumed construction. It intended both to make a statement and to make up for lost time on the project. These events triggered a longer, less dramatic, yet more serious hunger strike. There had been almost a carnival-like atmosphere at the first fast, in which both men and women participated. The second hunger strike involved only five men. It was again held in the nation's capital, but in an institution rather than on public grounds. The men fasted for a month without the government capitulating to their demands, as had ostensibly happened a year before. The image of overkill in the government's dismantling of the on-site demonstration, and the serious second hunger strike, finally polarized most of the remaining undecided public into pro- and anti-construction camps.

The final diagram in Figure 6 condenses this picture to illustrate the polarization within as well as between ethnic groups and regional populations.

The pre-confrontation opposition between state and minority could also be seen as one between centre and periphery. The periphery had a focal symbol, that of the reindeer-breeding nomad. After the past 14 confrontational years, the minority has been represented not by a symbol, but by self-appointed advocates. These tend to come from the sedentary group. Their rhetoric includes a concern for reindeer pasturage, but also emphasizes the rights of the minority's sedentary majority. Crosscutting distinctions have emerged, some of them congruent with national and international political currents.

At the same time, as illustrated in Figure 7, the state has effectively swallowed its own periphery. Now there is only state or non-state. There are now no exceptions to parliamentary edict, as confirmed in a unanimous 1982 Supreme Court ruling supporting the controversial dam project. A 1751 codi-

**Figure 7**
**Transformations of Focal Ethnic Categories from Preconfrontation to Postconfrontation Times**



cil, guaranteeing traditional rights to Saami in Norway and Sweden, has in effect been repudiated. Because their culture pivots on the relation of Saami to the environment, Saami not dependent on primary subsistence occupations are also at risk.

## Periphery of State

Increasing awareness of Saami rights and obligations (seen as bilateral) and their privileges (perceived as unilaterally conferred by the state) can be felt throughout Norway. As neither Saami nor Norwegian seem to weigh heavily the consequences of unilateral conferral of privilege (in contrast to areas subject to negotiation), this point will not be developed further. However, a strong current of opinion among the national majority considers social services in the north a costly gift, or a generous privilege, rather than a right conferred by citizenship. The Saami tend to regard citizenship as a diffuse privilege rather than a right. Of more significance than the state to many Saami is the Crown.

Saami have regularly turned to the church or state for litigation, welfare and sanctification, when this seemed more propitious than using their own systems, particularly if it could extend their networks of influence. During the dramatic 1980-1981 confrontation, for instance, two Saami women personally represented the Saami cause to the Pope and the United Nations. Saami are eclectic in dealings with church, state, colonists, traders, tourists and even ethnographers. This testifies to their toleration and incorporation of foreign agents into interdependent relationships, and precludes certainties about either control or subjugation.

Saami individuals continue to be more attracted by manipulation than by confrontation. In confrontation, it is easiest to tap the cultural style of the actor rather than formal group channels. This has been analyzed elsewhere by a number of scholars. The next and final section will summarize, analyze and synthesize the data.

## On Being, Becoming and Unbecoming Saami

The Saami regions of Fennoscandia have been preyed on and protected by the southern hegemonies, by taxation, in trade, through colonization and as an investment. Most of North Norway consists of crown lands. Much of the contemporary confrontation involves ethical and legal questions of Saami aboriginal, usufructory rights in this largely unpartitioned area. (Generic issues of such rights are discussed in Bennett 1978 and Paine 1985.) From earliest historic times to the present, natural resources (hides, fish, ores, water power and now oil) and human labour have moved from this arctic periphery to the south—benefiting entrepreneurs in traditional times and now

the nation-state. The dominant south/north transfer was church and state propaganda. Very little reliable information about the Saami has moved southward.

Given contemporary media and the popularity of ethnic roots, information now surges in both directions between centre/periphery, majority/minority, decision maker/executor and ethnic group/ethnic group. However, this communication is illusory and has little information value. The channels are saturated with redundancy and tedious predictability. Almost every adult and child in Saamiland has been on radio or television at least once. All are experienced at playing a media role.

An interesting issue arises with respect to the self-selected Saami advocates for ethnic rights. These politicized Saami emphasize that they act as individuals, and exhibit an independence appropriate to Saami behaviour. Yet they are necessarily atypical, and their credentials are contested at the grass-roots level. Local Saami attentively follow the careers of well-known Saami – for example, yoikers or soccer players. But Saami who "perform" instrumentally outside the community receive no accolades, and may even be ostracized.

Ethnic identity has been manipulated in many ways both by Saami and by the state. With social and political discrimination and reverse discrimination, individuals can attain alternating or serial identities. The state reduces its Saami population to a balance sheet of costs and benefits. Perhaps the most detrimental aspect of state policies is that which dictates Saami status. It either assumes a monolithic "Saami culture" or erroneously regards some sector (once nomads, now activists) as prototypic. Reindeer breeding, for example, is not a right but a restricted, legislated privilege for the few descendants of active breeders. This privilege may be either a wedge into the Saami minority, or pacification, or protection of a tourist commodity. It may expiate collective colonial guilt, or it may effectively regulate and finally phase out this livelihood. Whether the regulation of reindeer-breeding is to be judged benevolent or malevolent in intent(s) or outcome(s) is moot. The thrust of my argument is that all these processes have an inherent complexity that refuses to be reduced below a certain level of qualitative analysis (see also Huizer 1979).

The increasing awareness of all ethnicity, not just that of indigenous minorities, may mean some convergence between the Norwegian and Saami attitudes about the nature of their relationships. At the same time, Saami representing their own culture, nationally or internationally, converge with other politicians and transnational societies. As such, their behaviour is regulated by rules independent of Saami culture. Such larger systems are unlikely to reflect or enhance smaller ones, particularly when the smaller systems are self-generating. Like academicians, politicians function in diverse

satellite guilds; both are selected, educated and sustained by the state. Both may thus be regarded with disdain at the grass-roots level.

In pre-confrontation times, the internal dynamics of Saami culture could disregard exogenous forces by virtue of the "frontier." Now that geographic frontier has been obliterated by population increase among all segments and by irreversible expectations from a monetized, industrial economy. There are other frontiers in Saami culture, however. One of them is the toleration of unique, mobile members, qualities that rank high in Saami values. Hence, the agent of the nation-state, the jet-setter and the professional advocate of ethnic claims to land and water, can be embraced as modern tricksters and cultural mediators (e.g., Boulding 1978; Prigogine and Stengers 1984).

The relegation of Saami individuals to this international fellowship is both fortuitous and problematic. It confers the mobility necessary to participate in Fourth World politics. Mobility is not just a feature of "nomadic" life; it permeates all of Saami culture to the extent that even furniture, utensils and buildings "migrate." The problematic aspect relates to the importance of autonomy, individuality and unique personality within Saami social life. Participants in Fourth World politics should ideally behave as replaceable parts. This poses a problem for individuals, who may feel as dissatisfied with this constraint as they are stimulated by possibilities for mobility (Jantsch 1980; Maruyama 1976).

Such Fourth-World Saami politicians are not seen as trading partners by the state. Rather, they play a role in an irreversible game, in an international field unconstrained by the space, time or resources of Saami culture. The players are similarly suspended individuals from this and other cultures.

Although the Fourth-World movement is subsidized by various governments with various rationales, it is not a "conspiracy" in either direction. Increased order is common to maturing systems, and is evident in all of politics. Tokens of such increased order tend to be self-organizing and persistent. The cleavage within and between state and minority, and between minority and its advocates, may widen.

Fourth-World momentum can only be sustained through investment of human time and energy and by means of government financing. A new coordinate guild within the larger system has developed. Its external relations are more salient than its relations with either higher- or lower-level systems. This guild has not evolved, but rather has crystallized from conditions in dissipating structures. Its connection with the ethnic setting, which is its rationale for existence, is tenuous. Fourth-World dynamics are a window into generic processes of regulation, control, exacerbation, integration and articulation. All have been woefully handled in political analyses to date.

Saami culture now has many centres and many spokespersons, some of

them not even ethnic. One centre is in the transnational networks and international organizations that represent Saami interests. While advocacy is crucial, cultural survival rests with the local societies, with all their contradictions, incessant change and indifference to global processes.

## Afterword

Since 1983, when this article first took shape, perhaps the most noteworthy event (and certainly the most newsworthy one) involving Saami and their environs has been Chernobyl, the Soviet nuclear accident of late April of 1986. During the ensuing days the disaster dumped significant amounts of radioactive elements over Fennoscandia. The pattern and intensity of fallout varies with the wind and precipitation prevailing at the time. Of course the layperson must depend on scientific means to assess the radioactivity, and on governmental means to integrate this information with social action through regulative policy. The stress on citizens due to such serious contaminants has been exacerbated by uncertainty in all quarters. Consequently, since Chernobyl Saami and non-Saami alike have not only had to cope with levels of pollution that can soar above the national (scientific-cum-policy) thresholds for safe consumption, but have also been subjected to (sometimes inevitable) arbitrariness, inconsistencies and modifications in the policies themselves (Beach 1990). Reindeer-managing Saami and persons engaging in hunting and gathering may be most at risk for both contamination and confusion. Especially for domesticated species or wildlife frequenting a number of habitats, potential consumers can not make educated guesses about radioactivity, but must have their meat screened; for sessile plant life, such as berries and mushrooms, one can sometimes make judgements based on earlier assays done in a given area. More troublesome, though, is the fact that policy has varied from country to country, from time to time and even from individual to individual, just since 1986. While the media have elaborated on the fallout threat to Saami reindeer management, it appears that this sector of the Saami population will endure. In fact, in certain regions spared fallout, including northern Norway, reindeer-management continues to thrive, perhaps even to the extent of pressing the limits of local forage resources. Hence, Chernobyl has clearly intensified the distinctions among and between the various occupational and regional lifestyles characterizing the Saami population.

## Note

1. An earlier version of part of this paper was presented in the symposium on The Fourth World: Relations Between Minority Indigenous Peoples and Nation-States at the 11th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Vancouver, British Columbia, in August 1983.

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# INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THE SÁMI: ETHNOPOLITICAL RESPONSE TO ECOLOGICAL CRISIS IN THE NORTH

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*Abstract:* In most parts of the Arctic and Subarctic Regions, there is a growing concern among Native peoples about the erosion of their ecological base caused by increasing developments on the part of the dominant, industrialized society. The Sámi in northern Fenno-Scandia have long experienced this gradual devastation and presently face a serious ecological crisis. To cope with the exploitation of their land by industrial forestry and hydro-electric developments, the Sámi make use of both the legal arena and various political channels.

*Résumé:* Les autochtones de l'arctique et des régions proches se montrent de plus en plus concernés de l'érosion de leur base écologique, celle-ci mise en cause par la montée de nouveaux développements entamés par une société dominante et industrialisée. Les Sámi du nord de Fenno-Scandia ont longtemps vécu cette dévastation et se retrouvent maintenant vis-à-vis une crise écologique très sérieuse. Pour faire face à l'exploitation de leur terre par des groupes forestiers industriels et des projets hydroéléctriques, les Sámi déploient le système judiciare ainsi que plusieurs moyens politiques.

## Introduction

In most parts of the Arctic and Subarctic regions, there is a growing concern among Native peoples about the devastating effect on their ecological base caused by increasing developments by the dominant, industrial society. In political terms Native peoples are encapsulated minorities with very little or no power concerning their own vital interests. For a very long time they have been subject to a rather arbitrary administration and to indifference about the social and cultural consequences occasioned by various encroach-

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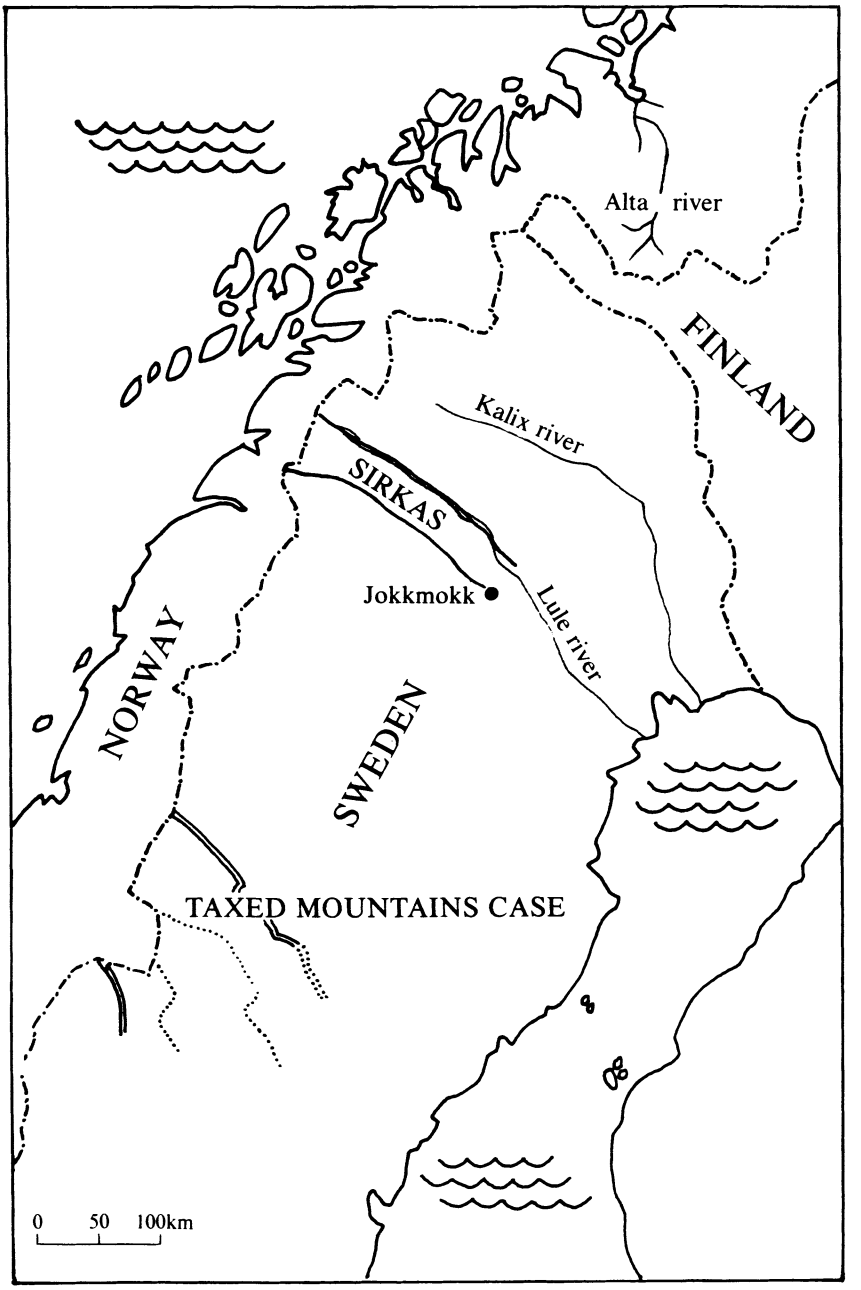

Alta river
FINLAND
Kalix river
SIRKAS
Jokkmokk
Lule river
NORWAY
SWEDEN
TAXED MOUNTAINS CASE
0 50 100km

ments; at the same time they have experienced firm tutelage. In order to cope with the intensified conflict, the ethnic minority group demands a minimum amount of power, i.e., sufficient autonomy to render it possible to maintain its particular way of life and to exert adequate control over resource development related to its traditional land use pattern.

The instrument through which the ecological base of a culture can be protected, especially in ethnic minority contexts, is *land rights*. Rarely is the goal to assume sovereign rights to defined territories of land, but rather to acquire sufficient rights to land and water within the area in which a specific group of people traditionally lives, so they are able to protect vital ecological zones. In order to regain some of its lost autonomy, the minority must be on the offensive and constantly confront the Nation State with firm demands related to the land rights issue. To comprehend this type of confrontation, the connection between ecology and law is crucial, a point that will be stressed in the following presentation.

A general process of ecological change has occurred at varying rates over the Arctic regions. The Sámi in northern Fenno-Scandia, who mainly dwell in high subarctic regions, have long experienced a gradual entropy of the ecosystem, and at present they face an ecological crisis on a very large scale. Industrial forestry and hydro-electric development appear to be the most devastating types of encroachment, and they will be used to illustrate my general argument. The empirical material on which this paper is based refers to Swedish Lapland. Many of the issues raised, however, pertain to the reindeer Sámi in general, whereas other factors may differ from nation to nation. For instance, in North Norway, one of the Sámi core areas, the ecological zoning of the annual cycle may take a different form, and because of its far northern latitude the impact of industrial forestry has not been as severely felt. The general argument presented concerning the implication of various kinds of encroachment is still applicable. It should also be stressed that the reindeer pastoralist Sámi constitute only a section of the total Sámi population, but it is this category of Sámi who have experienced the greatest losses due to industrial developments.

## Ecological Analysis of Sámi Reindeer Pastoralism

In common with most other pastoralist people who have adopted varying degrees of nomadism, the Sámi adaptation relies to a large extent on extensive land use. In modern times the Sámi have changed from pure nomadism to a semi-nomadic way of life with a fairly high degree of sedentarization. Notwithstanding this, they are still basically dependent on the innate grazing habits of the reindeer herds, and for their livelihood must cover vast areas of land. The ecological niche occupied by the reindeer Sámi depends upon ex-

ploiting the following resource areas: reindeer pasture in combination with fishing waters; hunting and trapping grounds and wild berry patches. The primary resource around which everything revolves is reindeer pasture. In contrast to the forest Sámi, the great majority of reindeer Sámi use the pasture in a three-zone cycle: in the summer they spend from two to three months in the high mountainous area; in both spring and autumn they make use of the vast low mountain regions for a total of six months, whereas in the winter the herds graze in the coniferous forest region. The forest Sámi, on the other hand, are adapted to a more limited migratory pattern, spending the entire year in the coniferous forest region. The economy is partially monetary with a high degree of local subsistence activity. In fact, very many reindeer Sámi could not make an adequate living unless they skillfully combined production for sale of reindeer products, especially meat, with subsidiary productive activities to meet their consumption needs. Utilization of secondary resources is completely dependent on the seasonal cycle of pasture zones. Consequently, drastic changes in any of the pasture zones may totally upset the rhythm of reindeer herding, making it impossible for the Sámi to exploit supplementary resources.

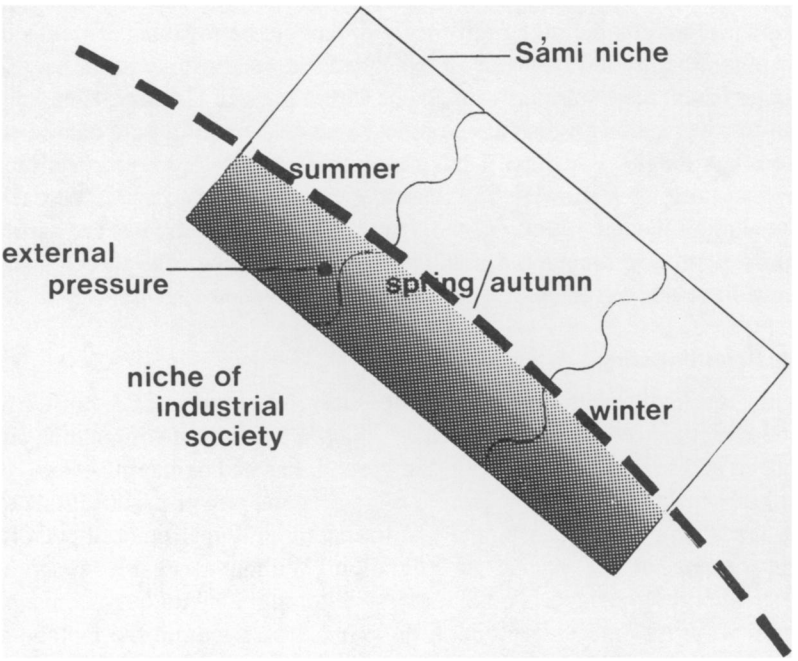
The ecosystem thus described was very much in balance until pressure from the dominant society increased heavily following the industrial revolution. Forests, waterfalls and minerals were the primary nonrenewable resources developed by the Nation State, formerly agrarian but now rapidly turning into an industrial society. The problem is not one of competition between two ethnic groups for the resources contained within the same territory. Rather, resource development carried out by the larger society in the area will, to a great extent, reduce the possibility that the Sámi may be able to develop resources connected to their ecological niche and, consequently, will have adverse effects on the viability of Sámi culture.

The argument can be summarized in Figure 1.

The rectangle is a schematic representation of a local Sámi community within which the reindeer herders migrate in the direction NW-SE following their herds between the different seasons. The crucial point here concerns the overlap of the two niches and the contents of that part, i.e., the extent to which industrial resource developments subvert the ecosystem to which the Sámi have adapted. Moreover, the implications of these kinds of changes may vary considerably between different local communities. The amount of external pressure a given local community can tolerate is related to how well the yearly cycle of reindeer herding can be maintained in spite of the encroachments. In modern times this process of change constitutes part of the ecology to which the Sámi must also adapt.

It is important to understand that each case of industrial development should be measured against the geographical zoning of a community and its

**Figure 1**




yearly cycle of reindeer herding. It is not so much the total amount of land lost that occasions the most perceptible losses to the Sámi; rather it is the *quality* of the area affected that counts. Any time there is an encroachment on an ecological zone vital for reindeer pastoralism, the damage is felt very severely, even if it appears minor on a map. Such ecological zones within a community territory are migrating routes, natural barriers, calving lands in spring, pasture areas where the reindeer thrive in the autumn during the rutting season, winter pasture in the forest area which is rich in ground lichen and finally good and easily accessible fishing waters. These zones are critical for the Sámi in their endeavour to carry on a profitable reindeer management. In addition they provide an opportunity many owners of small herds of reindeer find indispensable in their struggle to continue actively sharing the Sámi way of life. Of particular concern here is the loss of fishing waters and hunting grounds.

Coping with this new dilemma caused by increasing external pressure is a leading political issue among the Sámi at present. The immediate aim is to

check expanding encroachments; the ultimate political goal, however, is to uphold a viable pastoralist culture. The constraints influencing the pursuit of this goal, however, will accumulate as a consequence of industrial development by the majority society, and eventually the carrying capacity of a Sámi community and its delimited territory will have to be revalued. There is no way a community territory can be expanded; the readjustment to a new set of constraints, therefore, has to be from within a given territory. The Sámi want to reverse this process of ecological change as their culture cannot endure much longer. For them it has become a question of an ultimate limit they can no longer allow to be crossed. Furthermore, the heavy encroachments inhibit the opportunity of the Sámi to develop their own set of natural resources. A more detailed account of the consequences due to ecological change has been presented in an earlier paper (Svensson 1978).

**Industrial Forestry**

Highly mechanized forestry with clear-cutting of huge areas followed by modern methods of soil tillage, such as ploughing and harrowing which create deep and very wide furrows in the ground, has had damaging effects on reindeer herding with respect to both migration and winter pasture. As a result, lands which were substantially utilized can no longer be used even for night pasture in the course of migration. Without available areas for sufficient night grazing it is quite impossible to migrate with large herds in a natural way. As a necessary option the Sámi have tried out the method of migrating by trucks, but this is deemed a poor alternative and is very costly. Many young and weak reindeer are left behind.

Furthermore, if there are plenty of lichen grounds for the winter season the reindeer will thrive; the effective elimination of such land makes the reindeer more restless, always on the move, a situation which eventually will weaken their condition. To this it should be added that lichen grounds are found in certain pockets within the entire winter zone of a community; other areas either offer poor winter grazing or are entirely unsuitable for such usage. The winter pasture, therefore, is most vulnerable to any form of change. If a specific forest development means the extinction of one or two pockets of lichen grounds, the damage is almost irreparable since the loss of lichen grounds cannot be replaced by supplementary areas elsewhere; neither can the grazing resources on the land damaged be renewed in the near future.

For the last 20 years the loss of winter pasture has been a growing concern to the Sámi. In the 1980s the Sámi experienced a new threat directed towards the backwoods of the mountain slopes in the spring-autumn zone. As long as reindeer pastoralism has existed among the Sámi these back-

woods have served as valuable substitute land in winters when pasture conditions down in the forest area were especially poor. The backwoods are particularly rich in tree lichen. Clear-cutting means that tree lichen disappears completely. This lichen is considered the most valuable source of emergency food for the reindeer in bad winters, for example, when the snow is too firmly packed. With no access to tree lichen, the herds readily disperse over wide areas causing much extra work for the herders. Since 1983 clear-cutting in this zone has been carried out in several areas in *Jokkmokk*, and the situation is quite alarming. Advanced plans for further developments in other parts of Lapland have been announced, and, if not discontinued, this new program of state-run forestry development may cause the most severe blow so far to the Sámi and their reindeer economy. If this threat against the mountain slope forests is not halted immediately, the capacity for flexible readjustment to diverse climatic conditions will be eliminated. The Sámi communities directly concerned have recently protested to the authorities, and the government, as well as the parliament, are at present reconsidering a policy for forest developments in crucial Sámi areas. In the meantime the Sámi are carrying on their reindeer herding under conditions of considerable uncertainty.

