

(Research Report)

Sharing and Distribution of Whale Meat and Other
Edible Whale Parts by the Inupiat Whalers in
Barrow, Alaska, USA

Nobuhiro Kishigami
(National Museum of Ethnology and
The Graduate University for Advanced Studies, Japan)



2013

National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan

(Research Report)

Sharing and Distribution of Whale Meat and Other
Edible Whale Parts by the Inupiat Whalers in
Barrow, Alaska, USA

Nobuhiro Kishigami
(National Museum of Ethnology and
The Graduate University for Advanced Studies, Japan)



2013

National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	P.1
2. History of Whaling in Alaska and Barrow	P.2
2.1 History and the Current Status of Whaling	
2.2 Barrow, Alaska	
2.3 Annual Cycle of Whaling Activities in Barrow	
2.4 Contemporary Whaling in Barrow	
2.4.1 Social Organization and Management of Whaling	
2.4.2 Spring Whaling and Fall Whaling	
3. Sharing Soon after Whale Hunts by Inupiat Whalers in Barrow, Alaska	P.9
3.1 The Standard Type of Sharing	
3.3 Generational Comparison of Whale Distribution in Barrow	
3.4 The Quantity of Sharing and Sharing within a Whaling Group	
3.5 An Example from Whale Hunts in 2010	
4. Communal Feasts and Sharing	P.18
4.1 General Outline of Feasts at Whaling Festivals and Christian Events	
4.2 Feast at the Successful Whaling Captain's House	
4.3 Communal Feast and Sharing at <i>Apugauti</i>	
4.3.1 What Is <i>Apugauti</i> ?	
4.3.2 <i>Apugauti</i> Hosted by Jonny Leavitt and his Crew in June, 2009	
4.3.3 Preparation for <i>Apugauti</i>	
4.3.4 Carrying out the <i>Apugauti</i>	
4.4 Community Feast and Food Sharing at <i>Nalukataq</i>	
4.4.1 Spring Whale Hunt and <i>Nalukataq</i> in 2012	
4.4.2 Preparation for <i>Nalukataq</i>	
4.4.3. <i>Nalukataq</i> Carried Out on June 29, 2012	
4.4.4. Quantity of Whale Meat and Other Edible Parts Provided to the <i>Nalukataq</i> Feasts	
4.5 Communal Feasts and Sharing at Thanksgiving Day	
4.5.1 Preparation for Thanksgiving Feast	
4.5.2 Carrying Out the Thanksgiving Feast	
4.5.3 Spring and Fall Whale Hunts in 2011	
4.5.4 The Quantity of Whale Meat and Other Parts Provided to the Thanksgiving Feast on November 24, 2011	
4.5.6 The Quantity of Whale Meat and Other Edible Parts Provided to Thanksgiving Feasts from the Fall Whale Harvest	
4.5.6 Thanksgiving Feasts Held on November 26, 2011	
5. Sharing and Exchange within Barrow and Those between Barrows and Other Places	P.32
5.1 Sharing of Whale Meat and <i>Maktak</i> within Barrow	
5.2 Exchange of Whale Products	
5.3 Sale of Whale Products	
6 Discussion	P.34
6.1 Characteristics of Sharing of a Whale	
6.2 A Reason to Share a Whale by Rule	
6.3 Function and Effects of Sharing by Rule and Voluntary Sharing	
7. Conclusion	P.36
Bibliography	P.36

Sharing and Distribution of Whale Meat and Other Edible Whale Parts by the Inupiat Whalers in Barrow, Alaska, USA

Nobuhiro Kishigami

(National Museum of Ethnology and
The Graduate University for Advanced Studies, Japan)

Abstract

The Inupiat of Northwest Alaska have a more than 1,000 year history of bowhead whale hunting, and they retain an identity as a whaling people, or “people of the whales”. This report describes the whaling activities, whaling groups, and the sharing and distribution of the bowhead whale products among the contemporary Inupiat in Barrow, Alaska. There are two kinds of sharing practices such as formal sharing by rule and voluntary sharing among the Inupiat whalers. Both of the sharing practices are a device that the culturally high valued food such as whale meat and *maktak* is to be distributed to a whole community. Furthermore, these sharing practices have multi-dimensional functions and effects including efficient distribution device of culturally valued food to a whole community, contribution to community well-being, and leveling the amount of consumption and possession of whale products among Inupiat households within a community, in addition to reproducing the worldview, identities at several levels and social relationships of the Inupiat. Also, whaling captains and their crew members can get social prestige through practices of these two kinds of sharing. Finally, I argue that hunting and sharing of a whale are a mean to seek and share culturally high valued resources such as whale products for a whole community among the Inupiat. The whaling and sharing of the products themselves seem to be one of their aims. And the results contribute to community well-being and their continued cultural and social identity.