The Sámi directly affected by the practice of clear-cutting in the backwoods have for years tried to come to terms with the state forestry development agency through negotiations, but so far in vain. Consequently, the Sámi were forced to bring the conflict to court, and the trial will take place in the spring of 1990 with a Sámi lawyer, brought up in a reindeer pastoralist tradition, acting on behalf of the Sámi party. The outcome of this trial will decide the amount of influence the Sámi can have on the continuing management of resource development in all backwood areas with sizeable Sámi populations.

Another factor worth mentioning is the recent proposal by the Sámi Rights Committee, which is presently conducting a public inquiry, for the creation of a limited protective regime concerning forestry development (SOU 1989:41). In order to strengthen Sámi influence in matters of vital concern to them, the Sámi Rights Committee proposes a new administrative practice of permanent joint deliberations between the forest industry and reindeer pastoralists. Such imposed consultation will definitely be beneficial for the Sámi minority, especially as year-round pasturing is threatened by forest developments to an increasing degree. If this proposal is accepted by the legislature, it will certainly be more difficult in the future to exploit forest resources in areas of Sámi habitation. Moreover, the new representative body, the Sámi Parliament, *Sameting*, also suggested by the Sámi Rights Committee, will act as a compulsory hearing authority. This means that formal approval of a proposed development cannot be issued by the National

Forestry Board until the Sámi Parliament has been consulted and has consented to it. Unfortunately, because the Sámi have not been given the absolute power, which they had initially demanded, the Sámi Parliament is primarily an advisory body with restricted authority.

Nevertheless, this new administrative order represents a noticeable improvement for the Sámi, because forest development is at last placed on the same level as other kinds of encroachments caused by the dominant industrial society. Thereby the Sámi are about to acquire a necessary influence in a vital area of resource management. Similar problems prevail elsewhere in Subarctic regions, such as, for example, among the James Bay Cree in Northern Québec (McDonnell and LaRusic 1987).

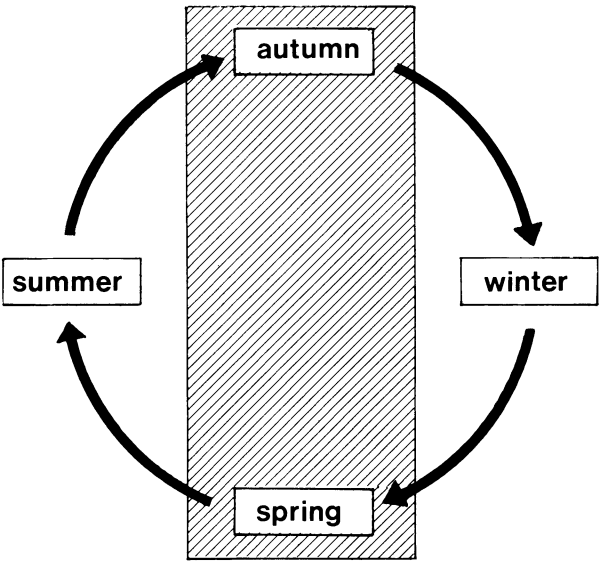
**Hydro-electric Development**

Hydro-electric developments appear as the classical example of encroachments on Native lands. Certainly the *James Bay Project* is one of the largest ever to be launched, but it also stands out as the best documented from an anthropological perspective (see in particular works by Feit 1986, Salisbury 1986 and LaRusic 1979). During the entire 20th century this type of exploitation has been a constant threat to Sámi interests. *Jokkmokk* is undoubtedly the Sámi core area that has suffered the greatest loss as a result of hydro-electric development, and between 1910 and 1970 no less than 14 separate dams have been constructed along the Lule River. As the greatest number of these dams are located in the spring-autumn zone, i.e., the most sensitive area for profitable reindeer management, the negative impact has been immense. In order to imagine the full implications of such encroachments, this drastic change in the terrain has to be related to the yearly cycle of reindeer herding.

The areas predominantly affected by hydro-electric developments are the original homeland areas for both reindeer and people (Figure 2). Let me specify here the kinds of herding activities that occur in this primary geographical zone. The arrows in the graph do not indicate diverse migrating routes between spring and autumn, but rather the rhythm of the seasonal movement between the primary ecological zone and the two zones of secondary import.

1. Spring: This is the calving season for which only certain types of pasture are fit, i.e., areas close to lakes and rivers where the snow often melts earlier than it does further up the mountain slopes, offering early access to necessary grass pasture. The newborn calves have to start grazing very soon after birth to gain strength. They are very vulnerable to predatory animals, especially polar foxes and eagles, which are unable to take fully grown reindeer. Even ravens constitute a threat to them. Areas close to

**Figure 2**




water are of major importance: the grass there is of high quality, and the calves are able to graze only the snow-free ground. Moreover, the full-grown animals have to remain in this area for a while to regain strength before continuing their strenuous migration to the summer pasture in the high mountainous areas.

2. Autumn: This is by far the most active season. The herders devote a great deal of time to rounding up the animals, frequently driving them into corrals in order to separate the herds. They castrate some of the bulls, and slaughter those going for sale. During this time of intensive work, undisturbed grazing for the reindeer is required. Before the roundup there is a slack period of about a month, during which the Sámi fish in the mountain lakes and rivers. The best fishing waters are usually found in the spring-autumn zone, and the timing for fishing is also optimal, as everything else the Sámi do has to be adjusted to involvements in reindeer herding.

The reindeer cycle is unalterable; consequently, the Sámi have to readapt to any changes in the environment which affect the ecological balance. The quality of the land being lost is far more important than the quantity, and

secondary effects must be taken into consideration. For instance, climatic changes for the worse may follow from environmental damage caused by water regulations preceding the construction of huge water dams. The important birch woods will be flooded, and the type of mountain lake that replaces the natural river with its well covered shore lines will allow free range for the cold mountain winds. As a consequence, these areas will be less suitable for calving, and as a rule such areas are irreplaceable.

A few more factors should be recognized as having detrimental effects. First, it is quite evident that the work input will increase considerably due to such changes in the natural environment. Secondly, the people may have to move traditional camp sites. These sites were originally chosen for their suitability; they are close to pasture areas enabling the herders to guard and control their herds. Furthermore, they are within easy reach of the most valuable fishing waters, and this is essential for this type of living. Although the utilization of modern technology, e.g., snowmobiles, tractors and small aircraft, has increased, the reindeer Sámi must still carry part of their supplies long distances over fairly rough terrain. Supplementary food, such as fresh fish, is essential to pastoralist adaptation. There are some communities whose people have had to break up and change camp sites four times in their lives, such as *Sirkas* in *Jokkmokk*. People are emotionally attached to these sites; they offer a homey feeling. For this reason the social costs of having to break up frequently are very difficult to assess.

Finally, the quality of the fishing waters will also deteriorate. Fishing implements and sheds may be lost in high water; the shore will be undermined and offer less protection against the strong winds, making it very hazardous to navigate small, fragile river boats. Most importantly, the amount of fish available in such regulated waters soon diminishes considerably. For these losses compensation is paid to the Sámi by the exploiter. Irrespective of the amount of such compensation, the damage done to the fishing conditions is irreversible.

The Alta River in Northern Norway is another case in point. The public debate regarding this construction scheme has probably stirred up more deliberate protests among the Sámi in Fenno-Scandia than any other single event. Its symbolic value, contributing to a Sámi mass movement towards a strengthening of ethnic awareness, has been striking. (See Paine 1985.)

The Kalix River Project close to Kiruna represents a future threat. This river is the last one in Swedish Lapland spared thus far from any infringement. A detailed scheme for eight to ten hydro-power plants already exists, and, if carried out, this development will have far-reaching detrimental effects on the Sámi living in the area. The greatest concentration of dams along the Kalix river will be in the winter grazing land, an area already severely damaged by the exploitation of industrial forestry. For successful and

profitable reindeer management, access to good winter pasture is essential. In most parts of Swedish Lapland winter pasture remains the ecological factor in shortest supply; consequently, this geographical zone is most vulnerable to substantial changes. When the two most threatening forms of industrial development coincide in the same geographical zone, the Sámi will face a tremendous predicament. The final decision on the development of Kalix River has not yet been taken by the political authorities. For a long time, therefore, the Sámi most directly affected have been living under great insecurity and feelings of emotional pressure, factors which have influenced career choices for some of the young Sámi in the area. Because of the increasing claims on the land, it has now become too risky to choose reindeer herding as a lifetime occupation. The demographic imbalance, already viewed as a social dilemma, may thus be under even more stress. This imbalance reflects a recruitment to reindeer herding which is far too small in relation to the number of elderly reindeer pastoralists; moreover, few families are being established due to such a prevalent sense of economic insecurity.

The most elaborate social impact analysis involving a single case of hydro-electric development among the Sámi concerns the Alta River (Björklund and Brantenberg 1981). There was also a special statement to the Supreme Court in connection with the Alta case (Paine 1982). Although the impact of the Alta development may not appear as far-reaching as the cases discussed above, the argument for approaching this kind of problem from an anthropological point of view is most convincing, i.e., reindeer pastoralist adaptation is viewed as a system consisting of a set of interdependent parts.

## The Question of Land Rights

Firm land rights are an essential factor for practically all Native peoples living in an enclave and pursuing a traditional way of life, however modified this has been by external contacts. Land rights imply the continuity of a distinct land-use pattern which facilitates the maintenance of cultural viability. In the first place the land rights are based on customary law related to Sámi conceptions of territoriality; the local group, the *sii'da*, controls its reindeer pasture area and certain supplementary resources, mainly fishing and hunting areas, whereas the right of usage is allocated to the various household units belonging to the *sii'da*. It is important to point out that it has always been essential to the Sámi to claim sovereign rights to pasture, to hunting and fishing areas, etc.; in comparison, ownership rights to a delimited area of land have made little sense to them. The rights of usage are so qualified, however, that they come close to ownership rights, and the long-term utilization and actual occupation of the land, showing cultural continuity, could

eventually establish ownership rights for the group as a whole, vis-à-vis any other contending party (Jebens 1983:694-695). This transformation of the legal order of territorial rights has become more urgent to the Sámi in modern times as they experience a growing conflict of interests resulting from intensified contact with diverse levels of the larger society. In effect, land rights have more to do with self-determination, i.e., the ability to control the access to traditional resource development, than with territorial sovereignty (Sanders 1981).

Land rights are the very foundation on which ethnopolitical power is based and refer back to the interconnection between ecological analysis and legal argumentation. Moreover, to the Sámi reindeer pastoralists land rights must be based on the interdependency between the three component parts—pasture, reindeer, personnel—with pasture as the most critical element in this equilateral model (Paine 1972). The model itself is dynamic and open to readjustment all the time due to external pressure. It is the absolute rights to pasture, i.e., the land necessary to maintain an optimal pastoralist adaptation, that govern the recurring modifications in the relationship of numbers of reindeer to personnel. At any given time consideration must be given to seasonal variations as well as to climatic conditions which change over longer periods. The better balanced this interdependency is, the greater are the opportunities to develop supplementary resources available within the *sii'da* territory. (For an application of this model in a specific case of exploitation see Björklund and Brantenberg 1981:34-35.)

## Minority Political Actions

In coping with environmental crises of such magnitude, Native groups first of all must act politically. Being encapsulated as weak minority groups, their actions are constrained by premises determined by the majority society. They have to adapt to a style appropriate for acting in unfamiliar political arenas. In trying to attain their most urgent goal, i.e., improved land rights, native peoples are faced with three political options: they can attempt to achieve political results by means of the alternative processes of legislation, negotiation or litigation. Of these three options, negotiation appears less likely to succeed than the other two in the sense that both negotiating parties should possess a certain amount of power. As long as the Sámi lack real political power, negotiations can never occur. Gains can only be obtained from negotiation if you have some power basis to fall back on, usually one derived from successful legislation or litigation. The James Bay Agreement concerning the Cree is a good case in point (LaRusic et al. 1979).

The Sámi, on the other hand, are still in the process of working through political channels and the legal system. During the last 30 years they have

tried to press the political authorities to restate the entire legal status of the Sámi through legislation. Knowing how touchy the land rights issue is, and for the sake of their own convenience, the political authorities have preferred to suggest that the Sámi turn to the courts, with the excuse that the problem was too complicated for the legislators to handle. In Sweden the Sámi decided to follow this policy and entered into litigation against the Nation State concerning ownership rights to land and water in the entire Taxed Mountains area, the so-called *Taxed Mountains Case*, 1966-1981. The main objective was not to attempt to inhibit a specific development project in the area but rather to strengthen the power base of the Sámi generally. Had the Sámi been successful, negotiations would have seemed a realistic alternative in all future instances of encroachments. (This comprehensive court case will be treated in a special monograph, T. Svensson forthcoming. See also Svensson 1979:219-223 and 1985.)

After 15 years of litigation the Sámi came out rather empty-handed; they did not acquire the major court victory which was necessary to expand their range of political activities. Through a Supreme Court ruling the State is now officially acknowledged as owner of the disputed land. Since it was maintained that the courts can only make decisions in accordance with the existing laws of Sweden they could not create new laws. The comprehensive issue of native land rights is thought to be far beyond the competence and authority of the courts and is more a political problem to be taken up by the legislature. So after all these years, the Sámi are back where they started; they are being pushed back and forth between two extremely powerful social structures within the state and seem to have no means to penetrate that compact, interrelated system.

At present they are working very hard using whatever positive results came out of the legal confrontation. The verdict contains certain valuable clarifications of the legal status of the Sámi, e.g., their firmly protected usufructuary rights are codified for the first time, insofar as they are acknowledged and said to be based on immemorial usage (Supreme Court Decision, 1981). This codification may in the long-term perspective turn out to be an important landmark in the land rights struggle. These rights are as strong as private ownership rights, in the sense that they entitle the Sámi to compensation for losses caused by various encroachments. The problem for the Sámi remains unsolved, however, for compensation is restricted to monetary remuneration or technological improvements, and does not include the replacement of land for land. New calving lands or natural migrating routes cannot be purchased, because land is the most limiting factor in Sámi pastoralist adaptation. On the other hand, as with private ownership rights, these usufructuary rights do not protect against expropriation, i.e., they provide protection from other individuals, but no protection from the State. These

rights are by no means secure from the inroads of the heavy industrial developments which we discussed above; consequently for the Sámi, with their exposed system of ecological adaptation, what we have is protection in theory only, not in practice.

And this leads us to the final problem, the question whether, in the case of ethnic minorities, equal rights should or should not mean identical rights. To represent a workable asset for the suppressed minority, equal rights must contain a new element, in addition to those held by the majority population. These ideas were first brought about by a government committee examining Sámi cultural issues on a broad scale (Komiteen til a utrede samesporsmal 1959.) Such a plus factor could offer the Sámi some kind of veto power in cases of exploitation where critical ecological zones are seriously threatened. Following the outcome of the *Taxed Mountains Case* this is the primary political goal of the Sámi today. In the *Sámi Rights Inquiry*, appointed by the government in 1983 as a result of increased pressure from the Sámi organizations, the issue of limited veto power became a prerequisite for Sámi participation. Considering the current ecological crisis and the small gains acquired so far by means of litigation, the Sámi would settle for no less. In Norway, as a result of the fierce protests expressed against the construction of the Alta River dam, a Sámi Rights Inquiry is trying to sort out the complex matters relating to Sámi aboriginal rights. If these two committees come out with new proposals for legislation that are fully acceptable to the Sámi, offering them land rights which incorporate an element of power, then the Sámi will be able to enter negotiations for the first time in their history.

Until now the strategic moves nade by the Sámi have resulted in a series of small gains, the product of a tremendous and time-consuming effort. In order to secure their land base they are now going for a major gain, which is quite necessary for long-term cultural survival.

This form of limited veto power could be a first step towards the establishment of a protection regime, similar to what has already been stipulated for the Cree as a result of the negotiating process which led to an Agreement in Principle in 1975 (Feit 1982, 1979). To the Cree and the Sámi alike, industrial forestry and huge hydro-electric projects are the kinds of encroachments which cause the greatest damage. Both cultures require secure land rights to maintain their distinct way of life; though there are clear differences in modes of production, respectively hunting and gathering and pastoralism, both have a similarly extensive land use pattern.

This process of parliamentary inquiries concerning the legal situation of the Sámi has so far produced in Norway one basic report on the Sámi and international law, including proposals for a Sámi Parliamennt and a special Sámi Act (NOU 1984:18). The proposals in question have also been adopted

by the legislative body (Ot. prp. 33). In Sweden there are now two reports: one is restricted to issues connected to international law (SOU 1986:36), and the other deals with a complex set of Sámi rights issues, including a proposal for a Sámi Parliament and a Sámi Act (1989:41); both reports are in form quite similar to their Norwegian counterparts. In Sweden, legislation is expected to pass during 1990. But, one more report is due to come, this one dealing with general cultural issues in addition to a Language Act; therefore, final legislation may be delayed further.

The complex matter of Sámi rights in Norway still (at the time of writing) awaits the decisive report on which legislation will be based. Without a firm settlement of the rights issues, the empowerment of the Sámi Parliament will remain unclear and rather diffuse. In any case we may conclude that the Sámi Rights Inquiries, and the new legislation following upon them, indicate a process of change which will imply Sámi empowerment in real terms, even if it does not meet all the claims the Sámi have raised. The Sámi are currently experiencing a slow process which improves their status as a distinct people. The specific result of this process, however, is still to be decided.

## Conclusion

Transnational developments in areas traditionally used by Native peoples in the North result in conflict. The cause of this conflict is the constant impairment of the ecology on which native cultures subsist. Land rights appear as the main prerequisite for the power ethnic minorities need to enter negotiations with parties representing opposing interests. Whether such land rights are obtained through legislation or litigation, the legal argumentation pursued has to be based on a sound ecological analysis in addition to arguments related to legal history and customary law. To cope with the conflict, without necessarily trying to solve it, and to maintain the viability of their distinct cultures, Native peoples require political power relevant to ethnic minority situations, i.e., it has to be based on secure land rights.

Encroachments affecting the conditions of Native peoples are not restricted to industrial developments of various kinds. Atmospheric disturbances of the ecosystem, which definitely are of trans-national nature, such as the increasing spread of pollution from heavily industrialized regions, can have extremely destructive effects on the ecological niche of a native people. The latest and most portentous example is the Chernobyl disaster of 1986.

Immediately after the nuclear power plant explosion in the Ukraine, radioactive fallout was transported in a northwesterly direction. Due to unfavourable wind conditions, and because of extraordinarily high precipitation it was spread over central Scandinavia. The Chernobyl disaster thus caused the reindeer pastoralist Sámi, living in the South Sámi region in both

Sweden and Norway, the greatest threat ever to be experienced. "It was a blow to the Sámi culture which it will be extremely hard to recover from, if it is at all possible," as one Sámi stated.

The lichen which provides winter reindeer pasture was contaminated for an indefinite period of time; no one knows for certain how many years the negative effects will prevail, but 20 years has been mentioned as a plausible and fairly realistic guess. This uncertainty on the part of scientific experts stems from the simple fact that a disaster of this magnitude or type has never before been experienced.

The reindeer do not starve, because they do not lack food, as they do during years of pasture shortage caused by drastic climatic fluctuations; but when slaughtered they are not suitable for human consumption. The radiation levels in the meat, in terms of becquerels (the measurement unit of cesium 137) is far too high to permit its consumption, considering the cancer risks. As a consequence, in the Sámi areas most severely affected, a whole year's production is lost. Similarly, fishing waters and wildlife harvesting areas are contaminated, thus completely undermining the ecological niche on which the pastoralist Sámi way of life is based.

Four years after the disaster occurred, the negative implications were still the same, and great despair and a feeling of uncertainty for the future are growing among the Sámi, especially among many young people who are about to make their career choices.

In this particular case, secure land rights and self-determination are of little help in preventing the recurrence of a catastrophe of this nature. On the other hand, such empowerment of the indigenous ethnic minority is indispensable in managing the significant aftermath, and in negotiating the terms of full and just compensation. The demand for improved land rights and increased self-determination, therefore, appears more urgent than ever before. (For more details see, e.g., Svensson 1988 and Broadbent 1989.)

As for the Sámi, however, they are victims of the ideological dilemma resulting from the political philosophy of Scandinavian social democracy. In pursuing the ideals of its general political program the political authority is hampered by a discrepancy between international commitments on the one hand and national policy on the other. On the international scene Scandinavians have advocated the rights of minorities, have defended their special interests in world-wide conflicts, etc., and have given a very high priority to questions of human rights. But these principles are not compatible with internal political realities.

In national policy the concept of equality and prosperity for all is firmly advocated. This relates to the ideals of a well-developed welfare state. Key factors in political success are first, to increase the gross national income, secondly, to expand the nation's export industry, and thirdly, to maintain the

highest possible rate of employment. The dilemma for the State is to cope with the problem of high rates of unemployment in marginal regions, especially in the north, while trying to live up to the political ideal of protecting the interests of minorities, including commitments related to the principles embedded in the concept of human rights. The Nation State faces an insoluble predicament, particularly in cases involving the land rights issue. Secure land rights for the ethnic minority groups are not congruent with the realization of the political program on the national level, the demands of which can only be met by a continuation of industrial development in Sámi core areas.

The current Sámi Rights Inquiries discussed above probably constitute the greatest step taken up to now towards Sámi self-determination in real terms. The legislation emanating from these inquiries, in combination with important recent gains on the legal front, form the foundation on which Sámi ethnopolitics will be based in the future. And such an ethnopolitical foundation is crucial for Sámi cultural survival.

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# THE PRIBILOF ISLANDS: A VIEW FROM THE PERIPHERY[1]

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*Abstract:* Seventy-three years of federal administration of the Pribilof Islands came to an abrupt end in October 1983 when the U.S. Congress voted to terminate the mandate of the Pribilof Islands Program. To ease the ensuing transition to home rule, the U.S. Congress established a $20 million Pribilof Islands Trust. Yet reasonable estimates indicate that most of this money will go to improve the infrastructure of the islands and to rehabilitate the aging power plant, sewage systems and housing stock of the local communities to meet state codes. The Trust is wholly inadequate to launch the Pribilof communities safely on the road toward economic self-sufficiency. Motivated in part by the campaign to end the commercial harvest of northern fur seals on the Pribilof Islands, the recent federal action may also stimulate economic development, proving more harmful to the fur seal population than a modest and carefully controlled commercial harvest. The emergence of a sizeable commercial fishery based on the Pribilof Islands, for example, could easily reduce the carrying capacity of the marine ecosystem for fur seals (as well as for other marine mammals), produce a substantial incidental kill of fur seals through entanglement in fishing nets and make the coastal areas of the islands less hospitable to fur seals as rookeries.

*Résumé:* Soixante-treize ans d'administration fédérale des îles Pribilof se sont soudainement terminés quand en octobre 1983, le Congrès des États-Unis a voté pour discontinuer le mandat du «Pribilof Island Program». Pour faciliter cette transition à un gouvernement local, le Congrès américain a établi une fiducie de 20 $ million, la «Pribilof Island Trust». Pourtant, on estime que la plupart de cet argent sera destinée à l'amélioration de l'infrastructure des îles et à la réhabilitation de la vieille centrale d'énergie, du système d'eaux et d'égouts et des habitations des communautés locales, afin de conformer aux codes d'état. La fiducie est entièrement inadéquate pour un départ au renouvellement économique dont les communautés des îles auront besoin pour devenir autonomes.

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Motivées en partie par la campagne pour mettre fin à la chasse commerciale des phoques du nord sur les îles Pribilof, les récentes démarches fédérales pourraient aussi stimuler le développement commercial de la région; par contre, ces mêmes démarches pourraient être plus nuisibles à la population de phoques qu'une récolte commerciale modeste et contrôlée. L'arrivée d'une large flotte de pêche commerciale sur les îles pourrait, par exemple, réduire la capacité de l'écosystème à soutenir les phoques et autres mamifères marins. Il semble que nombre de phoques périsseraient dans les filets de pêche. Ces développements feraient des côtes des îles Pribilof des lieux moins acceuillants pour les colonies de phoques.

## Background

The Pribilof Islands comprise five small volcanic outcroppings in the central Bering Sea along the southern edge of the former Bering Land Bridge.[2] The two largest members of the group, St. Paul and St. George, cover 44 square miles and 33.5 square miles respectively. The remaining three, Otter Island, Walrus Island and Sea Lion Rock, are much smaller, covering less than two square miles altogether. Uninhabited at the time of their discovery by the Russian explorer Gerassim Pribylof in 1786, the islands have since supported several communities of Aleut people engaged in the commercial harvest of the northern fur seal, initially under Russian jurisdiction and since 1867 under the jurisdiction of the United States.

Today, these communities have a population of 709 (551 in the village of St. Paul and 158 in the village of St. George). Of these, over 90 percent are Aleuts descended from people brought to the islands in the 18th and 19th centuries. Though subsistence hunting and gathering play an important role in these communities, the Pribilovians have always depended on the commercial harvest of fur seals for their livelihood. Almost half of the full-time (and most of the part-time) employment opportunities have long been connected with the sealing operation, which is conducted by the U.S. federal government. Even so, the per capita income of the residents of St. Paul and St. George is only $6,410.00 and costs of living on the islands are such that this income purchases less than half as much as the average per capita income in the United States as a whole.

Since 1910, the U.S. federal government has managed the Pribilof Islands as well as conducting the commercial harvest of fur seals. Under the terms of the *Fur Seal Act* of 1966 (80 Stat. 1091), the federal government provided home heating oil and electricity at subsidized rates, supplied other municipal services, handled freight delivery to the islands and constructed housing. These tasks were the province of the Pribilof Island Program, an office of the National Marine Fisheries Service with the U.S. Department of

Commerce. This did not, however, prevent the emergence of an array of local institutions in the communities of St. Paul and St. George. Since 1950, the Aleut Communities of St. Paul and St. George have had recognized community councils under the terms of the *Indian Reorganization Act* of 1934 (48 Stat. 987). St. Paul was organized as a second class city under Alaska state law in 1971; St. George followed suit in 1983. Both communities have village corporations organized under the *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act* of 1971 (85 Stat. 688)—Tanadgusix, Incorporated in St. Paul, and Tanaq, Incorporated in St. George. Additionally, the Pribilovians constitute a large segment of the membership of a profit-making regional corporation, Aleut, Incorporated, and the nonprofit regional organization, the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association, Incorporated.

## Winds of Change

Recently, the circumstances facing the communities of St. Paul and St. George have begun to change drastically. Under Title 1 of the *Fur Seal Act Amendments* of 1983 (97 Stat. 835), signed into law by President Ronald Reagan on October 14, 1983, the federal government will cease to conduct a commercial harvest of fur seals. While the statute permits the village corporations of St. Paul and St. George to carry on the harvest, it clearly envisions a time in the near future when the commercial harvest of fur seals on the Pribilofs will cease altogether. Equally important, Title 2 of the Amendments has terminated federal management of the islands and dismantled the Pribilof Islands Program. Instead, the statute seeks "to promote the development of a stable, self-sufficient, enduring and diversified economy not dependent on sealing" (Section 206). To this end, it establishes a $20 million trust fund to be used to help St. Paul and St. George make the transition to home rule and calls for close cooperation between the federal government and the State of Alaska in assisting the Pribilof communities to move toward a new footing (Section 205).

Other drastic changes affecting St. Paul and St. George will almost certainly occur during the 1980s. *The Interim Convention for the Conservation of Northern Fur Seals*, the multilateral agreement governing the management of northern fur seals, comes up for renegotiation toward the end of 1984.[3] The United States is expected to advocate a final termination of commercial sealing, at least on the Pribilof Islands, in the course of revising the terms of the existing agreement with Canada, Japan and the Soviet Union. (*Editors' Note:* See Author's Note). Vigorous efforts are now underway to establish a commercial fishery based in the Pribilofs for bottomfish and hair crabs. While such developments are seen by many as offering an economic salvation for the Pribilofs, a bottomfishing industry could add 900 people to

the population of St. Paul alone by 1990. Similarly, outer continental shelf oil and gas development could add another 827 people to the population of St. Paul by 1990 (though this number would gradually decline thereafter). The geologic structures known as the St. George Basin lie in close proximity to the Pribilof Islands. If the tracts included in Outer Continental Shelf Lease Sale Number 70 (which was held on April 12, 1983, though actual leases have only recently been conveyed) prove to contain commercially significant quantities of oil and natural gas, the Pribilofs could become a logical site for a marine support base and terminal facility.[4] Beyond this, recent years have witnessed a substantial rise in the numbers of tourists visiting the Pribilof Islands to view marine mammals and bird cliffs. Though tourism of this type appeals to a limited clientele and is viable only during the summer months, its growth constitutes another major source of change for the communities of St. Paul and St. George.

## The Challenge of Adjustment

From the start, St. Paul and St. George have exhibited the attributes of peripheries in a core-periphery configuration (Dryzek and Young 1984, Anders 1983). In economic terms, this involves a constellation of conditions including: (1) a focus on harvesting or extracting natural resources for export, (2) a strong dependency on ups and downs in the world market for the relevant resources, (3) control of the local economy by outside sources of capital and decision makers and (4) a paucity of local investment opportunities. The hallmark of peripheral status in political terms is an inability to participate effectively in public policymaking affecting the local area. Drastic changes affecting the circumstances of the periphery are initiated in distant capitals (e.g., Washington and Juneau) by decision makers who cannot be expected to place high priority on the welfare of residents of the periphery (e.g., the residents of St. Paul and St. George). The concerns of the remote communities are of no more than marginal significance to the distant decision makers. Changes of the type outlined in the preceding section are therefore hard for peripheral communities to predict in terms of both content and timing. As a result, those located in the peripheries find it difficult to engage in effective planning for change. What is more, residents of these communities often suffer a severe loss of efficacy as they find themselves buffeted by external forces over which they have little or no control.

St. Paul and St. George constitute relatively extreme examples of peripheries in these terms. The two communities were literally created to serve the needs of a single export industry completely controlled by outside interests. With the passage of time, St. Paul and St. George became company towns administered by and existing at the pleasure of firms like the Alaska Com-

mercial Company.[5] Nor did this situation change materially once the U.S. federal government took over the harvest of northern fur seals in 1910. By many accounts, the circumstances of the Pribilovians actually deteriorated under the management of the Pribilof Islands Program.[6] With respect to public policy, the fate of St. Paul and St. George is closely tied to federal actions under the terms of the *Marine Mammals Protection Act* of 1972 (86 Stat. 1027), the *Fishery Conservation and Management Act* of 1976 (90 Stat. 331) and the *Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act Amendments* of 1978 (92 Stat. 629). Yet the communities have little ability to affect the stance adopted by the United States in the course of negotiations relating to the international management regime for northern fur seals. Similarly, they have virtually no influence over the actions of the North Pacific Fisheries Management Council regarding the marine fisheries of the Bering Sea or the decisions of the Department of the Interior relating to offshore lease sales in the Bering Sea. As a result, St. Paul and St. George find themselves constantly reacting to changes in public policies motivated by interests and concerns having little to do with their welfare.

The fundamental challenge of adjustment for St. Paul and St. George, then, is to devise methods to break out of this core/periphery configuration. Above all, this means taking steps to decouple the economy of the islands from the larger, outside economy, establishing locally controlled economic ventures as well as avoiding the monoculture problem besetting many peripheral areas of the Third World. In addition, the Pribilof communities must create well-integrated, effective local institutions. No effort to achieve self-sufficiency can succeed in the absence of local institutions capable of minimizing conflict, handling collective decision making, in a decisive and efficient fashion and ensuring that available energy is focussed on efforts to promote the common good. In these terms, the advent of home rule on the Pribilofs under the terms of the *Fur Seal Act Amendments* of 1983 certainly constitutes an unusual opportunity to initiate steps aimed at breaking out of the core/periphery configuration. Given the timing and conditions of this transition, however, St. Paul and St. George will also face serious problems in their efforts to make a success of home rule.

## Economic Options

Apart from public sector activities, the only significant industry that has ever developed on the Pribilofs is commercial sealing (Foote et al. 1968), and, in 1984, it remains the major source of employment on the islands. During the 12 years since commercial sealing ceased on St. George, moreover, no other commercial or industrial activity has emerged to take its place (Young 1981:70-72). Nonetheless, it is possible to identify a number of economic

options available to St. Paul and St. George in the wake of the passage of the *Fur Seal Act Amendments* of 1983. Each of these options has both advantages and disadvantages which are well worth examining with some care in the search for a suitable economic base to sustain home rule in the Pribilofs.

## Commercial Sealing

The *Fur Seal Act Amendments* of 1983 mandate a cessation of the federally organized and supervised harvest of fur seals on the Pribilofs. They do not preclude the continuation of a commercial harvest of seals under the auspices of the Pribilovians themselves. In some ways, the idea of taking over the commercial harvest of fur seals is an attractive one for residents of St. Paul and St. George (Young 1981b:79-82). Commercial sealing constitutes a familiar activity. Many residents of the communities are skilled sealers, and the activities associated with the harvest are deeply embedded in the lifeways of the communities. Tanadgusix and Tanaq are profit-making corporations needing to develop commercial or industrial activities to fulfill the terms of their charters. What is more, the actual harvest of seals, in contrast to the overall operations of the Pribilof Islands Program, has generally produced a profit, even in recent years (Young 1981).

Yet commercial sealing has fundamental drawbacks as an economic option for the Pribilofs during the era of home rule. There has been no commercial harvest of fur seals on the island of St. George since 1972. Any resumption of this harvest would require the approval of the International North Pacific Fur Seal Commission (rather than the agreement of the U.S. federal government only), a development that is improbable. The international market for sealskin and other seal products has declined substantially in recent years as a consequence of the controversy over the Canadian harp seal harvest. While this controversy is actually unrelated to the northern fur seal harvest, the distinction is somewhat subtle and not well understood among members of the general public. Under the circumstances, there are good reasons to expect that an economy tied closely to the commercial harvest of fur seals will be on shaky ground. Beyond this, it seems likely that the United States will advocate provisions calling for a termination of the commercial harvest of fur seals when the *Interim Convention* comes up for extension or renegotiation toward the end of 1984. Even if this does not occur in 1984, the pressure for termination is likely to be irresistible when the Convention is renegotiated again in 1988 or 1989. For this reason, too, commercial sealing must be regarded as an extremely marginal proposition for the communities of St. Paul and St. George during the foreseeable future.

## Commercial Fishing

Commercial fishing has never played an important role in the economies of St. Paul and St. George, yet many now regard the development of a sizeable bottomfish and hair crab fishery as the economic salvation of the Pribilofs. In fact, this line of thinking rests on a solid foundation. The central Bering Sea is one of the richest marine areas in the world so that the biological potential for a sizeable commercial fishery based on the Pribilofs is great (Gulland 1972). What is more, these resources have come under the exclusive management authority of the United States since the passage of the *Fishery Conservation and Management Act* of 1976. This means that the United States can and probably would take steps to promote and protect a fledgling fishing industry based on the Pribilofs even if it took some time for this industry to approach the level of efficiency attained by the high seas fishing fleets of Japan, the Soviet Union and Korea.

Despite this potential, however, commercial fishing has significant drawbacks as an economic option for the Pribilofs. It takes both time and a considerable commitment of resources to develop a sizeable commercial fishery. Such a move would require the construction of boat harbours at St. Paul and St. George (the current price tag for these harbours is $15-20 million each). The vessels and gear required for a modern fishery are expensive—several million dollars per vessel would not be out of line. Depending on the character of the industry under consideration, it might prove necessary to construct sophisticated fish processing facilities at St. Paul and/or St. George. Additionally, the operation of a modern fishery depends on the availability of a cadre of skilled and experienced individuals. While there is no reason why such a cadre could not emerge among the residents of St. Paul and St. George, it certainly does not exist today and it cannot be expected to emerge overnight.

A sizeable commercial fishery would also have significant biological impacts that might seem unfortunate to many interested parties (FEIS 1980). Such an industry could easily generate serious competition for fur seals and other marine mammals that prey on fish, thereby reducing the carrying capacity of the central Bering Sea for various species of mammals. It is inevitable that seals and sea lions would become entangled in fishing nets and suffocate. While it is hard to predict mortality levels from this source in advance, this problem would certainly give rise to serious frictions between Pribilof fishers and influential environmental groups. Much the same can be said about the incidental kill of seabirds, a matter of genuine concern since the Pribilof Islands harbour the most important seabird colonies in the entire North Pacific (Sowls et al. 1978). Beyond this, a sizeable commercial fishery would certainly alter the onshore ecosystems of the Pribilofs. This

would be particularly true in the event that a large processing facility attracting a substantial influx of new residents were established. In this connection, it is easy to imagine the occurrence of a chain of events that would make the islands less hospitable to northern fur seals as a breeding area. Coupling these observations with the fact that the U.S. federal government continues to own the seal rookeries and the seabird cliffs on the Pribilofs suggests that the development of a large commercial fishery in this area would precipitate a continuing series of conflicts between residents of St. Paul and St. George on the one hand and various agencies of the U.S. government backed by environmental groups on the other.

Nor are the socioeconomic impacts of a sizeable commercial fishery based on the Pribilofs likely to be particularly attractive. Markets for fish and fish products, like markets for other natural resources, are notoriously volatile. It is therefore highly undesirable for communities to become too heavily dependent on these markets for their livelihood. The development of such a fishery would require capital in excess of anything available locally on the Pribilofs, especially if an effort were made to proceed with the establishment of a substantial processing facility. Under the circumstances, it would be necessary to seek outside sources of capital, and this inevitably creates new opportunities for the exercise of control by outsiders. It has been estimated that a commercial fishery, encompassing a shore-based processing facility, could add 900 new residents to St. Paul alone by 1990. Even if this expansion were to be carefully controlled and conform to some plan for enclave development, it would bring fundamental social changes to the islands. It might even result in a situation in which the Aleuts became a minority in their own communities (compare the case of Unalaska, as described in Jones 1976). Without constant planning and regulation, therefore, the development of a large commercial fishery could lead to qualitative changes in the lifeways of St. Paul and St. George, even though it might offer a salvation for the islands in purely economic terms.

None of this is meant to suggest that commercial fishing is not an attractive economic option for St. Paul and St. George. Contracts are already being let for the construction of the boat harbour at St. Paul, and the prospect of commercial fishing is undoubtedly energizing people in the communities today (Lord-Jenkins 1984). The preceding observations do, however, suggest the virtues of a cautious strategy for the development of a commercial fishery in the Pribilofs. The fishery should be planned deliberately as a small-scale operation relying heavily on appropriate technology in contrast to state-of-the-art, capital-intensive technology. Such an arrangement would be well suited to the skills and needs of the Pribilovians, and it would minimize the risks of external control. What is important to St. Paul and St. George is the achievement of self-sufficiency on a small scale rather than

capturing a significant share of the market for any species of fish. Additionally, St. Paul and St. George should *not* attempt to construct a shore-based processing facility for fish. Such a facility would be highly conducive to the occurrence of undesirable biological and socioeconomic impacts. Moreover, it is unnecessary given the alternative of entering into long-term joint venture contracts with Japanese or Korean processors.[7] Under an arrangement of this sort, the Pribilovians would be able to work as fishers rather than as factory workers; the economy of the island would not become totally dependent on commercial fishing, and the carrying capacity of the ecosystems of the central Bering Sea for Marine mammals and seabirds would not be substantially diminished.

### Hydrocarbon Development

There are three distinct scenarios regarding the local economic implications of the search for oil and gas in the St. George Basin. Perhaps most likely is the prospect that exploratory work will fail to turn up commercially significant reserves of oil or gas. In this case, the economic consequences of hydrocarbon development will be minimal as far as St. Paul and St. George are concerned. A second possibility is that commercially significant reserves will be located somewhere in the St. George Basin but that their location and configuration will be such that the Pribilofs do not constitute an appropriate site for a marine support base and terminal facility. Such a development might produce biological impacts (from spills or chronic discharges) that would adversely affect the economies of St. Paul and St. George, but it would not produce jobs or revenues for these communities, except in the unlikely event that the U.S. federal government should decide to initiate a revenue-sharing plan to funnel some of the proceeds from offshore oil and gas development to affected local communities.

The most controversial scenario with respect to hydrocarbon development arises from the possibility that St. Paul could become the site for an onshore marine support base and terminal facility in connection with the commercial production of hydrocarbons in the St. George Basin. This is almost certainly the least likely of the three scenarios, but it would have far-reaching implications for the Pribilofs if it should occur. Such a development would have the great attraction of providing a large potential tax base for the city of St. Paul and perhaps St. George as well. By way of comparison we should look at the case of the North Slope Borough which derives over half of its revenues from property taxes on the industrial installations at Prudhoe Bay (MacBeath 1981). This could literally transform the economic picture of the Pribilofs for a long time to come. Yet such a development would also carry a high price tag in other terms. As mentioned, it could add as many as 827

new residents to St. Paul alone by 1990, thereby transforming the community in socioeconomic terms. The oil and gas industry would certainly be controlled by outside decision makers, and most of the better jobs at the marine support base and terminal facility would not go to Aleut residents of St. Paul and St. George. Such a development could well have adverse effects on commercial fishing, subsistence hunting and tourism, even if conscientious efforts were made to minimize these effects. Moreover, hydrocarbon development does not offer a long-term economic base for communities like St. Paul and St. George, even under the best of circumstances. All that can be hoped for is 20-30 years of prosperity based on a high technology industry that will predictably move on as available recoverable reserves are exhausted. Of course, it is possible that the revenues collected by the local communities during this period can be used to initiate and secure other economic activities offering long-term stability.[8] All-in-all, however, hydrocarbon development hardly offers the sort of economic option that can be counted on to provide a secure basis for self-sufficiency for St. Paul and St. George during the era of home rule.

### Tourism

There has been a surge in tourism in the Pribilofs during the last decade. About 1000 tourists a year (most of whom reach only St. Paul) now visit for periods of two days to a week. In addition, several cruise ship operators (e.g., Lindblad Salen) have recently included a stop at St. Paul and/or St. George on their itineraries during the summer months. The attractions of the Pribilofs for tourists are considerable. Despite uncertain weather conditions, the islands offer some of the largest and most accessible aggregations of marine mammals and seabirds in the entire northern hemisphere. In fact, there is no other place where seals can be seen in such quantities, and certain species of birds (e.g., the redlegged kittiwake) are found only on and around the islands. Even so, the tourism potential of the islands is distinctly limited. A visit to the Pribilofs will appeal exclusively to those seriously interested in wildlife or in unconventional experiences. The climate is unsuitable for tourism except during the summer months. Only those with considerable financial means can even think about a trip to the Pribilofs.

What this means is that there is no basis for expecting tourism to become a mainstay of the economy of the island during the era of home rule. Nor would the sociocultural consequences of such a development be attractive in any case. As part of a multifaceted strategy for the achievement of self-sufficiency, however, tourism has genuine attractions for residents of St. Paul and St. George. Only those with a serious interest in wildlife and natural environments are likely to want to visit the Pribilofs. The interests of

these visitors are such that there would be no need for them to become deeply involved in the day-to-day lives of the people of St. Paul and St. George. It would even be possible to construct facilities to handle such visitors at some distance from the existing population centres. Moreover, tourism need not be capital intensive or dependent on specialized skills unavailable on the islands. As a modest industry, therefore, tourism has the virtue of offering local employment and of being relatively easy to control locally.

### Subsistence Activities

St. Paul and St. George are not traditional Native communities. They were created by Russian fur traders during the late 18th and early 19th centuries to facilitate the commercial harvest of fur seals. From the start, therefore, the basis of the local economy has been sealing. Nor is the contemporary character of the communities conducive to the adoption of a traditional subsistence lifestyle. The residents of the islands are clustered in two villages which have modern housing, sophisticated heating and electrical systems and a full range of municipal services. What is more, the subsistence activities that do take place are capital intensive, relying on modern rifles, mechanized ground transportation and outboard motors on boats. All this means that the residents of St. Paul and St. George are deeply involved in a cash economy; a typical family must receive a substantial cash income in order to survive comfortably on the Pribilofs today.

This does not mean, however, that subsistence is unimportant to the residents of St. Paul and St. George. Current estimates indicate that "about 30 000 kg of seal meat are used in St. Paul each year, or about 60 kg per person per year" (Veltre and Veltre 1983:17). The figure for St. George probably does not differ materially from these estimates. Additionally, the islanders make substantial use of these other subsistence resources (in descending order of importance): halibut, seabirds, the eggs of seabirds, reindeer and sea lions.

Could an increased reliance on subsistence activities ease the transition to home rule and constitute part of an effective strategy for the achievement of self-sufficiency? Though it is tempting to endorse this idea enthusiastically, the actual scope for expanding subsistence activities is not great. Most of the seal meat currently consumed by the residents of St. Paul and St. George comes from carcasses of seals killed in connection with the commercial harvest of sealskins. Should the commercial harvest of seals come to an end, this source of seal meat would disappear, and it is not likely that the U.S. federal government would permit a large harvest of fur seals for their meat alone. Some or all of the reduction in subsistence activities caused by this shift might well be offset by an expansion of subsistence fishing. This is es-

pecially true if the boat harbours mentioned in the discussion of commercial fishing become operational during the near future. Nonetheless, it seems unlikely that the overall contribution of subsistence activities to the economy of the Pribilofs will increase significantly in the foreseeable future.

### Transfer Payments

The *Fur Seal Act Amendments* of 1983 will not completely terminate the transfer economy that has long played a prominent role in St. Paul and St. George as well as in many other remote northern communities. The U.S. federal government will continue to provide medical and dental care to residents of the Pribilofs. The State of Alaska will remain fully responsible for offering primary and secondary education on the islands. The State has agreed to underwrite at least half of the cost of constructing the boat harbours at St. Paul and St. George. The communities are eligible to receive federal grants in support of the development of a commercial fishery as well as loans and grants under numerous other federal programs. Moreover, St. Paul and St. George can make legitimate claims to certain types of transfer payments under the generalized trust responsibility of the federal government for Native peoples (Getches et al. 1979:chap. 4).

Nonetheless, reliance on transfer payments does not constitute an attractive economic option for the Pribilofs in the era of home rule. The intent of the 1983 *Amendments* is clearly to reduce rather than to increase the role of transfer payments in the economy of the islands. There are also good reasons to expect that transfer payments justified on the basis of the trusteeship doctrine will decline during the foreseeable future. Moreover, as experience throughout the far North suggests, the social and psychological effects of relying heavily on transfer payments are highly undesirable. A dependency on transfer payments serves only to reinforce the problems of peripheral status, making it more difficult for communities to achieve self-sufficiency or to control their own destinies. Equally important, a heavy dependency on transfer payments saps the self-esteem of recipients, making it harder to energize the residents of dependent communities to take charge of their own futures (Brody 1975).

### Unconventional Options

From time to time sympathetic outsiders suggest the feasibility of unconventional options that might help St. Paul and St. George achieve economic self-sufficiency. Some have proposed a shift to wind generators as a means of cutting the cost of supplying electricity to the residents of the islands. Others have pushed the idea of cultivating Asian markets for powdered reindeer horn to be used as an aphrodisiac. One of the more exotic suggestions

for the Pribilofs hinges on the idea that the communities could go into truck gardening, erecting plastic domes over large segments of the islands and supplying the Anchorage market by air freight.

Most of these ideas are both impractical and uninteresting on cultural grounds. It is unclear whether a viable market for powdered reindeer horn exists, and the carrying capacity of the islands for reindeer is extremely small in any case. Whether or not modern technology is sufficiently advanced to make truck gardening feasible on the Pribilofs, it is evident that these communities could not expect to compete with other producers (e.g., the communities in the Matanuska and Susitna valleys) in supplying fresh produce to urban markets on the mainland. At the same time, it would be inappropriate to dismiss efforts to identify unconventional economic options for St. Paul and St. George out of hand. Communities such as Cape Dorset in the eastern Canadian Arctic have done well with enterprises that must surely have seemed unconventional at the time of their initiation (Iglauer 1979). What is more, the conventional options reviewed earlier in this section certainly do not offer any assured method for St. Paul and St. George to achieve economic self-sufficiency as they move into the era of home rule.

### Political Options

Without doubt, the major political challenge facing St. Paul and St. George is to devise effective local institutions to fill the gap left by the disappearance of the Pribilof Islands Program. In fact, these communities already possess an extensive system of local institutions in the form of community councils, city governments and village corporations, but this offers no guarantee that the transition from federal management to home rule will be an easy one.

Even with the passage of the *Fur Seal Act Amendments* of 1983, the U.S. federal government remains a commanding presence on the islands. It owns the seal rookeries and the bird cliffs, and it has assumed exclusive management authority over most of the marine areas surrounding the Pribilofs. Under the circumstances, the federal government will inevitably continue to make decisions drastically affecting the prospects for St. Paul and St. George. It can press for a termination of the commercial harvest of fur seals in connection with the renegotiation of the Interim Convention. It can allocate a substantial segment of the annual allowable catches of bottomfish and crabs in the area around the Pribilofs to local fishers or make these catches available to others. It can open or close the outer continental shelves adjacent to the islands to oil and gas exploration.

The *Fur Seal Act Amendments* offer little guidance regarding the evolution of local institutions on the Pribilofs. In some ways, the statute promotes

potential confusion or even discord by failing to establish any clear-cut guidelines for interactions between the trustees of the Pribilof Islands Trust and local residents. Further, the allocation of authority among the community councils, city governments and village corporations is quite unclear. It is possible that the current revival of interest in Alaska in tribal or traditional forms of government will flourish in St. Paul and St. George so that the community councils will come to occupy a commanding position in the transition to home rule.[9] But this is uncertain since many of the most capable leaders in the communities now occupy roles in the city governments and village corporations. Under the circumstances, it seems far more likely that the next few years will witness considerable friction among the various local institutions as they jockey for position in the effort to fill the gap left by the dismantling of the Pribilof Islands Program and make a success of home rule.