1. Introduction

The Inupiat live in Northwest Alaska, where those along the coast began to hunt bowhead whales around the 10th century. Thus for more than a 1,000 years whaling has formed the social and economic basis of Inupiat society (Savelle 2005; Sheehan 1997), who even now are identified as the “people of the whales” (Sakakibara 2010).

An adult bowhead whale (*Balaena mysticetus*) reaches to 15 meters in length and 50 to 60 tons in weight. However, the Inupiat hunters prefer to hunt a young whale with about 10 meters in length in Barrow. They have kept a special relationship with bowhead whales and have established their distinct world views and ways of life (Bodenhorn 1990; Brewster ed. 2004; Hess 1999; Turner 1990).

Although I used to study beluga whale hunts and food sharing among the Inuit of Canada in the mid- 1980s until 2006 (Kishigami 2005), I began a research project of bowhead whale hunt and sharing/distribution of whales in Barrow, Alaska, USA in 2006. Since then until 2012, I carried out field research concerning sharing and distribution of whale meat and other edible whale parts in Barrow, Alaska, USA in the following periods: (1) September 17 to 29, 2006, (2) July 24 to August 13, 2007, (3) February 25 to March 11, 2008, (4) September 7 to October 5, 2008, (5) June 7 to 19, 2009, (6) February 24 to March 12, 2010, (7) April 29 to May 9, 2010, (8) August 17 to September 3, 2010, (9) January 12 to 24, 2011, (10) June 15 to 28, 2011, (11) November 19 to 27, 2011, (12) June 25 to July 4, 2012. This report is a result from these research trips.

This report describes sharing after whale hunts among the Inupiat whalers, communal feasts and sharing in several occasions such as a feast at whaling captain’s house, at *Apugauti*, at *Nalukataq* and Thanksgiving Day, and sharing and exchange within Barrow and those between Barrow and other places. Then, I will discuss the data and give a conclusion.

2. History of Whaling in Alaska and Barrow

2.1 History and the Current Status of Whaling

Large whales, such as the bowhead, were scavenged and/or began to be hunted by coastal people in Northwest Alaska approximately 2,000 years ago. However, it is estimated that intensive whaling dates from around the 10th Century AD, or slightly before (Savelle 2005:55). The whaling people formed a distinctive lifestyle known as the “Thule culture”, and spread to Greenland within 300 years, presumably under conditions of climate warming. However, owing to a climate cooling that peaked around the 16th/17th century, apart from beluga and narwhal hunting whaling was seldom conducted in the Arctic after that date, except in Alaska and Greenland.