Even if the residents of St. Paul and St. George are able to devise a well-integrated system of local institutions, these institutions will face severe problems raising revenues to support their operations. The fundamental difficulty is that the local tax bases are miniscule and cannot be expected to increase much in the short run (unless St. Paul or St. George should become the site of a marine support base and terminal facility for offshore hydrocarbon development). Curiously, however, the residents of the islands will have access to considerable funds from sources other than taxes. The Pribilof Islands Trust contains $20 million ($12 million allocated to St. Paul and $8 million earmarked for St. George). Section 305 of the *Fur Seal Act Amendments* authorizes appropriation of $2 million during the fiscal year 1984 to upgrade federal properties scheduled to be transferred to the communities. The State of Alaska operates several revenue-sharing programs applicable to the Pribilofs and has pledged at least $7 million each to St. Paul and St. George to help with the construction of boat harbours. The Pribilovians stand to receive a total of $8.5 million under the terms of the Court of Claims decision in the case of *Aleut Community of St. Paul v. U.S.*, a case arising from claims that the federal government systematically undercompensated residents of the islands working in the seal harvest throughout much of the 20th century.[10] It is probable that the residents of the two communities will receive some funds in the form of reparations payments resulting from the findings of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. Some income can be expected to reach the islands as profits from the operations of Aleut, Incorporated, the regional corporation of which the residents of St. Paul and St. George are members (Anders and Anders n.d.).

What is noteworthy about all these sources of funds, however, is that they are not likely to become bases of support for the operations of local institu-

tions in St. Paul and St. George. These institutions must rely on tax revenues, certain types of transfer payments and (in the case of the village corporations) income from business ventures. Under the circumstances, local institutions on the islands will face a more or less severe problem in allocating and managing funds, even though there is no absolute lack of resources available to the residents of St. Paul and St. George.

The preceding observations suggest that St. Paul and St. George might benefit from the creation of a larger Pribilof Islands Association to replace some or all of the parallel system of local institutions currently in place. The problems confronting these communities are remarkably similar. There is a need to avoid inefficient duplication of efforts in the transition to home rule. It might well be possible to benefit from certain economies of scale or to avoid competition by combining forces (e.g., in connection with a commercial fishery). Above all, the communities need to present a united front in responding to and coping with the actions of outside actors, such as the U.S. federal government.

Yet there are substantial obstacles to any development along these lines. Though the main islands are only 40 miles apart, movement between St. Paul and St. George is cumbersome and extremely limited. Each community has its own institutions, leaders and longstanding sense of identity as a separate social entity. To illustrate, the residents of St. George, the smaller community, have adamantly and successfully opposed concerted efforts in the past to integrate them into the larger community of St. Paul.[11] Accordingly, there is no basis for expecting that the two communities will move rapidly to establish an encompassing Pribilof Islands Association possessing substantial authority and power over local activities, whatever the apparent merits of such an arrangement in conjunction with the transition to home rule.

## The Road Ahead

This review of options available to the Pribilof Islands suggests three factors that, taken together, will determine the success of St. Paul and St. George in meeting the challenge of adjustment. The communities must take vigorous steps to break away from peripheral status, decoupling themselves from the core and emphasizing activities that will enhance their economic self-sufficiency. To achieve this goal, the communities must develop effective and well integrated local institutions. The existing fragmented system of local institutions leaves much to be desired in this connection, and it may even make sense to give serious consideration to the creation of an encompassing Pribilof Islands Association. Beyond this, the communities must negotiate for a breathing space to allow them to make the transition to home rule over

a period of years. The timetable envisioned in the *Fur Seal Act Amendments* is wholly unrealistic. What is required is a system of grants or loans sufficient to provide St. Paul and St. George with a period of at least five years to make the transition from federal management to home rule.

Assuming such a timetable can be arranged, the following economic strategy seems appropriate to guide St. Paul and St. George toward home rule. Above all, the communities should seek to diversify, relying on several small, locally controlled industries rather than a single industry featuring the export of natural resources (Dryzek and Young 1984). In this connection, both hydrocarbon development and commercial sealing are unattractive. On the other hand, a commercial fishery (probably without a processing facility) and a somewhat expanded tourist industry seem promising. Moreover, there may be opportunities to increase the scope of subsistence activities in the Pribilofs during the foreseeable future. But this analysis also suggests that there is a pressing need for St. Paul and St. George to identify and initiate new commercial or industrial ventures founded on the principles associated with the appropriate technology movement over the next five years (Schumacher 1973).

## Author's Note – May 1990

The years since 1984, when this paper was prepared, have brought dramatic changes to the Pribilof Islands. The international regime for North Pacific fur seals lapsed in 1985 due to the failure of the United States to ratify the 1984 Protocol designed to extend the 1957 Convention. The effect of this has been to terminate the commercial harvest of Pribilof Islands fur seals and to bring the management of these seals under the terms of the *Marine Mammal Protection Act* of 1972. Even so, the population of seals breeding on the Pribilofs declined throughout the 1980s, amidst considerable controversy about the causal mechanisms at work in the process. Simultaneously, the continuing implementation of the *Fishery Conservation and Management Act* of 1976 coupled with the construction of boat harbours at both St, Paul and St. George has stimulated economic activities on the islands associated with commercial fishing. This development centres on small-scale, inshore fishing, assistance to joint venture fishing involving American and Japanese fishers and on service operations; there is no indication that a fish processing industry will get underway on the Pribilofs during the foreseeable future. For its part, the prospect of hydrocarbon development in the vicinity of the Pribilofs now seems remote. This is attributable to a combination of the decline in the industry, caused by the crash of world market prices for oil in the mid-1980s and the continuing growth of environmental

opposition to oil and gas development anywhere on the outer continental shelf.

At the same time, the underlying challenge of adjustment facing St. Paul and St. George remains much as it was in 1984. These communities are still economic peripheries, highly sensitive to developments beyond their control and lacking the stability that comes with economic diversification. They have, in effect, exchanged a mono-culture based on the commercial harvest of fur seals for a mono-culture involving commercial fishing and associated activities. Nor have St. Paul and St. George been able to overcome the institutional fragmentation that besets so many of the remote communities of Alaska today. So far, the settlement of several outstanding claims (including reparations for internment during World War II) has combined with a sizeable flow of transfer payments to keep the communities afloat. But this era is coming to an end. There are no more viable claims on the horizon, and the squeeze on transfer payments has tightened as both the federal government and the state government have run large and persistent budget deficits. Though the details require some updating, therefore, the need to examine economic and political options for the Pribilof Islands seems just as great today as it did at the time this paper was prepared in 1984.

## Notes

1. An essay prepared for presentation at the meetings of the Canadian Ethnology Society, Montreal, Quebec, May 11-13, 1984. *Editors' Note:* This paper was originally submitted to *Anthropologica* some five years ago. In view of the difficulties which the journal underwent prior to its transfer to its present owners, its appearance was delayed. The current editors are pleased that Dr. Young agreed to supply an "Author's Note" describing the present situation in the Pribilofs.
2. Statements of fact regarding the Pribilofs in this paper are derived from the following sources: Johnson (1978), Alaska Geographic (1982), and Draft Environmental Impact Statement (DEIS) (1981).
3. The text of this Convention appears at 8 UST 2282; TIAS 3948. The *Interim Convention*, negotiated initially in 1957, has been renewed for fixed periods in 1964, 1969, 1976 and 1980. It is due to come up for reconsideration again toward the end of 1984.
4. Lease Sale #70 covered 479 tracts encompassing 2.7 million acres. Oil companies bid on 97 of these tracts, and the Department of the Interior has now conveyed leases for 96 of the tracts.
5. Between 1870 and 1910, the U.S. federal government negotiated two 20-year leases, first with the Alaska Commerical Company and then with the North American Commercial Company, governing the harvest of fur seals and the support of the Communities of St. Paul and St. George (Young 1981:chap. 3).
6. See, for example, the opinion of the Court of Claims in *Aleut Community of St. Paul v. U.S.*, 480 Fed. 2nd. 831 (1973).
7. Under joint venture arrangements, American fishers contract to sell some or all of their catch to foreign processors. Transfers frequently take place at sea, with the fish being processed immediately on foreign vessels equipped with flash freezers and storage facilities.

8. The State of Alaska has followed a somewhat similar course in setting up a Permanent Fund with a portion of its oil revenues (Weeden 1978:152-155).
9. For relevant background regarding tribal government consult Getches et al. (1979: chaps. 5 and 6).
10. The text of the opinion of the Court of Claims appears at 480 Fed. 2nd. 831 (1973).
11. Following the termination of commercial sealing on St. George in 1972, the federal government exerted considerable pressure on the residents of St. George to abandon their community. However, those affected resisted this pressure adamantly, preferring to remain in their community even under adverse conditions.

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# TRAILS OF SAAMI SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

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*Abstract:* A cluster of issues are addressed: How Saami have handled a stigmatized identity vis-à-vis the Norwegians; how a rewarding sense of "being Saami" has been expressed within local communities; how striving for a "national" expression provokes ethnopolitical struggles among themselves and not just vis-à-vis the Norwegians. And—how do Saami intellectuals handle non-Saami writings about these issues?

*Résumé:* Nombre de thèmes sont adressés: comment les Saami ont-ils vécu une identité stigmatisée vis-à-vis des Norvégiens; comment un sentiment positif d'«être Saami» a été exprimé dans les communautés locales; comment la lutte pour une expression «nationale» provoque des débats éthno-politiques parmi eux-mêmes et non seulment vis-à-vis les Norvégiens. Et, quelle est la position des intellectuels Saami envers les écrits non-Saami concernant ces thèmes?

## Introduction

I wish to begin by considering three general issues, the first of which is Wittgenstein's "family resemblances." The notion of "family resemblances" refers to the distribution of common elements among members of certain kinds of categories (Wittgenstein 1953:31e-32e). A population may share a number of characteristics—A through to F, for instance. We may say—loosely or precisely—that this population constitutes a "culture." However (Wittgenstein insists), no one individual or even sub-group within the population will possess exactly the same combination of characteristics. Thus characteristic F will be missing in one case, E in another, D in yet another and so forth. In general terms, this draws attention to (among other things) "patterned diversity" within a culture.

And why should this be of concern to us? It directs us to *how* Inuit (here I

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include Greenlanders within that family of resemblances) or *how* Saami recognize each other – supposing they do.

Given the wide diversity of situations in which Inuit, or Saami, interact these days – different occupations, levels of education, lifestyles, even different citizenships (Soviet, American, Canadian or Greenlandic; Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish or Soviet) – it seems to me that some concept of family resemblances is central to resolving *two* levels of questions: Do you/they recognize each other? If so, how?

Let us also keep in mind that such "families" of resemblances may be serial. In one context the Inuit and the Saami are separate "families," but in the Fourth World and/or northern peoples context(s) they combine.

However, for my present purpose I place the emphasis differently: we should not allow ourselves unexamined assumptions about ethnic homogeneity and, even more serious perhaps, about ethnic solidarity.

To take an example from another part of the world: American Jews usually claim that they can recognize each other but the Jewishness of English Jews is likely to be hidden from them – all they see are English men and women. On the other hand, Israelis maintain that they can recognize fellow-Jews anywhere. Most of us don't *test* knowledge of this kind which we assume we possess – and *there* is an important point.

With respect to the Saami, there appear to be "soft" or porous and "hard" sides to their boundaries: the Finnish and Norwegian/Swedish sides, respectively. The Finnish and Saami languages share family resemblances from which Norwegian and Swedish are excluded. Occupationally, too, there are affinities (including participation in reindeer pastoralism) between northern Finns and Saami that are weaker or absent between Saami and Norwegians or Swedes.

At this point I shall review some basic facts concerning the Saami.[1] Gross census figures, which are sociologically insensitive, and provide no more than some benchmarks as to absolute and relative sizes[2], put the Saami population in Norway at 30 000, in Sweden at 15 000, in Finland at 5000 and on the Kola Peninsula in the Soviet Union at 2000.

In Norway, the domain I will mainly consider, 24 000 of that 30 000 Saami live in the two northernmost provinces; that is to say, 15 000 in Finnmark and 9 000 in Tromsö. However, within the Saami population of these two provinces there are marked differences between those of the coast and those of the interior (tundra). The formal markers of such differences are linguistic and occupational. In the interior, there are fewer than 10 percent non-Saami speakers; this ratio is *reversed* along the coast on account of "Norwegianization," and is a matter of serious cultural consequences since the coast is where the majority of Saami have lived. Occupationally, seasonal transhumance lasted well into this century along the coast, where fjor-

dal fishing and small-scale farming, often in combination, remain the primary occupations today. The reindeer pastoralists—perhaps 2000 persons in the two provinces together—use coastal pastures in the summer but "belong" to the tundra and such villages as Karasjok, Kautokeino and Masi. It is there that they pay their local taxes. There is also a sedentary population living on the tundra, in those same villages and in small settlements strung along river courses, practising a mixed subsistence and monetary economy of different combinations.

But behind these formal markers of difference—between coast and interior, sedentary and nomad—there are a host of behavioural differences. Indeed, these latter obtain even within the same community, if most usually between persons separated by generations and/or education. There arise—as we will see—serious ambiguities and even contradictions among Saami about being Saami, and about what one should do, if anything, about that.

Here it is as well to note that in Finnmark the Saami (following the official statistics) account for somewhere between one-fifth and one-sixth of the provincial population; and in Tromsö perhaps no more than every 16th person *is* a Saami. Note, too, that in both provinces there is a third ethnicity (besides Norwegian and Saami) and that is Finnish, or *Kvaen*, peasant immigrants principally from the last century.

The second general issue is—as signalled in my title—that of "self-consciousness."

If we are to enquire into nationalism and cultural identity among the Saami we must explore Saami self-consciousness, although this raises questions about interpretive authority, or specifically one's own assumption of competence to address the issue. A lot has been written about the Saami, *but who does the writing*? The answer to this question may tell us much about Saami self-consciousness.

There are some classical writings by Saami (in Saami originally) about their way of life and written in the first person; among these are Turi (1910), Baer (1926), Pirak (1933) and Skum (1955). During this period as well, Larsen (1912) handled cultural identity in the genre of the novel. Larsen has been followed, two generations later by Mankok and Sarri Nordra, and in poetry, by Utsi (1970) and Valkeapää (1974).[3] There are others besides.

But well into this century, "Lappologi" really belonged to clerics and linguists—names such as J.A. Friis (of *Laila* fame), Jacob Fellman, Just Qvigstad, K.B. Wiklund, Konrad Nielsen, T.I. Itkonen, Björn Collinder and Asbjörn Nesheim—none of whom were Saami. These writers neither possessed a Saami self-consciousness nor manifested an awareness of their own position vis-à-vis the Saami.

Such was still very much the situation at the time of the first Nordic and Saami Conferences in Jokkmokk in 1953,[4] though there were several promi-

nent Saami figures by that time; two of whom—Israel Ruong and Hans Henriksen—had been brought into the fold of "Lappologues" by none less than Professors Collinder and Nielsen, respectively. Ruong (who eventually had a personal professorship at Uppsala in Finno—Ugric) had been Collinder's *amanuensis* for years and possessed qualities that would have made him an excellent ethnographer.[5] Henriksen (while earning his living in a mundane job in Oslo) was Nielsen's assistant in the compilation of the great Norwegian and English Lapp Dictionary. Henriksen became the key representative from Norway on the Nordic Saami Council.

There have been some recent changes in the roster of authors concerned with the Saami. We may speak of two lists of writers: non-Saami and Saami, respectively. Symbolically, at all events, the Saami list is a little longer than the non-Saami. Certainly by the 1960s, the Nordic Conferences were "Saami" (rather than "Lappologue") occasions.

Sometimes, non-Saami academic writers on the Saami and Saami authors have adopted a competitive stance toward each other. Saami writers are very likely to regard academics as disqualified when it comes to talking or writing about Saami self-consciousneess.

But to ensure that things are not too neat and symmetrical—with clear either/or loyalties—a number of Saami writers are themselves academics.

Furthermore, there is a third group—non-Saami by parentage (in a few cases, mixed Norwegian-Saami)—but raised in a Saami world as much as a Norwegian one. Many of them are academics.

So who does qualify to tell us about Saami self-consciousness?

It is *not* sufficient to say Saami writers themselves: some have tackled the issue, others of them seem to studiously avoid it. The same is true of non-Saami academics. The difference is, of course, that when Saami people speak or write about Saami self-consciousness it is based on their *own* experience (which is not without problematic implications, as we will see) and when non-Saami academics do, it is based on *others'* experiences. Possibly the non-Saami raised in a Saami environment—as a kind of *métis*—would be the most interesting. In *all cases* there will be problems of interpretation and of generalization.

So what do I conclude from this?

1. There is no one entity—"Saami self-consciousness"—but many trails to follow;
2. that I cannot assume competence, nevertheless I undertake to follow some "trails," fully aware of my interpretive and generalizing pretentions!

A complete study might examine novels and poems, but in a brief article, limits must be drawn.

I have decided to look (for the most part) at what *one person* has had to say – or write. I choose an academic who has been around for a good while – myself. (Of course there will be "digressions" to others.)

The last of the three general issues is what I call the "temptation of chronology." My point here is that it is all too easy to accept the account which follows as a *narrative* and to see the changes that fill that narrative as *progress.*

To an extent this is *true* – i.e., people sometimes see it this way themselves. After all our story *begins*, in the 1950s, with a fractured minority people, the majority of whom carry a stigmatized identity, and *ends* on October 9th 1989 with the convening of a Saami parliament in the presence of the Norwegian king.

But it is an illusion in serious respects. Underneath the surface of glittering political triumph, we must ask what cognitive changes have taken place within the "family of resemblances" called Saami? What changes in everyday behaviour and attitudes? And far from the everyday, what changes in reaction to crisis? For that matter, how correct is it to speak of political triumph?

## Organizational Framework

Bearing in mind what I have said about the dispersion of the Saami – geographically, ecologically and culturally (including linguistically) – I distinguish between *social levels* of self-consciousness:

"community" vs. "nation" or supra-community
=unitary =pluralist
(with respect to values, sanctions, rewards, etc.)

So it is not self-consciousness itself that I look at but, rather, trails of behaviour which, I suggest, emerge, "socialized" from it – that is all I can reach; the dynamics of an *individual's* consciousness of him – or herself – elude me.[6]

For "community" I focus on the Laestadian congregation – a fundamentalist movement from early in the 19th century which saturated Saami – and Finnish-speaking communities in northern FennoScandia. When I was in the field through the 1950s and 1960s there was scarcely a Saami village without such a congregation. Furthermore, the congregation was just about synonymous with the married adult community; and emphasis was placed on collective self-consciousness.

At the level of "nation" or supra-community, I look at the the principal Saami national associations in Norway.

However, the question is, how does one proceed from the lower to higher

level? How do the few activate the many to this end? I answer this (answer by illustration) in two sections labelled "Ludic Bridges." I invoke the notion of *play* to communicate the temper of the times—experimental and idealistic, fearful and cynical, and above all else, self-reflexive. By "bridge," of course, I wish to invoke passage, movement—but let it be noted that this "traffic" does not always flow in the one progressive, emancipatory direction.

There are two of these "bridging" sections because the affairs of the pastoralists and their sense of self cannot be subsumed under those of the non-pastoral Saami. The concept of community-as-congregation, for example, does not help us towards the reindeer pastoralists' sense of self. They have never doubted who they are, culturally; never doubted their self-worth. "Norwegianization" has been held at bay; however, their cultural prerogatives have often been under external pressure and blatantly attacked at times. Double ironies are embedded here: governments rue their lack of control over the pastoralists even as they present them as embodying the "true" (Nwg. *ekte*) Saami culture, and *that* raises the ire of other Saami. One consequence is the marked strain of symbolic opposition in relations both with Norwegian officialdom and with other Saami too.

## Community-Congregation

Sitting, listening, for countless hours, in Laestadian meetings, I sensed a distinction being played out between *doing* and *being*. The church *does*, the preachers were for ever telling us. That is, it created God in its own likeness. However, the preachers assured their congregations, we believe God created man in His own likeness and so it is left to us *to be*—not to reach for salvation by such "doings" (*gjerninger*) as the use of prayer and the sacraments.

Elsewhere I have written (Paine 1988a):

> The essence of the distinction between *being* and *doing* is time. *To do* is predicated on the passage of time but *to be* is to hold time still. *To do* is to set a cause into motion that will be rewarded, in time, by its effects; but *to be* carries its own reward—it is both cause and effect. The Laestadians would like *to be*, timelessly, God's Children. (p. 36)

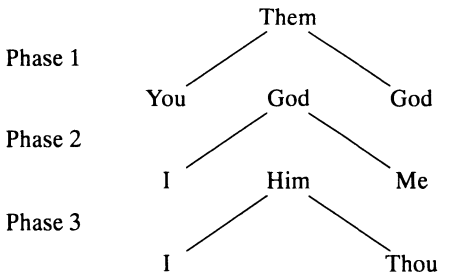
Further:

> [It seemed as though] in the space of each meeting Laestadians re-enact their spiritual history. Timeless and without linearity in the ordinary way, biblical events, events pertaining to Luther and to Laestadius, and contemporary relations with Norwegians, are blended together.... Experientially, [each meeting] is about the transformation of a congregation of sinners to a congregation of reborn. But also week after week, year after year through a century and a half, the "death" and "rebirth" of the hundreds of village congrega-

> tions has also been a major force keeping alive a sense of being Saami, as opposed to the stigmatized "Lapp."(p. 37)

I believe the achievement of redemptive, collective self-consciousness is achieved in and by the congregation in three phases (Fig. 1).

**Figure 1**
**Laestadian Congregation: Interlocutory Notation**




Phase 1 The preachers' message is that the access of the Saami (you) to God has been severely controlled by the clergy (them); this is a subversion of the religious relationship. The clergy are "Nicodemuses" or "thieves of the night."

Phase 2 In the place of the "you" by which the clergy address one, the preachers introduce a self-reflexive relation between "I" and "me." This helps each to think about himself, instead of leaving it to "them" (the clergy) to measure his or her conduct by their criteria. So in the place of talk about Nicodemuses, the congregation is told about Ananias who helped Saul change into Paul.

Phase 3 Here one advances beyond the individual's self-awareness (I/me) towards an awareness of co-identity with each other: a congregational realization of self. It is the I/Thou relationship of Martin Buber in which "I encounter you as another I." It is reached through ecstatic confession—open confession on the floor of the congregation.

In the fjordal community where I lived, it was really only at this climactic conclusion to the congregational meetings that I heard these Saami openly and joyously acknowledge themselves, to each other, as Saami: "*Mii ibmel mannat Mii sabmelaat!*"(Paine 1988a:2-26).

For a congregation that does *not* "do," its achievements are considerable. Paraphrased they are two:

1. Justification of the hard conditions of life within the local community.
2. A myth of universality of which the local community is the centre and which is maintained independently of the Church and State (Paine 1988b:166).

This trail of self-consciousness tails off in *my* account of Saami collective self-consciousness – my fieldwork shifted over to the reindeer pastoralists, and still later, to the new ethnopolitics that began emerging in the late 1960s. However, the Laestadian congregation, while no longer the sole focus of collective self-consciousness, remains an enduring presence in many Saami communities (see Björklund 1978; Nystö 1982; Steinlien 1984; Torp 1986).

**Ludic Bridges: 1**

I remember, from when I lived on the coast in the village of Kokelv[7] in the 1950s, the disapproval and disparagement meted out, self-righteously, to young women of the village who "dressed up" (in clothes bought through catalogue orders) before taking the steamer to Hammerfest – the regional centre of Norwegian culture and urban life. Once in Hammerfest, the girls, we believed, would do their best to hide their Saami identity. In the village, they were called *riw'go* – the Saami word for a non-Saami woman.

Today in Koklev, there is a *Sami Saervi* (Association), a building housing a small museum, and on festive occasions there will be young people who "dress up" in a Saami *gak'te/kofte* (dress)!

Nowhere along the coast, in the 1950s, did one hear the Saami *joik* ("folk" ballad; Arnberg et al. 1969): forbidden by the Laestadians as the noise of the devil, associated with drunkenness and debauchery, it was also *derided*, by Saami and Norwegians alike, as "primitive." By the 1970s, the *joik* had been "rediscovered," and not just by ethnomusicologists but by young Saami who gave it a Country and Western flavour! There were concerts, there were records – they were up near the top of the charts in Norway. One *joik* composition, suitably adapted, was Norway's entry in a Euro-competition.

In the 1968 NSR (*Norske Samers Riksforbund/Norga Samiid Riikasaer'vi*) was established.[8] Its mandate was to take care of Saami interests on the basis of "Saami premises." Something of the "watershed" nature of this move may be appreciated by contrasting it with the bitter cynicism of Per Foxtad, *the* Saami nationalist in Norway of an earlier generation: "You can certainly be Saami" he said, "*if* you learn to speak Norwegian properly, *if* you wear Norwegian clothes, *if* you adopt Norwegian customs – then you will have no difficulties" (Dahl 1970:12). Ten years later, NSR voted *not* to send a representative to the celebrations honouring King Olav's 75th birthday. Meanwhile, in 1973 the Nordic Saami Institute/*Sami Instituhtta* (NSI) was opened in Kautokeino with a mandate to conduct research on "Saami premises" – meaning that it takes a Saami to understand Saami culture and the circumstances in which Saami find themselves.[9] Also in 1973, the seventh Nordic Ethnographical Congress/*Nordiske*

*etnografiske möte* was held in Tromsö with *Samfunnsforskning og minoritetssamfunn* [Social Science Research and the Minority Society] as its theme—one of the plenary speakers was Alf Isak Keskitalo who was about to take up an appointment with NSI.

He spoke, he said, as a "minority representative at the complementary majority's congress" (Keskitalo 1976:18). He had some hard words. Even minority participation in research, he said, upholds "a very subtle form of majority-minority relationship with a nearly oppressive function" (ibid.:20). And in respect to the people who are researched, "majority scientists tend to fix attention on the more archaic aspects of the minority group, and thus underestimate its complexity and differentiation" (ibid.). Most striking of all, though, was his statement as to why he chose to speak, not in his native Saami ("unintelligible to most of you") nor in Norwegian, the majority language, but in English. To speak in Norwegian would be to subscribe to the "linguistic asymmetry"—a characteristic of majority-minority relations—even while speaking out against that asymmetry, thereby reducing all that he had to say to "nothing but a word game" (ibid.16).

Another "ludic" case-history that I should present briefly is about non-Saami academics' work in relation to the ideology of writers conscious of their Saami identity; it is a "reciprocal" of the Keskitalo one. Non-Saami academics are likely to think—or wish to think—that their research is "objective" and "truthful," and as such cannot bring harm to its subjects. Claims may even be made that our research helps its subjects. Saami nationalists, however, will, in circumstances relating to their *own* position, denounce the "objectivity" as a sham and as damaging to their people; but as their circumstances change, so may, quite radically, what they say about some piece of academic research. My case in point is the research—the research career, really—of Harald Eidheim: Norwegian social anthropologist and the most important non-Saami academic writer on the Saami.

Eidheim has sought to understand how Saami cope with the "stigma of inferiority"—especially evident along the coast—in relation to Norwegian-speakers and Norwegian culture. The central questions have been: how do coastal Saami live with the stigma; how do Saami activists—nationalist authors, NSR leadership, members of NSI—grapple with the problem? He has reflected over the dilemma of the activists (in "the Lappish movement"): the more they pressed their programmme, the greater the resistance they encountered among many of their own people.

> The traditional rejection of Lappish identity by Norwegians has deposited a stigma of inferiority in the Lappish population, which in some areas overrules all new moral principles advocated by the leaders of the movement and prevents a positive response. (Eidheim 1971a:7)

I would also like to draw attention to a couple of acknowledgments that Eidheim makes: "During my fieldwork I have enjoyed the hospitality of many people who in various ways have exposed their private dilemmas of identity to me" (Eidheim 1971a:8); furthermore, he thanks Saami activists, "who have taken me into their confidence and introduced me to their political backstage—a position from which I have been able to gather much valuable information" (ibid.).

Of entering a coastal Saami village, he writes: "I knew, of course, that I was on the edges of the Lappish area, but my eyes and ears told me that I was inside a Norwegian fjordal community" (Eidheim 1971b:52). After a while, though, he "discovered" that Lappish was the domestic language in most households but that it functions as "a secret language or code, regularly used only in situations where trusted Lappish identities are involved" (ibid.:55). Eventually, they "became more careless with the 'secret'" (it helped that he could enter into simple conversations in Saami). It was at this point that people whom he had come to know best in the village "started admitting me to their personal dilemmas of identity. This would often take the form of confessions: they were after all a kind of Lapp" (ibid.:54, 55).

What was made of all this—of the "secret" and the sharing of it with a Norwegian ethnographer? The fieldwork was done in the early 1960s, and by the time of Keskitalo's speech to the Seventh Nordic Ethnographic Congress, in 1973, Saami activists would say (to me, and I'm sure to others) "There'd be no stigma if Eidheim hadn't invented it!" In short, non-Saami ethnographers' habit of collecting "dirt" about our people, our culture, injures us. But by the 1980s, things had changed on all fronts. So that just as the fjordal villagers had earlier drawn comfort from sharing their secret with that sympathetic stranger in their midst, NSR leadership now began to seek his thoughts about strategy on the ethnopolitical front. Eidheim, now "Harald," sitting in Oslo for the most part, became a conduit of information and contacts. He wrote about the cause of NSR in the newspapers; he attended (sometimes arranging) meetings with parliamentarians; and so forth. The academic ethnographer became a resource person for his erstwhile critics.

**Ludic Bridges: 2**

In the 1950s and 1960s when I was attached to various pastoral camps, the interface between Saami and non-Saami identity (in the Saami pastoralist view of the matter) was expressed less around language policy, pasturing rights and such like (which is not to say these were not important issues) and more around the reindeer: "When it comes to our animals, each of us is his

own boss everyone of us wants his herd to grow—*there's* the motivation for our hard way of life'' (Paine 1987b:7, 13).

What also belongs to this familiar proposition—of the reindeer as a key or summarizing symbol—are the expressions of Saami-ness attached to the utilization of reindeer products. Consider the following scenario. Ellon Ailu had sold a dozen animals alive to the Kautokeino Co-operative; so as we returned to the winter pastures, he had a wad of banknotes tucked away inside his heavy winter clothing, and that is all:

> On cue, as we entered the cabin, the women looked askance at the money and began hectoring Ellon Ailu: ''Where's the tallow? the blood? the intestinal lining? the heart? the tongue? the head and the marrow bones?'' They weren't even mentioning the better joints of meat; and they hadn't finished yet: ''Where are the skins for the clothing we all wear? And the sinew for the sewing of that clothing?'' (Paine 1987b:3)

This was no isolated instance.

Arising from all this are a couple of insistent claims: only ''we Saami'' understand reindeer (a non-Saami connot possibly understand what this means to us) and only ''we Saami'' know how to utilize properly its different products.

For the pastoralists, ''you are what you eat'' is a truism enveloping their culture. But at all points—when an animal should be slaughtered and how, and how the meat should be prepared—the Norwegian market opposed Saami praxis. The rub for the Saami was, of course, that they had also to sell their meat as a market product. Here it must suffice to say that the market demands *lean* meat whereas Saami, still today, celebrate the *fatness* of their meat.[10]

Today, though, self-consciousness talk—anguished talk—about the quality of reindeer meat is sidelined as the pastoralists find that control of access to the pastoral life itself has been lost: Norwegian law now determines how many, and who among them, will continue as pastoralists, and how many animals they may have. The law (*lov om reindrift*) came into force in 1976.[11]

Then in 1979 an ad hoc group of seven young Saami—they called themselves the Saami Action Group (SAG)—put up a *lavvo* (tent) outside parliament. They declared that they would stay put and keep a hunger-strike until parliament rescinded its authorization for the damming of the Alta River, flowing through ancestral Saami lands. The dam threatened reindeer pastures as well as the tundra ecology/economy of the village of Masi (Paine 1982).

What I want to stress here is, first, the significance of the SAG event, and secondly, its ludic properties:

> instead of shaping themselves to the politically dominant reality—to the world outside them—the strikers shaped it to themselves, and they attained *their* reality in the very act of portraying it by expressing the reality as they saw it, the strikers led many Norwegians to rearrange their own experience concerning their nation. (Paine 1985a:201)

> [The effect] was to place two new and troubling questions on the Norwegian political agenda: "Who are Saami? What are Saami rights?" The important thing about these questions is that they implicitly assert: "There *are and will be* Saami! There *are* special Saami rights!" These questions superseded the traditional Norwegian question . . . : "Why should anyone wish to remain a 'Lapp.'" (Paine 1985a:228)

In denoting the hunger strike as drama, I am separating it from every day reality—*and make-believe was important to the impact that SAG achieved.* Those seven momentarily became "the Saami" and their *lavvo* the summarizing symbol of Saami culture. A similar political mission has been recognized for carnivals (Manning 1983), but carnivals are set apart in time and space from other activities. SAG, by contrast, "*usurped* time and place and intruded, unbidden and unheralded, upon the routines, consciences and, above all, the imaginations of the citizens and politicians of Oslo—and eventually the whole country" (Paine 1985a:227).

But exactly on account of its "playfulness," this kind of behaviour arouses disquiet, apprehension, suspicion among many Saami, and the hostility of some. It is strange and rather offensive behaviour, far removed from the "traditional"; many "would rather continue in the game of survival without trying to roll the dice" (Anderson 1982:109).

Others ask *whose* "Saami premises" are being activated? NSR, for example, was seen as romanticizing the reindeer pastoral minority among the Saami population, presenting them as *the* standard bearer for *the* true Saami culture. The contrary view was—these nomads are really an anachronism in the modern world. If they represent Saami culture, some would say, we can no longer regard ourselves as Saami. Little wonder, then, that the hunger-strikers—in Oslo of all places, with their *lavvo* of all things!—provoked a strident backlash in some Saami circles in the north.

In short, this is the Saami nationalist writers' dilemma (seen also in the case of Alf Isak Keskitalo). Committed to Saami expression of self-consciousness, they elevate their own experiences (and interpretations thereof) as though they are shared by all Saami; but the painful truth, at the moment, is that among themselves Saami claim different experiences, or, where one might suppose that experiences are similar, there are very likely

to be markedly different interpretations. This is particularly troubling when working for a consensual *political* Saami front (below).

Recently, another kind of crisis was visited upon the pastoralists: "Chernobyl" (Paine 1987a; 1989). The accident provoked different Saami voices. Sometimes it was talked about in terms of metameaning and final causes:

> "Chernobyl" encodes a message about social darwinism. "Chernobyl" is cited as evidence for the demise of Saami culture; in particular, the disappearance of reindeer pastoralism in an agricultural come industrial world. And Saami sometimes add, that in the view of many non-Saami, the demise is overdue. The media, in attempts to keep "Chernobyl" newsworthy, also portrayed it in such metameaningful terms. But the media never said what some Saami know subjectively and say—that "we are an outlawed people" (a South Saami), that "we realize that we don't count for much" (a North Saami). "Chernobyl," in other words, has not just remained an accident for the Saami but has become, for many, an embodiment of history, cropping up in conversations, from time to time, linked to other happenings in Saami non-Saami relations. (Paine 1989:141)

At other times I would hear it talked about in terms of *stigmatization*: reindeer meat, their "quality product" they call it, was rendered unclean. However, dramatic differences in degree of radiation of pastures and animals undermined solidarity in the face of adversity. Radiation in the South Saami areas was exponentially higher than among the North Saami—in places as much as 10 times or more. This difference predisposed the North and South to different "Chernobyl" strategies with respect to the all-important domestic reindeer meat. The North wished the government to raise the radiation limit enough to free *their* meat for the market. This was done. But it was of no help to the pastoralists of the South. Worse than no help, inasmuch as they argued that making an exception of reindeer meat in this way *added* to the stigmatization factor; what housewife, they argued, would buy reindeer meat when this means risking more contamination than with any other meat? It would be better to withdraw all reindeer meat from the market until such time as its radiation falls to the level of other household meats. The bitterness of the South Saami, a small minority within a minority, was directed less to the government than to their own northern-dominated national association of Saami reindeer owners (*Norske Reindriftsamers Landsforbund/Norgga Boazosapmelaccaid Riikasearvi*).

Once again, then, I had to put away any idea of mobilization of solidarity on the basis of simply being Saami (1989:154ff.). Moreover, fieldwork at that time in one of the worst contaminated South Saami districts, confirmed how each family made their own decisions as to how best to cope. A memorandum sent to a government department demanded that: "individual solutions be accepted." This may strike others as an inefficient, ultimately dan-

gerous, way of tackling a catastrophe such as "Chernobyl," but it is consonant with all that we know about Saami (and other) pastoral society and culture. Consider: no hierarchy, discretional authority, easily divisible capital with anticipatory inheritance—always in ecologic circumstances of uncertainty.

**Nation-association**

The foregoing belong to the temper and circumstances in which the goal—admittedly but one of a series, but a symbolic benchmark—of a Saami parliament was achieved in 1989 (after a long struggle).

The NSR program is built around four principal demands: (1) that the Saami people be mentioned in the Norwegian constitution; (2) that there be a Saami elective assembly; (3) that Saami become a second official language in areas of Saami concentration; and that (4) Saami usufruct—where practised from time immemorial—be accepted as having bestowed "ownership."

In 1979, a dissenter group broke with NSR, charging that its leadership was élitist and radical. It attacked two positions advanced within the NSR: the embracing of the pastoral nomad as the symbol of Saami culture and the deliberate distancing from the symbol of the Norwegian Crown.

The dissenters founded SLF (*Samenes Landsforbund/Saami Aednamsaervi*). It was to provide a "non-ideological" alternative to NSR whose demands (in the SLFers view) constitute a cultural regression, a "going back" to a condition that Saami had "left behind." "[We] honour and respect the constitution, the king and his government, parliament and other official authorities" (*Sagat* [a Saami newspaper], 1-1-80). "What rights do Saami lack today? It is difficult to suppose that any so-called 'special rights' would be an improvement over what we already have in our democracy" (SLF 1979:1).

NSR and SLR are cultural alternatives and the alternatives are politicized in terms of relationships to the nation-state. The SLF say that Saami have obtained "equality" (*likhet*) with Norwegians and should now be allowed to enjoy the rewards of their Norwegianization. But, say NSR, this would ensure the demise of Saami culture, we must strive for recognition of "equal worth" (*likeverd*)—if semantics are any witness, "politics" have been unleashed!

It is important to note that the NSR-SLF difference is as much about Norwegian culture as it is about Saami culture. The SLF people have learned a new culture (Norwegian) and are enjoying it. For the most part they are farmers or fjordal fishermen; some of them are drawn into municipal or provincial (as opposed to national) politics. They enjoy active membership in

one or another Norwegian political party. This is a larger world than the Saami one they knew, and altogether more challenging and rewarding. They belong to a new Saami *petit bourgeoisie.* Yet it is among the NSR that one finds the greater competence in and appreciation of the intellectual domains of Norwegian culture (tertiary level education among them is not uncommon)—and they put this competence to polemical use against the threat of "Norwegianization" that still faces Saami culture.

The NSR leadership enjoys the transnational participation in Fourth World affairs. Also, it is the NSR that catches the imagination and enthusiasm of academic anthropologists. SLF have been ignored when not derided. Why? First of all, I see no cause for surprise—anthropology's reflexes lead it to the NSR camp (and to "working relationships" between some—but not all—academics and nationalists). Both the NSR and much of anthropology are committed to what Kroeber called "value culture"—indeed, it is their principal resource. Thus "the culture of the Saami" is a shibboleth; the oneness or wholeness implied in the phrase such as "the Saami" is assumed where it should be demonstrated.

On the other hand, I believe that, among other messages, what SLF-ers are saying to us (academics and much of NSR leadership) is: "You "university overclass" may call us Saami, but we're not—not any longer!" In other words, they are talking about cultural succession: of a culture that is no longer "real" for them being replaced by another.[12] I agree with Ingold (personal communication) that the SLF message is one which rejects cultural power brokerage: "By calling us Saami, you are asserting symbolic control over us; you are saying that we are still in your bailiwick, that you "own" us as subjects to be studied, defended, patronized. We don't need this!"[13]

I hope I have now said enough (much has been left unsaid) to suggest how Saami engagement in issues pertaining to "self as nation" is one of *doing* and of *division* (not of being and unity).

The NSR-SLF battle[14] was heated up by acute awareness of the fact that the Saami Rights Commission *Samerettsutvalget* had a mandate to prepare broad recommendations to parliament. The Commission was established in 1980 as a direct consequence of the hunger strike the year before.

The NSR-SLF controversy was taken into the Commission itself. It started even over Commission membership: to the displeasure of NSR who saw themselves as the only legitimate representative of Saami rights, there was SLF membership as well as NSR. Nor could NSR understand why national associations such as the Norwegian Farmers' Association were afforded places on the Commission[15]: the presence of Norwegian associations is prejudicial to Saami rights, they argued. The answer to this was clear for SLF: many Saami are farmers. For their part, SLF objected to the inclusion

of the Association of Saami Reindeer Owners for, they argued, it is but a small minority of Saami who follow that livelihood!

So the work of the Commission continually ran into obstacles. But when votes were counted, the "NSR" side could muster sufficient to carry the day. The first volume of the Commission's findings appeared in 1984; something of an anti-climax, it recommended a clause in the constitution and a Saami parliament—but land rights were held over to the next volume (which has yet to appear). NSR, however, had to make concessions: the Saami "parliament" is to be an advisory body, they had wished for more.[16]

Parliament had ratified the recommendations in 1987.[17] Before elections to the Saami parliament could be held, there had to be a national census of self-declared Saami. Forecasters expected 5000 would register—perhaps one in five or six across the country were eligible (on basis of parentage/grandparentage); and 5500 did. There was some anxiety about what the turnout would be like. Norwegian newspaper comment veered between the bored and the half-amused. Along with Karasjok and Kautokeino, Oslo registered the most Saami. Informed opinion is that many Saami adopted a cautious pragmatic "wait and see" policy towards this new creature—a Saami parliament.

There followed party campaigns, sponsoring candidates for the 39 seats distributed between 13 regional constituencies. NSR ran a list as did several of the Norwegian political parties. There were threatened boycotts: the Association of Saami Reindeer Owners Association, arguing their special interest, announced they would declare a boycott should they be denied some reserved seats of their own. They were denied and their boycott was not effective, as far as I know. SLF became divided among themselves; the leadership urged members to boycott the whole proceedings, out of first principles. However, King Olav's acceptance of an invitation to attend the ceremonial opening of the parliament had them scrambling to attend the ceremony!

Voters' turn-out was 75 percent (of the 5500). NSR received 35 percent of the poll and 18 seats, *Arbeiderparti* (Labour Party) 20 percent and 7 seats. Apparently there was little difference between their election platforms. Among the variety of smaller parties making up the balance, several look like NSR satellites. Thirteen women won seats (exactly one-third of the total).

Elected as Saami parliament's first president was Ole Henrik Magga—a prominent Saami nationalist, he had been Chairman of NSR during the period of the hunger strike and the ensuing confrontations with the government; also, he recently assumed the Chair of Finno-Ugric Studies at Oslo after Knut Bergsland (while continuing as one of the research directors of the Saami Institutta in Kautokeino).

But events have run ahead of analysis!

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## Notes

1. For a good overview, see Vorren and Manker (1958 in Norwegian, 1962 in English).
2. But see Aubert 1978.
3. Visual artists and musicians also have expressed Saami self-consciousness; Kaalund (1986) provides an introductory account of Saami painters and sculptors, together with Greenlandic artists.
4. The published proceedings are important source books along with *Sami Aellin/Sameliv*, a yearbook published in Norway. The first five of the Nordic Saami Conferences (1953-62) were published in English (Hill 1960; Hill & Nickul 1969) as well as in Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish. Today, an effort is made to provide a Saami language version of the conferences.
5. For instance, see Ruong 1964.
6. Try Briggs (1970 and 1982) if you want that; and see Cohen (1989) on the self-consciousness of the anthropologist.
7. The village, and my presence in it, are featured in Nielsen (1986).
8. Stordahl 1982 is an essay on its emergence.
9. NSI publishes research papers in its series *Diedut*.
10. More on this is to be found in Paine 1987b.
11. See *Landsbruksdepartementet* 1976; further to issues raised here, see Björklund 1988.
12. Kroeber distinguishes between "value culture" and "reality culture"—I suggest it is the latter the SLF would embrace. For discussion of Kroeber's terms, see Wolf 1982.
13. Ingold's construal (personal communication). Cognate to the present discussion of NSR and SLF is Ingold's on "minority-culture ideology" of "local elites" among the Skolt Saami of northern Finland (Ingold 1976:245-53).
14. A fuller account is given in Paine 1990; for a view of the competition as a conflict in terms of Fourth World ideology, see Paine 1985b.
15. But it is Norwegian practice for all commissions to have broad representation of professional/occupational interests.
16. NOU 1984 is the full text of the Commission's first volume, a 70-page English summary is also available (Ministry of Justice); Eidheim et al. 1985 is a critique of the Commission report by several Norwegian anthropologists.
17. See *Justis- og politidepartementet* 1984.

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# THE DIFFICULT, BUT CHALLENGING, COMPLEXITY OF CONTEMPORARY SAAMI REALITY – COMMENTS ON ROBERT PAINE'S ARTICLE "TRAILS OF SAAMI SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS"

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I shall begin my commentary on Robert Paine's paper by discussing the more general issues which he considers.

Paine utilizes Wittgenstein's notion of family resemblances in order to draw our attention to what he calls "patterned diversity within culture."

I fully agree with Paine when he says that "we should not allow ourselves unexamined assumptions about ethnic homogeneity and, even more serious perhaps, about ethnic solidarity" (p. 172). You do not need to be an anthropologist to see (hear) that there are different "voices" speaking from the indigenous communities. At least that is the situation among the Saami and the Inuit in Greenland. These voices not only find their expression in opposing organizations (such as NSR and SLF in Norway) but also as opposing political parties (*Attasut* and *Siumut*) as in Greenland. Among the Saamis we are now hearing women's voices. In the community of Karasjok the women set up their own list for the Saami parliamentary election. Saami women have also organized themselves in a Nordic Saami Women's Organization, and in August 1990 they are to be the hosts of the first indigenous women's conference.

Secondly, Paine raises the question as to who is competent to speak about *Saami self-consciousness.* He discusses several possible authorial stances, dividing them into Saami and non-Saami lists. He himself belongs to the non-Saami list. He concludes that in all cases there will be some problems of interpretation and generalization given that:

1. there is no entity – "Saami self-consciousness" – but many trails to follow;

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2. that I cannot assume competence, nevertheless I undertake to follow some "trails" – fully aware of my interpretive and generalizing pretensions!" (p. 174)

I agree with Paine that we cannot speak of one entity, "Saami self-consciousness," just in the same way as we cannot speak about ethnic homogeneity. The second part of his conclusion, on the other hand, begs some comment. My remarks will have to do with the question of who has the *competence* and who has the *right* to speak about Saami issues, be it Saami self-consciousness, Saami solidarity or Saami homogeneity.

I do understand why Paine is so cautious. First, he does not see himself as an expert on self-consciousness as such. That is not his strongest point, he would argue, insofar as there might be scholars much more competent than him. Secondly, he knows there will be Saami academics who will accuse him of having neither the *competence* nor the *right* to speak of self-consciousness or of any Saami issue for that matter. The question of who has the right and the competence to do research among Saamis has been a bone of contention for at least 20 years now and, in my opinion, it is time to put this issue on the scientific agenda and not let the ethnopoliticians claim monopoly over it. I know it has been on the hidden agenda among anthropologists for quite a long time – and that this ethnopolitical statement has caused all sorts of reactions among anthropologists, varying from irritation as well as frustration to agreement – but why not face it? Why go on, as Paine actually does, assuming that the non-native does not have the competence to speak about "native issues," and then in the next breath, display that competence and exercise that authority, if only before an academic audience? Given that, as scientists, we should not allow ourselves to leave the assumptions about ethnic homogeneity unexamined, should we also not challenge the assumption that it is only as a member of a specific culture that one has competence in examining issues in that culture?

The question of the *right* to do research is not unfamiliar to scientists, I would presume. In Norway, I have to ask the *Datatilsynet* before I am allowed to use a method that identifies individuals. If I am going to do research in a school, I have to ask the local school board and the parents. If my field is medicine I would have to present my project before an ethical committee. When one undertakes research, one is necessarily constrained by moral, ethical, political and legal rules and restrictions. The right to do research will always entail a satisfactory answer to questions about the purpose of one's project. One enters a *dialogue* with "the other." Such restrictions are less readily entertained by those who claim that as members of a specific group they have the competence to conduct research within their own culture. They argue that such competence is acquired as a birthright. It

is a gift of grace, so to speak, and since you were unlucky enough not to be born as a Saami, there is nothing you can do but go home again or hope to be reborn as one. There is no hope for a dialogue.

Why then do I, as a Saami, not leave it there and accept that as a member of the Saami culture I, and not Paine, have the competence to examine it? That would be rather convenient for me, and I would not risk being charged with ethnic betrayal. The reason for not adopting such a stance is that I, both as a social scientist and member of Saami society, very well know that there are many different voices among my people, i.e., that ethnic homogeneity is something politically constructed with specific purposes in mind. I have experienced "knowledge as distributed and controlled" (Keesing 1987). In Saami society, as in all societies, there are those who will control knowledge and keep it for themselves, so to speak. By controlling knowledge, you also control the political power structure. Both as a woman ethnopolitician and as a social scientist, I cannot look dispassionately at the way some (mostly well-educated young men in their late 1930s and 1940s, many of them first generation Saami academics) try to control the political power structure by controlling the distribution of knowledge. In one situation, they claim to be academics, in another to be ethnopoliticians. This is the Janus-face of ethnopolitics! And Paine knows this. As he so clearly put it himself, "they elevate their own experiences of self-consciousness (and their interpretations thereof) as though they are shared by all Saami" (p. 182).

I do not oppose the notion that one may, because one is born and raised in a culture, acquire a competence that is also useful when one sets out to do research in it. I myself do research in my own culture, and I do benefit from the fact that I was brought up in that culture. But if I had not been professionally trained to do research, I, as a "legitimate child" of the ethnopolitical movement of the 1970s, would surely have fallen into the ditch of ethnopolitics; i.e., I would for instance have claimed that those Saamis who did not join the NSR in the 1960s and 1970s suffered from "false consciousness." My point is, that it is not only the non-Saami academics who have "culturally blind spots," so do the Saami academics. In both cases it is a matter of professional training, and not of birth. The point here is to differentiate between *cultural background* and *analytical understanding*. The former refers to a person's knowledge, customs and values. Analytical understanding, on the other hand, is the basis for insight, on another level, into interpersonal relations and problems, even in multicultural situations. The challenge for native studies at the universities should, in fact, be to examine how they could incorporate this culture-specific competence as a part of systematic, professional training in analytical understanding.