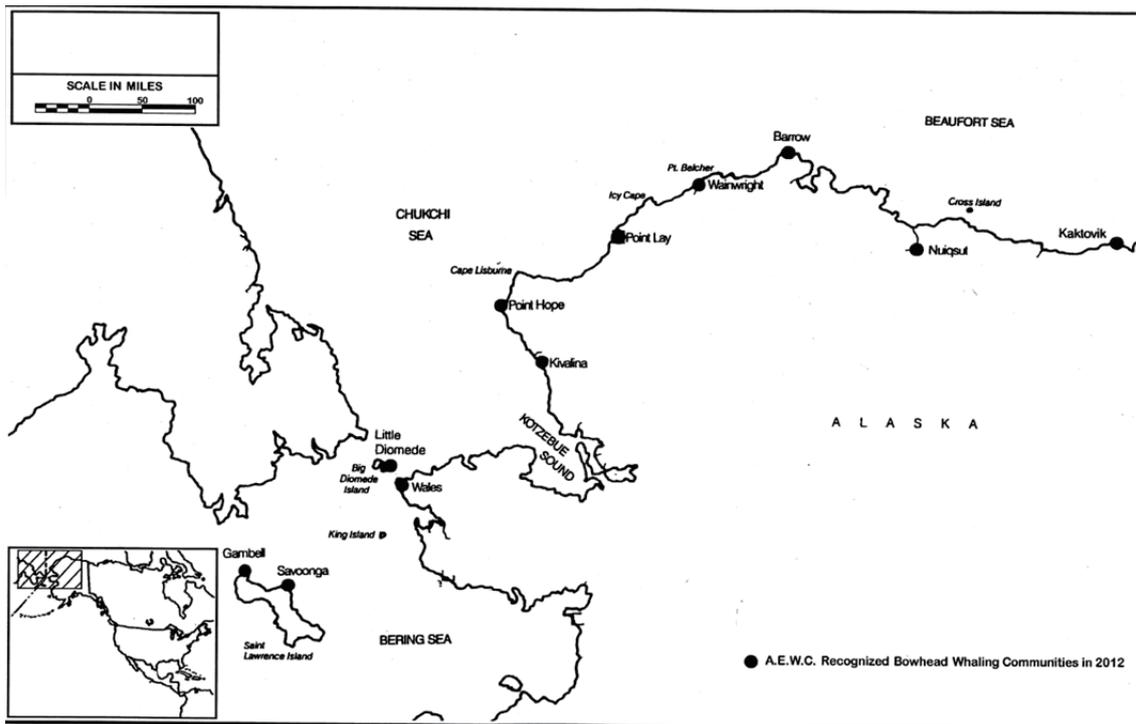
The whaling culture in Northwest Alaska changed with the beginning of commercial whaling in the Arctic Ocean, in 1848. Several Inupiat were employed as crew members on commercial whaling ships, and others were hired as laborers in coastal whaling bases. Also, whaling ships, and later trading ships, traded guns, metal tools, liquor, glass beads, and clothing to the Inupiat and Yupiit for baleen, walrus tusks, and furs of marine and terrestrial mammals. Although guns and metal tools contributed to increasing the efficiency of Inupiat and Yupiit hunting and fishing, unaccustomed consumption of liquor caused conflict among them. Also, the spread of tuberculosis and measles through contact with Euro-Americans and others resulted in decreasing populations and weakened their society socially and economically. Furthermore, the American whalers caught approximately 16,594 whales from 1848 to 1914 in the Arctic Ocean (Bockstoce et al. 2005: 4, 6). As a result, whale populations decreased drastically. Together, these factors had substantial negative influences on Inupiat and Yupiit whaling (Bockstoce 2009).

The Inupiat and Yupiit harvested approximately 11 bowhead whales a year from the beginning of the 20th century to the 1970s (Gambell 1983: 467). After that, their harvest increased to about 30 a year and the number of whales struck and lost also increased. Worried about depletion of the bowhead stock, in 1977 the International Whaling Commission (IWC) banned the bowhead whale hunt of the Inupiat and Yupiit.

In response to the IWC ban, in August, 1977, ten Inupiat and Yupiit villages formed the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission (AEWC), and began lobbying the US government against the ban. The result was that in 1978 the IWC granted the Alaskan Inupiat and Yupiit an annual catch of 12 whales or 18 strikes. This quota system for bowhead subsistence whaling was officially introduced by the IWC in 1979. In 1981, the AEWC began co-management of the bowhead whales with the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) (Huntington 1992).

Currently, the Inupiat and Yupiit in Alaska hunt bowhead whales as “Aboriginal Subsistence Whaling” under the IWC, which defines “Aboriginal Subsistence Whaling” as being “...for purposes of local aboriginal consumption carried out by or on behalf of aboriginal, indigenous or native peoples who share strong community, familial, social and cultural ties related to a continuing traditional dependence on whaling and on the use of whales” (IWC 1981). The Alaskan Inupiat and Yupiit are allowed to catch up to 280 bowhead whales for the five years from 2008 to 2012 by the IWC. As 25 of the whales are transferred to the Chukchi and Yupiit in Russia, the Alaskan indigenous peoples may catch about 51 whales per year.

The whaling villages in Alaska include nine Inupiat villages (Little Diomedé, Wales, Kivalina, Point Hope, Point Lay, Wainwright, Barrow, Nuiqsut, Kaktovik), and two Yupiit villages (Gambell and Savoonga). My research location is Barrow, where whalers catch about 20 bowhead whales almost every year. Barrow, the northernmost town in the USA, is located at of 71° 29' N and 156° 79' W.