Whatever his reservations, Paine does examine the issues of Saami self-consciousness. Given that he has had 30 years' experience, he acquits him-

self quite well at the task, a fact of which he can hardly be unaware. Nonetheless, it would appear that he would prefer that others should assume the responsibility for analyzing these questions. Here he points to a third group which he labels as "a kind of 'métis.'" But legally there is no such category in Norway. The rules determining the eligibility of voters for the Saami parliament stipulate that the individual, or one of his/her parents or grandparents, should be Saami or Saami-speaking. The same criteria hold for the Saami parliament in Finland. (The Saamis in Sweden still do not have any parliament). Why should Paine have the right to withdraw to his office while some others, ourselves for instance, the second generation of Saami academics, are to be left alone facing "Goliath"? By taking that stand, he, on the one hand argues that, as a non-Saami academic, he does not have the competence, while on the other hand, before an academic audience, he claims that he has. That is riding two horses at once! As a social scientist, and especially as an anthropologist, given that his profession has been targeted for criticism from members of indigenous groups, he should have made a point out of that and discussed what kinds of competence he possessed, as an academic and not as a Saami.

The third general issue Paine calls the *temptation of chronology*. Although the story, which began in the 1950s with a fractured and stigmatized minority group and ended on October 9, 1989 with the convening of a Saami parliament in the presence of a Norwegian king, looks like a glittering political triumph, we must, Paine argues, ask "how correct is it to speak of political triumph?" We must, he goes on, "ask what cognitive changes have taken place among the diverse population which is called "the Saami." As with the assumptions about ethnic homogeneity, we must not leave the "glittering political triumph" unexamined. Paine actually asks if we could speak of a political triumph at all; "what cognitive changes have taken place within the 'family of resemblances' called Saami? What changes in everyday behaviour and attitudes? And far from the everyday, what changes in reaction to crisis?"

Paine gives us illustrations of some cognitive changes which have occurred between the 1950s and 1960s and the present. For instance, "the interface between [reindeer pastoral] Saami and non-Saami identity was expressed less [than is currently the case] around language policy, pasturing rights, and such like"(p. 180). He notes reactions to crisis: for example the different reactions in the north and the south to radioactive contamination from Chernobyl. I could go on listing examples of changes that have taken place; changes that we could label cognitive changes. One of these would be the developments which have occurred in the SLF. It is not only that thay have changed their statutes and no longer have the sentence that they honour and respect the constitution, the king etc., but in their relation to the Norwe-

gian society they more and more argue for "equal worth," as NSR always have done. Even though they opposed NSR's picture of the world (Saamis without any rights in Norway *as Saami*), they have never claimed that they were not Saamis any longer, as Paine believes (p. 185). Their claim was: "We are Saamis, but *also* Norwegians." But in an ethnopolitical movement, particularly in its initial phases, there is no room for such a category; you are either/or, not both. Among those who joined the ethnopolitical movement of the 1970s, there are now those who dare to say that, in fact, they also feel that they are members of both groups and have two identities, that they cannot point out what is the Saami part of them, and what is the Norwegian part of them. What they tell us, is that to create and maintain a new ethnic identity in a majority/minority context is far more complicated than just proclaiming that you are of a different category than the majority. It also tells us that we, as social scientists, should not leave unquestioned the cultural emblems that ethnopolitical movements use in their nation-building.

We may now question whether or not these recent changes represent a political triumph. Some undoubtedly would say that the changes that have taken place are for the worse, while others would claim that they are for the better. The attribution of credit for these changes is also an issue. (It is often a matter of interpretation, and is dependent on variant readings of history.) *I* would consider it a political triumph when the local social democratic party in a community, after years of opposition to calling the community by its Saami name, agrees to do it, and abruptly co-opts their earlier opponents' argument about the right of the minority language to occupy the same status as the majority language. But I am not so sure that the new *Saami Language Act* is a political triumph. According to the law the Saami language is to be given the same status as Norwegian in specific communities. Accordingly, it stipulates that the administration will have to be bilingual. That would not be a problem for those administrators who deal face-to-face with people, because most of the them are Saamis themselves and do speak the language. The problem is that very few of them have ever learned to read and write their native tongue. And even though many of them have been taking language courses over the last few years, no "official" language exists which is appropriate to their administrative task. How are they, for instance, going to set up a letter in Saami? At school they have learned Norwegian correspondence, but no one taught them Saami correspondence. New lexemes will have to be created in Saami. I have talked with quite a few Saamis working in the administration and they all tell the same story. They all agree that the Saami language is to be given the same status as Norwegian, they all went to language courses and had a hard time learning to read and write, but they still feel incompetent in using Saami in their professional work, a fact which now makes them frustrated. The world outside expects them to write

in Saami – "haven't you had language courses?" – so it all ends up being their *personal problem*. There is, as far as I know, no program or funding for making new words, and I have not seen any proposals for such a project from those ethnopoliticians who once so passionately supported this new language law.

If I were to answer Paine's question whether we could speak of a political triumph, I would say "yes." In certain ways we can talk of a triumph, but we should also be aware that all triumphs have their price, that there will always be winners and losers. That is much more of a "painful truth," to paraphrase Paine, than the fact that there are different interpretations of Saami identity. Why are not we (i.e., Saamis) allowed to have different interpretations, why are we not allowed to disagree amongst ourselves? If we are not allowed to bring our different opinions out in the open, how can we endeavour to control the "distribution of knowledge?" In my opinion it is time to look at the reverse side of the picture. Only when we dare to do that can we have a hope of constructing a society without big internal cleavages. Then we may realize that October 9, 1989 was not the end of the road but another crossroad. And in this process, the non-Saami academics, doing research in Saami societies, have a responsibility too.

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# "I WAS ONCE INDEPENDENT": THE SOUTHERN SEAL PROTEST AND INUIT[1]

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*Abstract:* On three occasions in the past 20 years, the anti-sealing/animal rights movement has initiated protests which have progressively damaged one of the traditional mainstays of Inuit adaptation, the hunting of ringed seals (*Phoca hispida*). While the stated objective of these protests was control of the commercial exploitation of harp seals (*Pagophilus groenlandicus*) along the Atlantic coast of Canada, they have eroded the ability of Canadian Inuit to exploit a key traditional resource.

This paper is a preliminary examination of the nature and consequences of two levels of ongoing conflict over sealing between Inuit seal users and southern seal protectors. The first level of conflict is the economic dimension whereby, under cash market conditions that have existed since the end of World War II, Inuit in parts of the Canadian Arctic have developed their local economic base on the sale of ringed sealskins. The second level of conflict involves social and cultural penalties incurred by Inuit under present conditions.

*Résumé:* A trois occasions au cours des vingt dernières années, le mouvement contre la chasse aux phoques a entrepris des démarches de protestation qui ont progressivement affecté un fondement traditionnel de l'existence inuit, la chasse aux phoques annelés (*Phoca hispida*). Mais bien que ces protestations avaient pour objectif officiel le contrôle de l'exploitation commerciale des phoques du Groenland (*Pagophilus groenlandicus*) le long de la côte atlantique du Canada, elles ont affaibli l'aptitude des Inuit canadiens à exploiter une ressource traditionnelle essentielle.

Cet article se veut un examen préliminaire de deux niveaux de la nature et des conséquences du conflit actuel entre les usagers du phoque inuit et les protecteurs des phoques au nord. Le premier niveau de conflit est la dimension économique où, sous des conditions de marché qui ont existé depuis la fin de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, les Inuit, en différentes parties de l'Arctique canadien, ont développé leur

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économie locale fondée sur la vente des peaux de phoques annelés. Le second niveau de conflit concerne les pertes sociales et culturelles encourues par les Inuit dans la situation présente.

## Introduction: Inuit Sealing

Students of Inuit ethnography and ethnology, from the beginnings of systematic research in the Arctic, have documented the extensive use made by Inuit[2] of a wide variety of pinnipeds, either for food, fuel or raw materials, across the North American Arctic. Within this grouping, the sea mammals of interest, either on a year-round or seasonal basis, to Inuit and their cousins, Yupik Eskimos and Aleuts, are walrus (*Odobenus rosmarus*), the ringed seal (*Phoca hispida*), bearded seal (*Erignathus barbatus*), several species of fur seals, the harp seal (*Pagophilus groenlandicus*), the bladdernose or hooded seal (*Cystophora cristata*), the harbour seal (*Phoca vitulina*) and the ribbon seal (*Histriophoca fasciata*). Among these, only the ringed seal holds year-round residence and is generally accessible to Canadian Inuit under winter and summer conditions.

Studies on Inuit culture, beginning most notably with Boas's (1888:417) observations on the interrelationship between ringed seals, ice conditions and the presence and distribution of Inuit sea ice villages, have placed great emphasis on the ringed seal as an enabling factor in Inuit winter ecology and adaptation. Specific to this adaptation, for instance, is the winter breathing-hole toggling harpoon complex (see Maxwell 1974-75; Nelson 1969; Wenzel n.d.a.). Indeed, temporal interest in this association between the Inuit and the ringed seal extends beyond the period of reliable ethnographic observation into the Palaeoeskimo and Thule Culture archaeological record (see Mathiassen 1927; Collins 1955; Maxwell 1976; Morrison 1983).

Social anthropologists, and especially cultural ecologists, have focussed on facets of Inuit sealing which affect and reflect material culture, ethnoscience, social organization, annual cycle and cultural evolution. Of special importance are Nelson's (1969, 1981) detailed studies from northwest Alaska on the technological and behavioural complex associated with Inuit use of the sea ice environment, Smith's (1980) socioecological analysis of East Hudson Bay Inuit breathing-hole hunting with respect to adaptive efficiency, and the work of Balikci (1968), Damas (1969a, 1969b) and Wenzel (1981) on the settlement and community patterning of traditional Inuit groupings in the Central and Eastern Canadian Arctic.

From the early 1960s attention also turned to the economic aspect of Inuit sealing vis-à-vis native food production, southern markets and new technology (see Foote 1967a). It was Foote's (ibid.) work which first suggested that under cash economy conditions developing in northern Canada the "rela-

tionship'' between Inuit and ringed seal described by earlier anthropologists, explorers and historians was undergoing a subtle shift. The trend of this shift was toward the submergence of the earlier basic subsistence and barter condition, which had prevailed for some 80 years in the case of barter and much longer in that of subsistence, into the needs of a cash economy in which money, especially for the acquisition and maintenance of imported hunting technology, had become an intermediate, but strategic, resource; no longer did a sealskin represent a fixed item of exchange. In this changed economic environment, the ringed seal not only held its original subsistence value, but within a changed demographic and technological situation, such as developed in Arctic Canada from the 1950s onward, it also became the main cash-producing commodity available locally to Inuit, if only because of its temporal and quantitative availability.

This changing situation was recognized relatively early by some biologists working in the North. McLaren (1958) carried out a detailed investigation of the ringed seal fishery potential of Canadian arctic waters and the possible impact of Inuit sealing. His data, based on a sea ice/seal density index, suggested that the annual number of ringed seals present in Canada's northern waters approximated one million and that Inuit harvesting was well below the maximum sustainable yield. More recent work by Smith (1973a) confirmed the validity of McLaren's methodology and estimates.

The clearly increasing importance of the ringed seal as a commercial item locally available to Inuit, particularly given the natural and legislated limitations imposed on many other commercially valuable species, led biologists and anthropologists to closely examine the management of Inuit sealing. The *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project* (Freeman 1976) demonstrated that ringed seal hunting was nearly universal among Canadian Inuit communities. In order to better cope with potential management situations, data were collected not only relating to ringed seal biology and ecology, but also on the level and distribution of Inuit harvesting. (See, for example, Smith 1973b; Smith and Taylor 1977; Baffin Regional Inuit Association 1981, 1982.) Such studies provided the baseline for understanding the subsistence requirements met through ringed seal exploitation at both local and regional levels.

The economic condition of Inuit sealing, beyond a basic cash value per sealskin, has, however, only recently come to be better appreciated. The inherent instability of reliance on a single marketable species, no matter how renewable, with little or no ability for the producers to influence that market, and the increasing costs of imported technology, including boats, outboard engines, snowmobiles, petroleum fuels and lubricants, spare parts, rifles and ammunition, had a serious effect on the maintenance of the Inuit seal hunting and, by extension, the entire subsistence harvesting regime. Fluctuating

seasonal values for sealskins, often the only commercially valuable local commodity, meant that the Inuit harvest efforts for *all* species, not only ringed seals, suffered when prices were low. This occurred because most other species, while having high food value, required the acquisition and maintenance of the same equipment employed for sealing and did not provide any monetary return (Wenzel 1978). Hence, with the material technological costs of subsistence activities increasing, ringed seal hunting and the sale of skins became increasingly important.

Müller-Wille (1978), using the novel baseline of the number of sealskins required to produce money sufficient to outfit an Inuit hunter, estimated that for Repulse Bay in 1973, a base price of $19.00 per sealskin meant that a hunter needed to harvest and sell 239 skins, having a value at that time of $4 541.00. Six years later, Thomas Smith (1979-80), using a devalued dollar, estimated the cost to a Holman Island hunter for capital hunting equipment, exclusive of depreciation and maintenance, as $10 075.00, albeit with a greater dollar value per sealskin. Overall, however, as these data show, Inuit hunting has come to require large amounts of what is a scarce new resource, money (see also Kemp et al. 1978; Wenzel 1983).

Despite the high costs, it is evident that ringed seal hunting remains an important economic and cultural activity among Inuit. Since the publication of the findings of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Berger 1977), the importance of subsistence harvesting activities for Inuit and other northern Natives has been recognized as a means of providing high quality food, which is otherwise irreplaceable (see also Schaefer 1971, 1973; Boles et al. 1983). In addition, as reviews of Canadian Arctic renewable resource use have indicated (Smith and Taylor 1977; Jelliss 1978), ringed seals are the only species available in reliable numbers which can offer both food and cash potential to Inuit communities all year round. In this regard, the works of Nelson for Wainwright, Alaska (1969, 1981) and Wenzel for Clyde River (1975, 1981, 1983) are useful as long-term single community studies. Both show that, regardless of external fluctuations in the ringed sealskin market, Inuit in these communities have remained highly dependent on this species and that the primary reason for this consistent focus is the ringed seal's premium subsistence value.

## Southern Anti-Sealing and Inuit: The Beginning

An anti-sealhunt movement, as such, first arose in southern Canada in 1955 (see Table 1 for a summary of major events in the "seal campaign") and raised serious questions over the methods of killing and the general status of commercial harp seal hunting on the whelping grounds of the Newfoundland "Front" and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Over the next decade, rela-

tively little attention was focussed on the harp seal hunt, although the Federal Government of Canada prepared regulations concerning the licensing, weapon type and permitted hours of the hunt. Indeed, the protest, directed especially at an expanding foreign harp seal hunt component, prodded the imposition of needed regulation.

**Table 1**
**Selected Events in the Anti-Sealing Campaign**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1955 | The Nova Scotia S.P.C.A. raises questions publicly about the methods used in the commercial harp seal hunt. |
| 1965 | The Canadian government imposes tighter restrictions on the licensing of commercial sealers, weapon types, and hunting hours. |
| 1967 | Brian Davies and the New Brunswick S.P.C.A. produce the film "The Seals of the Ice Pans." The "Save the Seals" campaign formally organized. |
| 1969 | The Federal Department of Fisheries proposes a "whitecoat" (baby harp seal) ban. (Never implemented.) |
| 1970 | The Canadian government applies stringent quotas to Newfoundland and foreign seal hunters. |
| 1971 | United States and European groups join the anti-sealing campaign. |
| 1972 | The United States Congress passes into law the Marine Mammals Protection Act. |
| 1976 | Greenpeace participates in the Newfoundland protest. |
| 1977 | Greenpeace shifts its focus from an endangered species argument to outright opposition to all sealing. Brigitte Bardot visits Blanc Sablon. |
| 1982 | The European Economic Community proposes a voluntary ban on the importation of seal products. |
| 1983 | The German (FRG) delegation to the International Union of Conservationists and Naturalists seeks to have all species of seals listed as endangered. (Motion defeated.) |
| 1983 | Many EEC members reaffirm the 1982 voluntary ban. |

In 1967, however, a fresh round of protest over the Atlantic harp seal kill flared. It was at this time that a "Save the Seals" campaign came into being, ultimately developing into the International Fund for Animal Welfare. This movement, while initially Canadian based and supported, rapidly drew strength from environmentally concerned individuals and organizations in the United States and Western Europe.

The intensity of the anti-sealing protest gradually grew through the middle 1970s, albeit with periodic wanings, led by two groups, the International Fund for Animal Welfare and Greenpeace (see Hunter 1979). Characteristic of the protests in these years was their appeal to the international news media in order to bring pressure to bear on local hunters and upon the

Canadian government (see Lamson 1979; Memorial University of Newfoundland 1978). Of even greater importance during this period was a gradual shift of focus, within the movement, from a stated concern for Canada's harp seals as endangered to a *de facto* animal rights position, condemnatory of any human exploitation of any seal species (Hunter 1979:368). This shift occurred at the same time as biological evidence was accumulating establishing the viability of the Atlantic harp seal population (the original focus of the protest) under the regulatory conditions instituted by the Canadian government.

Lost within the strident tones of southern protest and counterprotest was the impact a highly emotional and politicized anti-sealing campaign would have on aboriginal, especially Inuit, access and use of ringed seals. While very little on the effects in the North appears to have been recorded during the 1950s, Foote (1967b) correlated a precipitous decline in the value of ringed sealskin during 1966-67 with the eastern Canada harp seal protest and ventured the possibility of serious consequences for the local economies of many Inuit communities. Foote (ibid.) further noted that his concern was not limited solely to economic impacts, but also to the effect the spillover of the harp seal protest might have on the ecological and cultural relationship existent between Inuit and ringed seal.

## Southern Anti-Sealing and Inuit: Escalation and Erosion

Foote's warnings of imminent repercussions for Inuit communities largely dependent on ringed seal hunting seemed excessive as the southern market value of sealskins returned to and exceeded the preprotest level. By 1973-74, the average (adult) ringed seal skin was priced near $16.00 in the Baffin Island settlement of Clyde River (Wenzel 1983:84), while ringed seal pup pelts brought up to $45.00 in the spring of 1973.

In 1976, however, the upward trend in ringed seal prices halted and drastically reversed. By the spring-summer of 1977, adult ringed sealskins had fallen in many Inuit communities below $2.50 (Wenzel: Field notes for Clyde River and Resolute Bay), while for some communities an external market was nonexistent. What was also apparent during the 1976-77 protest was the perceived linkage between the movement's stated objective of bringing to an end the commercial harp seal hunt in the south and the curtailing of all seal hunting. Also evident for the first time was the high monetary commitment which all forms of Inuit hunting required (Wenzel 1978:5), and how the whole of the subsistence component in the so-called dual economy practised by Inuit suffered.

With some recovery between 1978 and 1982, it appeared that the Inuit ringed seal trade, and with it other non-cash-producing subsistence activi-

ties, had again weathered the southern protest, much as it had in 1966-67, but the voluntary ban imposed by the European Economic Community (EEC) on seal products in mid-1982 effectively destroyed that hope (see Jelliss 1978; Northwest Territories Government 1978). At this time, arguments specific to Inuit ringed seal hunting were circulated, although not publicized (Weber, personal communication). Primary among these was the belief that as Canadian, and other, Inuit were employing non-traditional means, especially mechanized technology, and were supporting this technology, at least in part, by the commercial sale of sealskins seal hunting was, therefore, no longer a "subsistence" activity.

Until the 1982 EEC ban came into force, Inuit had remained relatively silent in the face of the protest and its effects. In 1983, however, Inuit from Greenland and Canada made representation at the 1983 International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources meeting (IUCN), thereby helping defeat the passage of a motion to place all seals on the IUCN endangered species list. In another action, an Inuit delegation, sponsored by the Greenland Home Rule government (*Atuagagdliutit 1983*), undertook a counterprotest tour to EEC member countries which supported the voluntary ban on seal imports (Heinrich 1983). At the same time, Inuit-sponsored journals carried articles, editorials and letters expressing concern about the apparent hypocrisy of the European and North American protest action, stating that it represented a new chapter of northern imperialism (Peter 1983).

Overall, the salient point of the Inuit counterargument followed much the same lines as those laid down by the Alaskan Eskimo Whaling Commission (AEWC) in its representations to the International Whaling Commission. The argument in this case was that sealing represents an expression of subsistence lifestyle, forms an integral element of Inuit culture and is an aspect of Inuit aboriginal rights.

Despite these recent efforts, recent research in five Northwest Territories and arctic Quebec communities (Wenzel n.d.b.; Kishigami n.d.) provides some baseline information on the present situation (see Table 2). Data from Holman Island and Clyde River (Wenzel n.d.b.) indicate that the material basis of Inuit hunting in both communities has been severely undermined since the imposition of the EEC ban. In 1980-81 (the fur trading statistics are compiled on a July 1-June 30 basis), the sale of ringed seal skins through the Hudson's Bay Company in Clyde accounted for 3377 ringed seal skins from 90 Inuit with a value of $53 516.00, while at the Cooperative at Holman Island 65 Inuit sold 5702 pelts totalling $110 591.00. Two years later, during the 1982-83 fur year, the same communities produced 1238 (Clyde River) and approximately 1500 (Holman Island data based on 70 percent of the hunter population) ringed seal pelts, totalling $12 587.50 and

$24 891.50 respectively. Differences in the base per pelt price in the two communities ($10.15 – Clyde River, $14.48 – Holman Island) are explained by the different pricing schedules used by the Hudson's Bay Company and the Federated Cooperatives of Canada. At the same time, participation in ringed seal hunting at Clyde River declined from 90 Inuit (1980-81) to 63 participants two years later. This decrease in the number of Clyde River hunters is explained by Inuit as due directly to the low prices available for sealskins. It must be noted, however, that the same Inuit state that, while fewer skins are finding their way to the Hudson's Bay Company, hunters continue to seek ringed seals because of their importance as a primary food item in the community.

**Table 2**
**Capital Hunting Costs, Clyde River, N.W.T.**

| Item | 1972[a] | 1976[a] | 1984[b] |
|---|---|---|---|
| Snowmobile[c] | $1400.00 | $2500.00 | $3898.00 |
| 6.7m Canoe | 1200.00 | 1800.00 | 2998.00 |
| Trail Motorcycle | N/A | 1150.00 | 2100.00 |
| Outboard Motor (25 hp) | 900.00 | 1100.00 | 1595.00 |
| Outboard Motor (55 hp)[d] | N/A | N/A | 2595.00 |
| .222 cal. Rifle | 150.00 | 250.00 | 659.00 |
| .303 cal. Rifle | 99.00 | 150.00 | N/A |
| .22 cal. Rifle | 60.00 | 73.00 | 368.98 |
| *Semi-automatic Ammunition:* | | | |
| .222 | 5.00/20 | 7.50/20 | 11.50/20 |
| .303 | 7.00/20 | 10.00/20 | 18.50/20 |
| 12 gauge | N/A | N/A | 14.50/25 |
| Fox Trap | 1.00 | 2.50 | 4.00 |
| Duffel Cloth | 8.75/m | 13.10/m | 28.00/m |

a. 1972 and 1976 item costs have been rounded off from Clyde prices.
b. 1984 costs are exactly as charged by the Clyde River Hudson's Bay Company store.
c. Snowmobile prices reflect the cost of the most popular model present in Clyde River in each of the sample years.
d. This larger engine is now the most common in Clyde River, replacing the smaller 25 hp.

## Ramifications of the Conflict and Conclusions

Robert Hunter (1979:368), in his chronicle of Greenpeace Canada's evolution, notes that 1977 was a watershed for the organization as their anti-sealing policy solidified under the leadership of Paul Watson, who was then president of Greenpeace: "[Policy] was now absolutely rigid: no seals were to be killed by anybody, not even Eskimos or Indians." More recently,

Patrick Moore of Greenpeace, in a taped interview (Canadian Broadcasting Company 1984), responded to a question on the effect(s) of Greenpeace's stance toward hunting and trapping on Canada's native community by saying:

> These are the most difficult case-by-case situations to deal with, and there you almost have to look at each individual animal that is being killed in order to make the decision of whether or not that particular animal was killed primarily for the luxury fur industry Sure, the Indian people are doing the dirty work of going out and killing the animal, but they have been co-opted into an unacceptable economy as far as we're concerned, that is, the skin trade in wild animal skins You have to look at the native people that are taking seals in the Arctic, and those skins are going into the same fashion industry that the skins from the big commercial Newfoundland hunt are going to. (ibid.:19)

In a number of respects the statements of Hunter and Moore are a variation on one of the anti-harvesting paradigms outlined by Usher (1981:57). With cash markets accepting the fur output of Inuit and other Native harvesters, the Native participants consciously acquiesce in an unacceptable relationship. This view is carried further by Weber (see above) in emphasizing that the use of imported technology and the sale of skins by Inuit removes Inuit from the category "subsistence harvester."

The ramifications of the perspective reflected in the above quotations are several. Of immediate notice is the emphasis placed by Moore, Weber and others on the commercial and cash economic aspects of Inuit sealing. As noted previously, ringed seal hunting at Clyde River, Holman Island and many other Inuit communities did contribute significantly at the village level (see Wenzel 1983:84, 85) and this cash return declined in 1982-83. This reduction in monies earned from sealing following the European Economic Community's ban on seal imports parallels too closely similar events at the times of the 1960s and 1970s protests to be coincidental (see Foote 1967b; Wenzel 1978).

What these arguments, in fact, ignore is the nutritional "income" derived by Inuit sealers, their families and entire communities. If Inuit ringed sealing was carried on solely for commercial purposes (the extreme end of the Moore and Weber arguments), then seal harvest numbers should closely reflect the loss of market caused by the EEC ban and the protest. Inuit harvest data collected for 1981 and 1982 (Baffin Regional Inuit Association [BRIA] n.d.) for Clyde River show that the level of ringed seal harvesting between these two years (BRIA's harvest year extends from January 1 to December 31) did decrease, from 3788 animals (uncorrected for non-reporting harvesters) to 2507 in 1982 (uncorrected for non-reporting harvesters), the year of the ban. But, in those same years, Clyde River Inuit sold

1172 (1981-82) and 1238 (1982-83). These data indicate two things. The first is that the European boycott did affect Inuit participation in the selling of ringed sealskins because of lower prices offered by the Hudson's Bay Company. Secondly, that the actual harvest of ringed seals, as well as numbers of seal sold, decreased at an accelerating rate over the two years.

This steepening decline in numbers of ringed seals actually harvested reflects the inability of hunters to acquire needed money via their usual means, the selling of sealskins, for gasoline, oil, ammunition and vehicle and motor parts. Discussions with Inuit in Clyde River and three other Baffin Island communities suggested that the second full year of the boycott would find Inuit in an even more difficult harvesting situation.

For the local food economy, this presents a poor prognosis. Ringed seal harvesting by Clyde Inuit produced 53 578 $kg^3$ of edible meat, while caribou, the only other potential red meat source, provided 27 120 $kg^4$ from the harvest of 678 animals. The importance of ringed seal in the Clyde Inuit diet lies in the nutritional value of ringed seal compared to other locally available wild or imported meats. Boles et al. (1983:96, 97) have shown that the relative nutritional value of ringed seal and beef requires, for equivalent protein value between the two, 1.5 kg of beef to 1 kg of ringed seal. Perhaps even more important, elements, such as riboflavin and thiamine are, respectively, more concentrated in ringed seal by factors of four and three than in beef (ibid.:97). The difference between ringed seal and caribou, while less extreme, is marked and dietary reliance on caribou suffers from lower population numbers, poor seasonal availability and rapid negative effects of increasing harvest levels on local caribou stocks. In terms of economy, Inuit are in a double bind: nutritional impoverishment if a certain minimal level of ringed seal harvesting is unsustainable versus reliance on unsustainable dietary alternatives.

A second area of concern is the social consequences of reduced or terminated ringed seal use. Inuit subsistence activities have traditionally, and continue presently, to be the focus of a range of practices, generally categorized as sharing (Damas 1972; Wenzel 1981), which involve intra- and inter-family and community economic networks, and also social networks. Among the Inuit sealing is a sharing paradigm which serves to establish and affirm social solidarity. Damas (1972) and Wenzel (1981) have attempted to link this shared solidarity to the maintenance of the Inuit adaptive system, whereby cooperation and identity are reinforced at both a material and social level. As Wenzel (1983:91) notes, sharing in Inuit society functions to reinforce the social and ecological reality of each individual. However, as the ability of Inuit to participate in ringed seal and other forms of hunting is constrained, this reality will become remote.

Other questions of social importance to Inuit must also be viewed within

the framework of the current situation. Hunting activities, of which ringed sealing is the most tangible, are viewed by Inuit as the context in which normative values can be most easily transmitted across generational lines. This process of "teaching," *isumaqsayuq* or passing along knowledge, is seen as radically different from *ilisayuq*, as structured classroom teaching is described. The former is based on the attentiveness of the "pupil," who learns from multiple teachers by listening, watching, trying. Each person "progresses" at a self-determined rate. Inuit contrast this to the lecture methods often present in formal schooling. The resulting benefits include learning problem solving, cooperation (*iikaiyuitaguk*), patience (*qlinuinuk*) and self-control (*qliuisaatuq*). To older Inuit discussants, these are the values developed within the context of harvesting activities, values which crosscut generational and gender boundaries.

The current situation in which Inuit ringed seal harvesters find themselves and, even further, all Inuit, is one in which geographic remoteness from the actual point of the original confrontation has lost any advantage it may have held. Indeed, this remoteness acts, to a degree, as a barrier in terms of presenting the Inuit subsistence case. In many respects, this circumstance differs little from the fur trade, missionary and "governmentalization" eras which Canadian Inuit society experienced, first, near the beginning of this century and, later, shortly after World War II. At those times, the buffer which spatial remoteness offered to outside material contacts ended. At present, the cultural buffer provided by a flexible and well adapted socioeconomic environment has been eroded by an external philosophical and ideological paradigm. In part, the contemporary situation is one that had already begun to undergo a change (see Mayes 1982) in the 1960s and 1970s; however, the present conflict is one which is potentially diminishing to a complex of behaviours and strategies which focus Inuit perceptions of Inuit reality. Within this perspective, the anti-harvesting movement represents as comparable a disruptive force to Inuit society as have any of the more noted incursions of non-native values and technology in this century.

## Postscript – Since 1984

In the years since the completion of the baseline community research presented here, the socioeconomic situation of Inuit with regard to harvesting has seen little improvement either in Holman Island and Clyde River or in the Canadian Arctic in general. Smith and Wright (1989) note that in the Holman area the costs of harvesting continue to spiral upwards, while the ability of local Inuit to produce cash, as well as food, surpluses from their activities is still in decline. Their view, that the economic situation of, especially, full-time hunters, who formerly provided major inputs of country

produce into the village food system, "should be a subject of concern and attention," is echoed by subsequent work at Clyde River (Wenzel 1990). Indeed, the future role of harvesting across the N.W.T. and the need to find new ways for non-traditional resources to reach hunters has become the subject of growing scrutiny (see Ames et al. 1988).

The sociocultural dilemmas opened by the sealskin controversy have also amplified over the intervening years. Across the N.W.T., government attempts to substitute wages and transfer income for the cash losses felt from the collapse of the sealskin market are presenting Inuit with new problems. Among the foremost of these is that hunters who enter the wage stream find that little time is available to them to actively participate in harvesting. Thus, while this group is well equipped, its inability to steadily contribute to the local harvesting economy is a growing source of frustration to its members.

A second and wider concern is that the limited resources of this expanded wage-transfer system has served to spotlight the "unemployed" state of those hunters unable to find entry into the formal economy. In essence, a "have/have not" split is developing within communities that is only now beginning to be felt by Inuit.

## Acknowledgments

I wish to express my appreciation to the following people for their critical comments regarding the ideas expressed in this paper: D. Denton, Peter Usher, R. Wooley, Ludger Müller-Wille, S. Marshall, Colin Scott, Toby Morantz and Harvey Feit. The 1984 Holman Island and Clyde River phases of this research were assisted through the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

## Notes

1. The statement which appears in quotations is from a Clyde River Inuit hunter who wishes to remain anonymous.
2. The term "Inuit" is used here in its broadest possible sense to mean speakers of the Inupik dialect of Esk-Aleut.
3. Edible weight figures for ringed seal are drawn from Simpson 1984:1.
4. Edible weight figures for caribou (*Rangifer tarandus groenlandicus*) are from the above source.

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# BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

**Breaking New Ground: Agricultural Anthropology**
Robert E. Rhoades
Lima, Peru: International Potato Center, 1984. 84 pp.

*Reviewer:* Alan R. Beals
University of California, Riverside

Most anthropological readers of this short monograph will applaud Mr. Rhoades's wish to give greater prominence to the field of agricultural anthropology, both within the discipline and among the disciplines dedicated to agricultural development. Together with Rhoades, R.L. Sawyer, who writes the Foreword, takes a rather cranky and hostile attitude toward the discipline of anthropology. In view of this, some readers may wonder how a group of scholars depicted as uninterested in helping the people they study, and hostile to applied anthropology, can play any role at all in any kind of development.

To be sure, many academically-trained anthropologists in the early part of this century were upper-class intellectuals who were more likely to be interested in garden magic than in time and motion studies of taro plantations. Nevertheless, an applied anthropology of agriculture can only be founded upon a developed science of anthropology. Thus, Rhoades's claim that he is "standing upon the shoulders of midgets" might well be regarded as counter-productive.

Fortunately, as Rhoades enters more deeply into his subject, his attitudes toward anthropology gradually improve. His fourth chapter is concerned with what anthropologists can contribute to agricultural development, and it is excellent. Rhoades concludes his monograph with the statement that "anthropology as a discipline has more than a century of experience in agriculture, and an intimate association with farmers in every corner of the globe" (p. 50).

In addition to his ambivalent discussions of anthropology and the anthropological establishment, Rhoades provides a number of examples of the work of agricultural anthropologists at the Potato Center. These examples are interesting and help to indicate a range of possibilities, but they do not represent a full expression of the possibilities for agricultural anthropology. It would be useful to find examples of the particular training in theory and method that is unique to anthropologists.

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**Navajo Coyote Tales: The Curly Tó Aheedlíinii Version**
Father Berard Haile, O.F.M.
Edited by Karl W. Luckert
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. vi + 146 pp. $17.95 (cloth), $8.95 (paper)
**Hopi Coyote Tales: Istutuwutsi**
Ekkehart Malotki and Michael Loyatumay'ma
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. viii + 343 pp. $19.95 (cloth), $12.95 (paper)

*Reviewer:* Jane H. Hill
University of Arizona

The two volumes under review are welcome additions to the growing body of bilingual texts from western American Indian groups. They do, however, fall short of the state of the art in the presentation of text in ways which merit discussion.

*Navajo Coyote Tales* was published from Father Berard Haile's manuscripts, and, since he died in 1961, he cannot be held to recent innovations, particularly the emphasis on the representation of oral performance which has developed from the work of Hymes and Tedlock. *Hopi Coyote Tales* (*HCT*), though, is derived from recent collections, and is stubbornly "literary" according to principles which the authors have not made clear. Luckert's introduction to *HCT* states that the authors edited the taped originals in many ways. The greatest loss for linguists, and to no clear purpose for the Hopi speech community, is the adjustment "phonologically, morphologically, and lexically" (p. vii) of all texts to "Third Mesa Dialect." In addition, narrative sequences have been realigned, the junior author has inserted details "omitted by the narrators" (p. vii), English words appearing in the originals have been changed to Hopi and the oral features of the style, including "repetitions" (the importance of these in oral delivery has been discussed by many authors) have been edited to conform to some unspoken literary norm. All of these editorial decisions apparently reflect a notion that story-telling in Hopi is in such decline that definitive texts must be reconstructed from "flawed" performances. The development of literary norms for heretofore oral speech communities is, of course, a very serious and interesting issue that concerns many thoughtful American Indian scholars and writers. One hopes that, in future volumes, Malotki and Loyatumay'ma will explain why their theory of a Hopi literary norm takes its particular shape, and explicate in detail the decisions they have made in moving from oral performance to the printed page.

The second missed opportunity is the lack of attention paid to the individuality of narrators, a neglect which particularly affects Luckert's long analytical essay which introduces *Navajo Coyote Tales* but deals with both bodies of text. Folklorists have now largely abandoned the notion that the oral tradition somehow lacks "authors"; instead, Tedlock has shown that Pueblo societies compare and evaluate narrators with respect to individualized details of presentation, and Hymes has shown that the art of individual narrators can only be understood if we attend as closely to their purposes as we do to those of Western authors. In *Hopi Coyote Tales* the neglect of the individual takes the form of heavy-handed editing. In *Navajo Coyote Tales*, Father Haile has attended occasionally in his introduction and footnotes to differences between the narrator, Curly Tó Aheedlíinii, and the interpreter, A.G. Sandoval. In addition, in his introduction to the cycle of Coyote and Changing Bear Maiden, Father Haile points out that while the narrator considered this cycle devoid of sacred value, Father Haile himself believed it to be a sacred text, part of a major chant way. Ignoring these individual differences of interpretation, and the complexity of the relationship between profane and sacred texts in Navajo implied in Father Haile's brief discussion, Luckert analyzes the two bodies of text to support far-reaching conclusions about a sacred "hunter" coyote among the Navajo, contrasted to a profane "agriculturalist's" coyote among the Hopi. An important objection to this analysis is, of course, that obscenity and scatology, as ritual inversion of the divine, play an important role in Hopi religion (as in clown-

ing in Kachina ceremonies); excrement and divinity may be very close. But it is Luckert's assumption that the 17 texts from a single narrator somehow represent "Navajo coyote stories," and that the 21 stories in *Hopi Coyote Tales*, all heavily edited by the authors, similarly represent "Hopi," that particularly undermines the credibility of his stimulating analysis.

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**Palaeopathological and Palaeoepidemiological Study of Osseous Syphilis in Skulls of the Edo Period**
Takao Suzuki
Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press (distributed by Columbia University Press), 1984. 48 pp. $22.50 (cloth)

*Reviewer:* Nicholas L. Petrakis
University of California at San Francisco

Between 1495 and 1793, venereal syphilis appeared as a new and virulent disease that manifested itself as a primary lesion, the chancre, followed by severe secondary skin lesions, a sore throat, fever, joint pains and severe systemic symptoms. Within one or two years, gummatous skin and bone lesions developed. Ten or 20 years later, many patients developed vascular disease and central nervous system lesions, but these lesions were not recognized as part of the syphilitic process until the late 19th century. The relationship of central nervous system and vascular diseases to syphilis was not confirmed until serological tests were developed early in this century.

Probably in error, many writers have attributed the pandemic of venereal syphilis that began in 1793 and ravaged Europe for a century to Columbus's sailors. Although these sailors no doubt encountered pinta, the treponemal disease widely prevalent in the New World, medical historians disagree on whether the organism causing severe venereal syphilis (*Treponema pallidum*) was newly introduced in Europe from America, or represented a virulent mutation of the agent of American pinta (*T. carateum*) or of other treponemal diseases, yaws and non-venereal syphilis (*T. pertenue*) which were so widely prevalent in Africa, the Middle East, Central Asia and the South Pacific. Clinical descriptions from antiquity (Greece: lichens; Rome: mentagra) suggest that syphilis was present in ancient Europe, but that physicians had not distinguished it from leprosy and other skin diseases. Just as syphilis was said to be unknown or undescribed before 1493, so were most of the now known communicable diseases also undescribed at the time.

Several hypotheses exist to explain how syphilis reached Japan. One view is that the disease was carried by Portuguese sailors from Europe to India, then to Canton, China, and from there to Japan. The appearance of syphilis in Japan in AD 1512 was followed by the rapid spread of the disease in the populations of Kyoto and early Tokyo (Edo). However, evidence exists that a treponemal disease (probably yaws) existed in the South Pacific Islands, Central Asia and Australia before that time. Chinese documents of the eighth century mention a venereal disease resembling the clinical manifestations of primary and secondary syphilis, but, as with descriptions of pre-Columbian Europe, the accuracy of the diagnosis is disputable. Pinta is considered by some writers to have been brought to the Americas

from Asia at the time of the prehistoric Amerindian migrations over the Siberian-Alaskan land bridge.

This interesting monograph by Takao Suzuki contains material from his doctoral thesis on the occurrence of osseous syphilis in Japan during the Edo period (17th to 19th centuries). His findings provide new information about a serious disease that, in an earlier historic period, spread rapidly throughout the world and had an important medical and socio-cultural impact. According to historic records, the introduction of syphilis into Japan in AD 1512 represented the first exposure of the Japanese to a treponemal disease; no geographic or historic evidence exists for the presence of yaws, pinta or non-venereal syphilis in Japan before 1512. Suzuki's study, based mainly on the incidence of syphilitic bone lesions evidenced from the archaeology, anthropology and epidemiology of Japan of the Edo period, estimates from the prevalence of lesions of tertiary osseous syphilis that about 50 percent of the adult population of Edo Japan had venereal syphilis.

The evidence for syphilis used by Suzuki is based on characteristic bone changes in 923 skulls from six burial sites. Techniques used to examine the bones included roentgenologic, microscopic, histologic and macroscopic gross anatomic examinations, but the primary diagnosis and differential diagnosis of osseous syphilis was based on macroscopic examination. Differential diagnoses included non-specific suppurative periostitis and osteomyelitis, tuberculosis, Paget's disease, giant cell tumour, osteosarcoma and multiple myeloma. Sufficient historic data enabled Suzuki to classify the osseous material by age, sex and social class (military [samurai], agricultural, artisan and merchant), and to estimate the frequency of syphilitic bone lesions among them. The highest prevalence of cranial syphilis (9.9-11.5%) was found in skulls of common people from the Fukagawa area of Edo (the area of the red-light district). The lowest prevalence was found in the *bushi* or *hatamoto samurai* class (government officials) (3.5%). Suzuki suggests that social values and behaviour played an important role in this distribution. The *bushi* class was composed of well-educated, self-disciplined people operating under the Buddhist and Japanese code of noble ethics known as "*buishi-do*," who would control their sexual passions and remain monogamous. By contrast, the less educated or common people might not be so restricted in their sexual behaviour.

Suzuki's monograph represents a useful and interesting attempt to bring the techniques of paleopathology, epidemiology and elements of social history to the study of the extent of syphilis in earlier Japan. The methods and techniques of this fine book will be of value to paleopathologists, anthropologists and medical historians.

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**Sons and Seals: A Voyage to the Ice**
Guy David Wright
St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1984. ix + 129 pp. $9.95 (paper)

*Reviewer:* Will. C. van den Hoonaard
University of New Brunswick

The primary objective of *Sons and Seals* is to explain "what the seal hunt means to

the sealers'' (p. 2). A subsidiary aim is to provide ''first-hand knowledge of modern sealing'' (p. 3).

Wright journeyed ''to the ice'' with sealers in the spring of 1979. He effectively portrays the ''primordial world'' (p. 94) which sets the sealers at sea apart from the rest of the world. His ethnographic account is replete with conversations with and among the sealers. He presents us with details of the preparation and aftermath of the hunt on his vessel. Two sets of photographs enhance our knowledge of sealing: one set which depicts sealing as practised in more traditional times, and the other taken by Wright himself.

The ethnographic material suffers from Wright's unavoidably short stay on the vessel: only 12 days on the vessel out of the sea-going 25 days, interspersed with 13 days in and around a hospital after Wright's fall through the ice and subsequent frostbite. The social organization (''simplified and comforting'' relationships (p. 29) bounded by a rigid authority structure) is described superficially, and we are too often left with stereotypical characters and roles: the ''green'' sealers, the captain, the experienced sealers. The significance of some situations, such as the ''indignity'' of serving an experienced sealer at mealtime (p. 40), is left to the reader to ponder.

The answer to ''Why do sealers seal?'' is the main, but weaker, corpus of the book. Economic, social and entrepreneurial reasons, the sense of adventure and tradition are advanced as arguments. These explanations leave us unconvinced. They strike us as artificial, especially after we have read the richer ethnographic portion of the book. Even the author is not heartily convinced by these explanations. He speaks of a ''fundamental lure,'' ''the need to take a risk in an unpredictable environment'' or even ''something more mysterious'' (p. 87). Again: ''Newfoundlanders have resurrected the hunt as a metaphor [allegory?] for the strength and stoicism that are their heritage'' (p. 105), centring around the notion of a ''manly ethic'' (p. 93), the solidarity and fraternity of the crew.

There are other aspects of the book that distract us in assessing the value placed on sealing. Movements and peoples opposed to sealing are belittled, which does not lend credibility to Wright's otherwise important efforts to grasp the value of sealing. (Does he take the everyday attitudes of sealers towards their opponents for granted?) The sealer's quiet heroism on the ice, selfless courage, tolerance and ''pride in one's ability to work well for long hours under adverse conditions'' (p. 70) alone will testify to the subjective importance attached to sealing.

There are a few minor omissions. Chartraine's valuable work, *The Living Ice* (McClelland and Stewart, 1980) is missing from the main text and bibliography. Wright should have devoted more effort to providing a more completely annotated bibliography: only 31 of the 61 works on sealing are annotated. Finally, more careful attention should have been given to the two maps. Legends and scales are missing, as well as half a dozen place names mentioned in the text.

In summary, although the ethnographic portion of the work suffers due to the author's short stay on the vessel, it contains valuable impressions of the everyday character of life on such a vessel. We cannot but admire Wright's stamina in fulfilling his pledge to be with the crew and in completing his account.

Although the subjective value of sealing does not entirely open before our eyes, the book contains much of benefit to the general reader. It could also be useful for undergraduate courses on Atlantic Canada or marine anthropology, and those natu-

ral science courses which need the view of another discipline on humankind's intricate and subjective relationship to our environment.

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**The Garia: An Ethnography of a Traditional Cosmic System in Papua New Guinea**
Peter Lawrence
Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1984. xxv + 276 pp. $24.50 (cloth)

*Reviewer:* Eric Schwimmer
Université Laval

We are increasingly aware that Papua New Guinea is indivisible, and that an ethnography which supposedly deals exclusively with one of these cultures will answer theoretical questions about all of them. Although the diversity of these cultures is obvious, their family resemblance is no less compelling, though it is less easily demonstrated by our usual methods of analysis.

With this in mind, the late Peter Lawrence's very important book must be read as a somewhat general statement about New Guinea societies. As such, we must salute Lawrence's great versatility and honesty in constantly reappraising and revising his first perceptions. Lawrence's way of dealing with the religious and structural aspects of Garia culture has undergone notable transformations and acquired a contemporary awareness of the Papua New Guinea spirit world that has become the hallmark of the decade. As before, Lawrence subjects all of his ideas to the most severe empirical test possible — namely, his detailed data on the land tenure system. For this reason, the book will remain a model for others to follow.

Having paid Lawrence all these compliments, I must discuss the main theory of his book. Since this theory is enclosed within three separate rubrics whose appropriateness can no longer be assumed without debate, my discussion cannot help being somewhat polemical. The three rubrics are: descent (pp. 42-50), affinity (pp. 50-54) and special relationships (pp. 54-56). Descent retains the lion's share of space, though at a heavy price. An examination of Garia kinship terminology forewarns us of the difficulties of "descent" as a concept, and we are given three main rules. First, siblings of the same sex address each other as "*awai/amayai,*" while those of the opposite sex address each other as "*ugi.*" Lawrence keeps referring to "*awai/amayai*" as "brother" and to "*ugi*" as "sister," but this is a bad translation — or rather, the translation is correct only for a male speaker, and incorrect for a female speaker. Could Dr. Lawrence be an unrepentant male chauvinist? Secondly, cross-cousins call each other "*epei,*" but children of cross-cousins of the same sex address each other as "sibling" (i.e., *awai/amayai* when of the same sex or *ugi* when of opposite sex). Thirdly, children of cross-cousins of the opposite sex address each other as "*epei*" (p. 38). As Lawrence states the last two rules with unintentional ambiguity, only later do we discover that the distinction which is being made refers to cross-cousins of the same sex and cross-cousins of the opposite sex (p. 46). We do not know of any full discussion of the theoretical significance of this particular way of subdividing the cross-cousin category, nor does Lawrence fully explore this point. However, while analyzing the Orokaiva and other Papua New

Guinea cultures, we are often struck by the essential ambiguity of the cross-cousin category: people of the same sex are the most desirable social companions, but when they are of the opposite sex, they are too close to marry, yet tend to become sexually involved with great regularity. Cross-cousins of the same sex are often dancing partners and often go out together to make sexual conquests. As Lawrence rightly points out, children of these first-degree cross-cousins are at the limit of the Garia "security circle." It is most interesting that at that level, they are marked as siblings (i.e., incorporated into the security circle), or as cross-cousins (i.e., *not* incorporated into the security circle), according to their linking parents' relative sex. The term "security circle" is borrowed by Lawrence from F.E. Williams (1930), who used it in analyzing Orokaiva society.

How does this help with a model for descent? Because of their exclusive guardian rights over both land areas and rituals which are "jealously" restricted to agnates, Lawrence treats the Garia as basically patrilineal. For most purposes, each individual is associated with a number of cognatic stocks, either on the basis of descent from males or on the basis of descent from females. As long as the degree of non-agnatic memberships is sufficiently close, Ego's security circle is composed of the sum of his stock memberships. In order to avoid perpetual discussion of "non-agnatic cognates," Lawrence adopts the new (though originally classical Latin) term "enates" from Fortes (1970:268). However, as Lawrence uses the term "enates," it means all persons linked to a patrilineal descent line, or claiming membership in a primary cognatic stock, through females" (i.e., not only sisters and mothers, but also wives, sisters-in-law and so on). Lawrence also describes the Garia as "members of mini-collectives" which he terms "patrilineages" (*faute de mieux*). This is how complicated the description of Garia society becomes when descent is regarded as the key principle.

Lawrence's discussion of affinity is much less clear. Following Meggitt (1965), Berndt (1964) and his own earlier analysis, Lawrence makes the Garia say: "We marry among those whom we fight." That is, their ideal is the distant marriage outside the security circle. At this point, one would like to see clear evidence for the following questions: What part of the community can really arrange these distant marriages? Are arrangements for distant marriages made by people from the better families? If the "stated rule is sometimes bent," by how much is it bent, by whom and how often? We are well aware that some societies in Papua New Guinea have this *ideology*, while others have the opposite ideology (i.e., prefer to marry very close-in). However, I am not sure whether there is a very great discrepancy in actual practice, and we lack demonstrations of any consistent pattern of distant marriages. Lawrence's discussion of land tenure leaves the impression of "gardens marrying each other"; hence the predominance of close-in marriages.