Map 1. Alaska Aboriginal Whaling Villages. (Source: Braund and Moorehead 1995: 255)

2.2 Barrow, Alaska

The USA purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867. The US army established a meteorological and magnetic research station near Barrow in 1881, the Cape Smythe Whaling and Trading Station was built there in 1893, and the Presbyterian Church was established in 1899. Exploration of the Naval Petroleum Reserve Number 4 began in 1946, and the Naval Arctic Research Laboratory was established there in the same year. Alaska was strategically very important during World War II as well as during the Cold War, with a DEW line base activated near Barrow in 1957. Since many Inupiat gathered to live around these facilities, in 1958 Barrow was recognized as an administrative community.

In 1968, oil was discovered by the ARCO and Humble companies in Prudhoe Bay, to the east of Barrow. In 1969, the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System (TAPS) applied to the US Department of the Interior to construct a hot-oil pipeline from Prudhoe Bay to Prince William Sound. However, native land claims had to be settled before construction of the pipeline could begin. Thus, the indigenous peoples in Alaska negotiated with the US Federal and Alaska State governments concerning land rights. As a result, the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) was passed on December 18, 1971. Based on this Act, 12 Native Regional Corporations were created, and the Alaskan natives received 44 million acres of land and compensation of US\$ 962.5 million. When the North Slope Borough was formed, in 1972, Barrow became its political and economic center.

Because of job opportunities, Barrow has a much larger population of non-Inupiat people than other communities in the Borough. There were about 1500 jobs in Barrow in 2003. About 57% of workers are civil servants and some 43% work in the private sector. Like many other Arctic villages, the economic system of Barrow has both market and subsistence sectors.

According to the 2010 census, the total population of Barrow was 4,974 of which 65.0% was Inupiat, 16.0% Euro-American, and 19.0% others, including immigrants from the Philippines, Thailand, Korea, and elsewhere (North Slope Borough 2012a). The number of households in Barrow in 2012 was 1,507, with an average of 3.3 persons per household.

According to the 2010 census, the average annual household and individual incomes of the Inupiat in Barrow were \$75,215 and \$20,339, respectively (North Slope Borough 2012b). Two

hundred and one (53%) of 414 Inupiat households earned more than US \$60,000 a year (North Slope Borough 2012c), indicating that the Inupiat have a relatively high income in Barrow. On the other hand, the unemployment rate of all ethnicities is 25.7 % in Barrow (North Slope Borough 2012d).

2.3. Annual Cycle of Whaling Activities in Barrow

Most Inupiat adults engage in wage labor throughout the year, and carry out their hunting and fishing activities on weekends, holidays, and between work shifts. Many of the Inupiat hunters engage in the bowhead whale hunts for a few weeks each of spring and fall, when these whales migrate offshore near Barrow. This whaling is one of the greatest concerns among the Inupiat in Barrow.

The typical annual cycle of whaling activities in Barrow is as follows. In February, crews planning to go spring whaling repair the skin cover of the whaling boat (*umiaq*) or make a new cover. In making the new skin cover, 8 - 10 women sew 5 - 6 bearded seal skins in one day. After boat preparations are complete, in March crews clean the ice cellar used to store whale meat and *maktak*. That remaining from the previous year is removed and given to any needy villager.

From late-March to early-April, several crews co-operatively make a number of trails from Barrow to their camping bases at the edge of the sea ice. Then, using snowmobiles they transport their boats, hunting gear and camping equipment to the camping bases. In late-April or early-May, they start to hunt whales and continue whaling until late-May. Once a whale is caught, a crew butchers and shares it with other crews and individual helpers on the sea ice. One or two days after the butchering, each of the successful whaling captains host a feast at his/her own house for the whole community.

In late-May or early-June, each of the successful captains hosts an “*Appugauti*” feast at the shore in Barrow. Then, either of each individually or 2 -5 captains in cooperation carry out “*Nalukataq*” festivals and feasts in late-June. Successful whaling crews go goose and duck hunting soon after the whaling ceases, to prepare for these feasts. Meat and other edible parts of the whale and other games are kept at each captain’s ice cellar.