Although we are not told enough about these "special relationships," the possibility still exists that relations of descent and affinity as well as these "special relationships" form a single pattern along the lines suggested by Lévi-Strauss in 1984 ("clan, *lignée*, maison"). The advantage of such an hypothesis would be that the resemblance between the Garia system, the Sepik systems, the Orokaiva and so on might become much easier to recognize if we adopted a theory that does not reify descent.

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**Elements de Grammaire et de vocabulaire de la langue ouest-groenlandaise**
Catherine Enel
Documents du Centre de Recherches Anthropologiques du Musée de l'Homme, n° 8
Paris : Musée de l'Homme, 1984. 231 pp. (livre broché)

*Reviewer:* Dermot-Ronan F. Collis
Université Laval

Ce document est destiné aux Français qui désirent apprendre quelques rudiments de la langue ouest-groenlandaise. La rédaction d'un tel manuel répond aux nombre croissant de Français séjournant plus ou moins longtemps au Groenland et qui, pour le plupart, n'ont pas accès aux dictionnaires et grammaires déjà existants qui nécessitent une connaissance de la langue danoise. Le manuel comprend deux parties : une grammaire qui expose le minimum indispensable de règles de coordination des suffixes terminaux, ainsi qu'une liste de quelques suffixes lexicaux (ou affixes) — un vocabulaire groenlandais-français et français-groenlandais. L'orthographe utilisée suit les règles de la nouvelle orthographe officielle. Toute la matière concerne la langue normalisée du Groenland de l'Ouest et ne touche pas celle du Groenland de l'Est.

Cette étude s'inspire, d'une part, des grammaires de référence de dialectes canadiens preparées par Louis-Jacques Dorais et, d'autre part, des cours de formation en langue ouest-groenlandaise par Keld Thor Pedersen, *Grønlandsk for begyndere, heft I og II* (Ministeriet for Grønland 1977). L'objectif spécifié présuppose que l'apprenti désire apprendre la langue à partir des canons de la pensée traditionnelle qui s'appliquent à la grammaire de sa propre langue. Il se peut que les catégories de la grammaire classique soient rassurantes pour toute personne qui a une formation française mais, hélas, faussement rassurantes. Les langues inuit polysynthétiques offrent plus de possibilités que nos langues européenes. Le mot se compose en discours selon le besoin de l'énoncé. Dans certaines circonstances de communication, un seul mot-phrase suffit sans amplification. Dans d'autres circonstances, l'énoncé se compose de plusieurs mots, et son style presente l'objet, le sujet et le prédicat dans cette ordre, l'ordre des éléments du mot-phrase composé. Du fait que

le mot ne soit pas constant, mais construit, son rôle comme enoncé ou dans un enoncé est marqué par un suffixe terminal. Ces suffixes terminaux traduisent ce qui sera en langue européenne le mode verbal, la flexion nominale, et des êtres ou «possesseurs». Ils indiquent clairement les arguments de l'enoncé. Cependant la flexion en langue européenne est gouvernée par les radicaux qui sont fixes, et invariables tandis que l'inverse se produit en groenlandais où le terminal indique l'argument propositionnel couvert par le mot. Le mot étant variable et le terminal fixe, il n'y a pas de partie du discours en groenlandais ou dans une autre langue polysynthétique. La marque actentielle, relative, modale, ou spaciale indique exactement où l'on n'est pas dans l'énoncé avec une simplicité transparente, sans jamais établir de «partie du discours». En plus, les accords de personne et de nombre ne sont pas les indices d'une hiérarchie de dépendence syntaxique. Les terminaisons situatives qui traduisent si bien les cas latins ne s'accordent pas avec les verbes et sont, en effet, des postpositions et non des cas. Cela veut dire que l'explication de la langue polysynthétique peut bien s'effectuer en termes d'une grammaire où le morphème qui indique l'argument propositionnel est identifié et traduit. Mais il va de soi que la partie fixe ne devra pas se présenter comme la partie variable ou inversement. Cela n'a pas de sens. On ne peut ni conjuguer, ni decliner le mot sans limites, de longueur ou de fonction syntaxique. Qui dit le contraire refuse le concept même de linguistique. Cependant la linguistique n'est rien d'autre que terminologies pour expliciter comment fonctionnent les langues naturelles. Toute description d'une langue est utile dans la mesure où elle est le plus simple possible, consistante et exhaustive. Mais la grammaire d'une langue aussi différente des langues inflexionnelles qu'une langue polysynthétique, si elle se veut utile à l'apprenant, doit indiquer ce qui se passe quand on compose une énoncé dans la langue. Ce n'est pas fait dans les grammaires traduites en français par Catherine Enel. Puisqu'il n'y a pas de dépendance stricte entre les mots-phrases, le sens du suffixe donne toute l'information nécessaire pour le retenir en mémoire. Il n'a pas le sens de subordination ou de superordination comme celui qui tend a remplacer le sens référentiel dans les désinances casuelles des langues inflexionnelles en général et européennes en particulier. Pour bien composer son énoncé en groenlandais, on établit en mémoire l'image de ce qu'on veut décrire et, par la suite, on décrit son image mentale fidèlement. Pour le faire bien comme il faut il est nécessaire de retenir en mémoire les morphèmes (les bases, les suffixes lexicaux et les suffixes grammaticaux) les groupements possibles et surtout les significations. Mais, comme le remarque justement Louis-Jacques Dorais, le sens référentiel du mot inuit n'est pas du tout la somme des sens référentiels de ses morphèmes, celui-ci constitu l'appellation inuit du référent, determiné par la culture qui, elle, à son tour signale le référent. L'ordre possible des morphèmes dans un mot est significative, mais l'ordre des mots est sans importance, tout au plus stylistique et suivant l'ordre objet, sujet, prédicat de la construction du mot. Malgré que la longueur moyenne des mots est rarement plus que 18 phonèmes (ou lettres dans la nouvelle orthographe phonèmique – non phonétique), il est possible de composer des mots sensés de deux cent lettres et plus. Puisque les suffixes terminaux dits «nominaux» sont aussi incorporables dans le milieu du mot (par exemple *mut*, «vers un lieu ou un temps», + *r* (*puq*) donnant -*mor*(*puq*), «aller vers»), on doit les considérer selon leurs sens plutôt que leurs distributions, du moins pour bien comprendre et pour bien parler. Ainsi les «paradigmes» des grammaires, qui

présentent le groenlandais comme si c'était du latin, ne représent pas autre chose que des listes de morphèmes sans traduction et sans contexte. Dans la section qui traite de l'incorporation des suffixes lexicaux (appellés abusivement dans le manuel des «infixes»), on trouve un traitement plus clair et plus analytique que dans la plus grande partie des grammaires de cette langue. Il faut dire que les vocabulaires sont bien utiles et qu'il y a une bibliographie de dictionnaires de grammaires et de phrases pour voyageurs. Catherine Enel a traduit en français l'héritage des grammaires prélinguistiques. La fonction d'une grammaire est de renseigner un apprenant sur la manière de bien former des énoncés quand le sens des morphèmes est déjà connu. Mais Enel ne décrit pas comment le mot se fait : le lexigenèse synchronique qui est la grammaire primaire et principale dans tout langue polysynthétique. Ce qui s'impose est de démontrer les sens et les morphèmes qui marquent le sujet, le prédicat, les compléments et les objets directs et indirects. Les arguments de la proposition sont marqués en groenlandais si la proposition s'exprime sous forme d'un seul mot ou plusieurs mots. Cependant, parce que la langue est très flexible, il n'y a pas de coincidence sens-forme-fonction comme dans les langues inflexionnelles. Le groenlandais, langue inuit, est une partie génotypique de la famille inuit-aleutienne, mais phénotype des langues polysynthétiques et lexigénétiques comme les langues athabascane, algonquine, polynésienne, mongole, turque, hongroise, finnois et basque.

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**Human Nature and Biocultural Evolution**
Joseph Lopreato
Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1984. xiv + 400 pp. $24.95 (cloth)

*Reviewer:* Kenneth A. Tracey
Trent University

Social biologists must possess all the skills of an anthropologist engaged in an exercise of cross-cultural communication. They must have the capacity to understand and integrate the biological with the cultural. Coming to grips with the bio-social dynamics of interaction requires that an analyst be able to understand and present biological concepts in the sociological idiom, as well as to present social problems in the biological idiom. In this highly complex area of analysis, there is a vast no-man's-land where the scientist walks a tightrope of very precarious interpretation. A little to the right, and a well worked out position is deemed scientific racism. A little too far to the left, and the interpretation is unmasked as being cultural determinism. Indeed, many of the experts and exponents of social biology can be accused of making deliberate use of obfuscating jargon to conceal their inability to function simultaneously at two levels. It is because of this, and not due to any lack of validity in social biology itself, that this new discipline is in danger of being rejected.

In his introduction, Lopreato presents solid arguments for the use of the term "bio-cultural evolution." He very clearly spells out the problematic aspects of Social Darwinism as presented by Herbert Spencer, and the misinterpretations and distortions that arose in the *Zeitgeist* of the European Imperialist-Expansionist

drive in its quest for dominion over "lesser" peoples. Here we see the underpinnings of the European belief in racial and cultural superiority.

Lopreato is at his best discussing social theory. He dissects the ideas of Aristotle, Kant, Durkheim, Marx, Weber and Lévi-Strauss with laser-like precision. He makes particularly extensive use of Durkheimian theory, and in so doing enhances our understanding of social forces and structures. His tour of European history is masterfully mapped out. Individual life histories—for example, a discussion of Beethoven's conflict with Haydn—are used to illustrate the factor of the self-enhancement drive that is clearly manifest even in individuals who dedicate their genius to improving the quality of life for all of humankind. There is little doubt that Lopreato is a master of social analysis, and that his mastery is based on a broad overview of human society which is, in turn, grounded in great historical depth.

Lopreato provides us with exhaustive coverage of almost every aspect of human behaviour. His examples are drawn from past and present societies ranging from ancient Greece and Rome to simple and complex contemporary societies. The origins of almost every human drive and desire are discussed. In the process, he accounts for the biological underpinnings of reciprocal altruism, incest taboos, marriage, kinship, child rearing, territoriality and sexuality. His chapters on the predispositions of sociality and ascetic altruism cover the total range of human experience, including protest movements, radical behaviour, gambling, rock music, jogging and other exercise fads, the multiplier effect in modern economics, class and sex struggles, superstition and religious beliefs. The penetrating insights that unfold in this all-encompassing essay render it an extremely valuable contribution, particularly for students whose approaches and interests have developed out of biological science. Because of his ambition to produce an all-inclusive and definitive work, Lopreato's style is at times hurried and rambling, but at no time incoherent. Unlike E.O. Wilson, who in his theory of social evolution stretches the scientific imagination with extrapolations from the social world of ants and termites, Lopreato's view of bio-cultural evolution has a firm foundation in human history. However, students of Darwinian theory may find it somewhat lacking in a clear-cut understanding of the dialectics of natural selection and its application to such contemporary issues as racism and sexism.

This reader stood in awe of Lopreato's wide-ranging social analysis and his ingenious interpretation of social evolution. Coming from a biological background myself, I read on, expecting Lopreato to trip up on the barbed wire of no-man's-land or to have his arguments self-destruct upon re-entry into the biological realm. But this did not occur, even during a second critical reading of the book. Lopreato's defense of Wynne-Edwards and E.O. Wilson is solid, as is also his curt rejection of Sahlins' "autonomy of culture."

I have no reservations in concurring with E.O. Wilson's remark on the back flap: "This book has a potentially unifying role to play."

**Chayanov, Peasants and Economic Anthropology**
Edited by E. Paul Durrenberger
New York: Academic Press, 1984. xi + 205 pp. $38.50 (cloth)

*Reviewer:* Nola Reinhardt
Smith College

The original contributions assembled in this edited volume develop the work of A.V. Chayanov in a number of theoretical and methodological directions. Durrenberger's introduction summarizes Chayanov's theory of peasant farm operation: the level of production on the peasant farm is determined by the equilibrium between the marginal utility of output and the drudgery of labour, one major influence on that equilibrium level of output being the consumer/worker ratio (pp. 7-12). Overall, the emphasis of this volume is on testing the "correctness" of this theory in a number of peasant communities by using a variety of approaches to the measurement of the consumer/worker ratio, as well as by variously relating the consumer/worker ratio to income per worker, income per consumer, net farm income, the amount of land worked per producer and sown area per household. An article by Durrenberger also tests a detailed specification of the utility/drudgery model against data from several Taiwanese villages.

In general, the studies in this volume report a positive correlation between the consumer/worker ratio and the other variables. However, the approaches range widely in their level of analytic sophistication, from Huang's grouping of households, which offers no statistical test of the significance of the reported group means, to Durrenberger's exceedingly sophisticated model. However, Durrenberger's model is presented with an insufficient definition of terms and in a manner that will be obscure to many readers. The article by Dove is analytically sophisticated both in its approach to measuring the consumer/producer ratio and in its tests of the relation between the consumer/producer ratio and work intensity. Given Dove's characterization of the Kantu economy as a dual one that combines cash crop and swidden cultivation (p. 99), his study is conceptually flawed in its omission of non-swidden activities from the above measures.

Despite the problems indicated here and others which are not mentioned in this brief review, some readers will be intrigued by the approaches to the operationalization and empirical testing of Chayanov's model that appear in this volume. But along with this reviewer, other readers find themselves wondering about the significance of the scattered ethnographic evidence in the volume. First, there is little attempt to test alternative theories which might square equally well with the data in each case. Secondly, in one of the more interesting theoretical contributions, Tannenbaum discusses the criticisms levelled at Chayanov for his analysis of peasant households independent of the broader social and economic system. Despite the efforts of a few of the contributors, the same charge can be levelled against the volume as a whole.

Chayanov's homeostatic model, in which accumulation and internal differentiation are limited by the drudgery of family labour input, is presented with some modifications as the "correct" model of peasant farm organization. But there is currently a fundamental controversy raging over the impact of the spread of com-

petitive markets on the logic of peasant farm organization, and over the competitiveness of peasant farms with large-scale units. This controversy is related to questions about the form in which the peasant household is subsumed within a capitalist economy, and the tendency of peasant communities to experience economic differentiation. Chayanov's theory has played a prominent part in these debates. At this stage of the controversy, it would be very useful to have a coherent assessment of the implications of the Chayanovian analysis for these fundamental questions regarding the future of peasant economy. Unfortunately, although a few important considerations can be mined from the more theoretical contributions, the book does not attempt such a task.

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**Documents sur l'alimentation des Bassari, Boïn et Peul du département de Kédougou, Sénégal oriental**

M. Gessain, M. Th. de Lestrange et J. Benaben

Documents du Centre de Recherches Anthropologiques du Musée de l'Homme, n° 7, édition revue et mise à jour

Paris : Laboratoire d'Anthropologie du Musée National d'Histoire Naturelle, 1984. 207 pp.

*Reviewer:* Jean-Claude Muller
Université de Montréal

Cet ouvrage décrit l'alimentation de trois groupes ethniques du Sénégal oriental, les Bassari d'Etyolo, les Boïn (un groupe de Bassari islamisés) et les Peul Bandé. Le livre est divisé en trois chapitres dont chacun examine une des ethnies. Les plantes cultivées, les essences sauvages et leurs usages sont répertoriés avec le nom français, le nom latin et le nom vernaculaire. De nombreuses recettes sont données, tant pour la préparation des plats que pour celle des condiments, ainsi que des tableaux donnant le nombre de repas pris par jour pendant un an et leur composition. L'accumulation de tant de données patiemment recueillies est certainement très utile en soi pour la simple connaissance ethnographique mais elle pourra également servir aux diététiciens qui s'occupent des questions d'équilibre ou de déséquilibre alimentaire. Cependant, au delà des faits bruts, les ethnologues y trouveront aussi ample matière à réflexion. Il est en effet bien rare qu'on trouve une liste complète de ce qui est effectivement consommé dans les diverses monographies, celles-ci se contentent de mentionner les cultures principales et de dire qu'on apprête les sauces avec plusieurs ingrédients, ceci sans plus de précision. Ce qui ressort avec force de cet ouvrage—surtout pour les Bassari—c'est une très impressionnante variété de plantes, de fruits, de feuilles et de fleurs sauvages qui entrent dans la composition des repas. Les sauces sont très diversifiées comme le savent ceux qui prennent la peine de manger ce qu'on appelle «la boule» de grains qu'elles accompagnent. Les ethnologues ont souvent taxé cette cuisine à base de céréales de monotone mais, comme ceux qui l'ont adoptée après un certain temps d'accoutumance ont pu le constater, tout est dans la sauce qui, dès qu'on se met à en apprécier la diversité, rend les plats tout autres que monotones. Une autre constatation est le goût que manifestent les Bassari pour l'expérimentation de nouveaux fruits et de nouvelles sortes de plantes cultivées, car c'est un autre mérite du livre

que de nous donner une étude longitudinale de l'évolution de l'alimentation chez les Bassari. On présente trop souvent – généralement par omission – le cultivateur africain comme très conservateur et routinier, mais les Bassari sont des exemples vivants du contraire. On me rétorquera qu'ils avaient tout pour devenir expérimentateurs car, en près d'un siècle, les Bassari sont passés d'un état de chasseurs-cueilleurs pratiquant l'agriculture de façon minimale à celui d'agriculteurs à plein temps. Ce passage s'est fait en adoptant et en essayant de nombreuses cultures empruntées aux voisins dont certaines furent abandonnées au fil du temps. Plusieurs espèces sauvages ont aussi été mises de côté sans qu'on puisse y déceler, tout comme pour les cultures obsolètes, que seuls s'obstinent à faire pousser certains nostalgiques d'une époque révolue, une prétendue «rationnalité économique». Comme le dit plaisamment Monique Gessain (p. 112) «certaines nourritures se démodent», un champ d'étude sur la psychologie du goût qu'il faudrait poursuivre ailleurs. Toujours est-il que les Bassari ont globablement augmenté la consommation de céréales et de boissons alcoolisées (bière de mil et vin de palme) dans leur diète : leur conversion à l'agriculture a eu pour résultat davantage à manger et à boire.

Bref, cette étude devrait sensibiliser un peu plus les ethnologues à l'exploitation globale du milieu et les inciter désormais à considérer les systèmes alimentaires africains comme plus dynamiques et ouverts au changement qu'on ne le croit généralement.

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**Les populations amérindiennes et inuit du Canada : aperçu démographique**
Sous la direction de Louise Normandeau et Victor Piché
Collection Démographie canadienne, n° 8
Montréal : Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1984. 282 pp. $18.50 (livre broché)

*Reviewer:* M. Martin-Guillerm
Université Laurentienne

Les comportements démographiques des populations amérindiennes et inuit sont dans l'ensemble mal connus. Les auteurs de cet ouvrage (composé de 11 articles) abordent les thèmes traditionnels de l'évolution démographique, de la natalité, de la mortalité et finalement des migrations et nous apportent ainsi une connaissance plus approfondie, quoique encore fragmentaire, des traditions autochtones.

Tout chercheur intéressé par l'étude des populations indiennes se heurte au problème de la validité des informations disponibles. Les sources sont nombreuses mais doivent être soumises à un examen critique afin de compenser les erreurs et lacunes qu'elles présentent toutes, en particulier en ce qui concerne le sous-enregistrement d'événements essentiels comme les naissances et les décès. La correction des données est donc une étape nécessaire du travail et, malgré les limites de ces données, les résultats ne s'en révèlent pas mois intéressants.

L'histoire de la population amérindienne peut se résumer en trois siècles de dépopulation. La densité de peuplement a toujours été très faible, même avant l'invasion européenne et le régime démographique traditionnel était caractérisé par un accroissement naturel très faible dû aux fluctuations constantes d'une natalité

élevée compensée par une forte mortalité. Le déclin démographique s'est accéléré lorsque les Blancs ont introduit des maladies contre lesquelles les Indiens n'avaient aucune protection naturelle, comme la trop fameuse variole. Aux nombreux décès imputables aux épidémies se sont ajoutés ceux dûs à l'alcoolisme et aux guerres intestines. L'invasion des Blancs se solderait par la disparition d'approximativement les deux tiers des populations amérindiennes. Cette situation catastrophique s'est renversée de justesse depuis une cinquantaine d'années grâce à un redressement de la natalité et une forte baisse de la mortalité.

L'analyse des tendances générales de la natalité chez les Indiens du Canada permêt d'identifier une période de natalité élevée de 1900 à 1960, suivie par une période qui voit le taux de natalité baisser d'environ 2 pour cent par an, passant ainsi de 46 pour cent en 1961 à 36, 8 pour cent en 1969. Il est pour le moment difficile de décider si ce phénomène n'est que passager ou s'il représente une tendance durable.

Une enquête effectuée en 1968 auprès des Indiens de la Baie James apporte des précisions sur leur comportement procréateur. Une analyse des intervalles intergénésiques permêt d'affirmer que la modernisation récemment expérimentée par ces populations, qui pratiquent généralement fort peu la contraception, s'est traduite par une hausse de la fécondité. Les intervalles plus courts sont expliquables par le recul de l'allaitement maternel, la diminution de la mortalité intra-utérine et par la séparation moins fréquente des couples à la suite d'une sédentarisation relative de la population.

Certains facteurs propres à la société indienne tels que la presque universalité du mariage et l'absence d'interdit sexuel sont propices à la fécondité. Il faut y ajouter des motivations d'ordre économique représentées essentiellement par les prestations et les allocations versées par le gouvernement. Par ailleurs la population profite en général d'une amélioration des conditions sanitaires. En revanche les facteurs limitatifs comme la constitution relativement tardive de la famille ou la période procréative plus courte de la femme indienne sont difficiles à expliquer.

Une étude sur la nuptialité des Indiens «inscrits» pour la période 1966-1974 indique un recul de la nuptialité universelle et précoce, ainsi qu'une augmentation des mariages inter-raciaux. Le mariage légal reste une formalite nettement moins importante pour les Indiens que pour la population canadienne en général et les unions consensuelles sont encore très nombreuses. Le nombre des séparations et des divorces est en augmentation, faisant d'un cinquième des familles indiennes des familles mono-parentales.

La législation gouvernant les mariages mixtes influence grandement la répartition relative des Indiens statués, des Métis et Indiens sans status en déterminant l'appartenance légale d'un individu à l'un de ces deux groupes, sans tenir compte du problème de son «indianité» ou de ses moyens d'identification au groupe. Or les mariages mixtes sont en augmentation partout, particulièrement dans les zones urbaines. Toute révision de la loi sur les Indiens et plus particulièrement de l'article 12 affecterait donc sérieusement les possibilités de croissance de la population indienne.

Bien que la mortalité soit en déclin, de grands progrès restent à faire. La mortalité infantile chez les Inuits du Nouveau Québec est passée de 332 par mille pour la

période 1945-1949 à 136,5 entre 1965-1970. Les maladies respiratoires en demeurent la cause principale. Malgré cette amélioration, on est encore loin du taux de 20,6 par mille en 1970 pour l'ensemble du Québec!

Pour la population indienne inscrite (250 781 personnes en 1970) le bilan démographique pour la décennie 1960-1970 est le suivant, le taux brut de natalité est tombé de 46,5 par mille à 37,2 par mille, le taux brut de mortalité est passé de 10,9 par mille à 7,5 par mille et le taux de mortalité infantile de 81,5 à 34,9 par mille. Bien qu'en diminution, le taux annuel d'accroissement naturel de 3 pour cent assure néanmoins le doublement de la population en 23 ans.

Les migrations indiennes au Québec présentent les traits d'un exode rural traditionnel, les éléments les plus jeunes et les plus instruits partant à la recherche d'un travail plus rémunérateur, en général à la ville. Le projet d'aménagement hydro-électrique de la Baie James risque fort d'augmenter la dépendance économique des Indiens en les transformant en prolétariat à bon marché et en les maintenant dans une situation médiocre. Face à l'ampleur de ces mouvements se posent les problèmes des possibilités d'adaptation des migrants et de la viabilité des réserves.

Cet ouvrage apporte des informations fort intéressantes sur les caractéristiques démographiques des populations indiennes et sur la mortalité infantile des Inuit. Ces renseignements restent malheureusement fragmentaires de l'aveu même des auteurs. Il est donc à regretter qu'une synthèse n'ait pas été présentée à titre de conclusion. Néanmoins un rapprochement est fait à plusieurs reprises entre le comportement démographique des Indiens et des Inuit et celui des populations des pays sous-développés. Ces similitudes s'expliquent, à une échelle différente bien entendu, par la situation de dépendance dans laquelle se trouvent les populations autochtones dans la mesure où les décisions importantes concernant leur avenir sont prises par des éléments externes. Ce livre se termine par une remarque qui vaut probablement la peine d'être méditée: «La conception capitaliste du développement fait donc ses ravages, non seulement dans les pays sous-développés, mais aussi dans les "enclaves" sous-développées des pays soi-disant développés et modernes».

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