The “*Apugauti*” is a feast for the whole community held at the end of each successful crew’s spring whaling season. Each successful whaling captain hosts it, and provides “*mikigak*” (fermented whale meat) and duck soup and goose soup to residents in Barrow. From mid-June to the end of the month, several “*Nalukataq*” festivals and feasts are hosted by successful whaling captains. In these events, whale meat, *maktak* and other dishes are provided to the whole community, in addition to villagers’ participation in the blanket toss and Inupiat dances.

From July to September, each captain and his crew prepare for the fall whale hunt as well as hunting for bearded seals, the skins of which are used to make the following year’s boat covers.

In late-September or early-October, when snow begins to cover the ground, bowhead whales pass off-shore near Barrow, during their southern migration. To harvest these, the whalers use metal boats with outboard engines, and leave town every morning and return each evening. More than 30 boats go whaling almost every day during this season. When caught, a whale is towed by several co-operating boats to the butchering site near Barrow. Each whale is butchered and shared in the same manner as during the spring hunt. Also, each successful captain hosts the community feast at his/her house. But there are no festivals with feasts, such as “*Apugauti*” or “*Nalukataq*”, during the fall whaling season.

Each year successful boat captains give meat and *maktak* for feasts on Thanksgiving Day, in November, and at Christmas in December. Also, Messenger Feast (*Kigviq*) is held intermittently every two years, in which Barrow people invite many people from neighboring villages (Ikuta 2007). The whaling captains and hunters donate whale meat, *maktak*, caribou meat, and other products to the feast.

In this way, the annual cycle of Barrow centers on whaling and associated activities (Kishigami 2009; Sakakibara 2010; Worl 1980).

2.4. Contemporary Whaling in Barrow

The Inupiat hunt bowhead whales in the spring and fall when the whales pass close to the shore off Barrow. Under the quota system, Barrow whalers were allowed up to 22 whales a year from 2008

to 2012 (see Table 1).

Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Spring	1 6	3	1 3	9	4	1 4	7	1 4
Fall	1 3	1 9	7	1 2	1 5	8	1 1	1 0
Total	2 9	2 2	2 0	2 1	1 9	2 2	1 8	2 4

Table 1. Number of Whales Caught in Barrow from 2005 to Spring of 2012
(total number of whales caught in spring and fall hunts in each year)

Source: (Suydam et al. 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011) and Information from Department of Wildlife Department, North Slope Borough

2.4.1 Social Organization and Management of Whaling

A “crew” is a whaling unit usually composed of a captain, his wife, and about 5 - 15 hunters and their wives. There are approximately 55 registered crews in Barrow in 2012.

The core of each whaling crew is a whaling captain, who owns an *umiaq*, a boat with outboard engines, an ice cellar, several vehicles, and hunting equipment, together with his wife, who prepares clothing and food and manages financial and social matters. The couple is responsible equally for raising money for hunting as well as the management of crew matters. The crew composition is not fixed, and may change slightly every year. This social unit carries out whaling activities, feasts, and festivals under the supervision of the captain and his wife.

According to research conducted in the mid-1980s, each crew used to be composed of members of a captain’s extended family (Worl and Smythe 1986 : 284). However, after the quota system was introduced by the IWC, each extended family began to send their members to different whaling crews. Using this strategy, each extended family was able to obtain whale meat and *maktak* from the hunt (Bodenhorn 2003). Thus, each crew came to include more non-relatives than previously.



Picture 2. Quvan Crew (May 5, 6, 2010)

During my research in Barrow from 2006 to 2012, several crews maintained essentially the same membership, whereas others underwent slight changes. Three examples of the social composition of the whaling crew in Barrow are shown below.

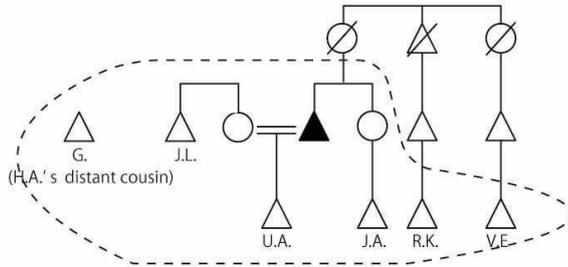


Figure 1. Social Composition of Quvan Crew (Case 1)

The first case is a whaling crew whose captain Herman Ahsoak (▲) is in his early-40s (see Figure 1). This crew is composed of a captain, his wife, his son, his brother-in-law, a nephew, a distant cousin, and two grandsons. Its core is the captain and his nephew during whale hunting.

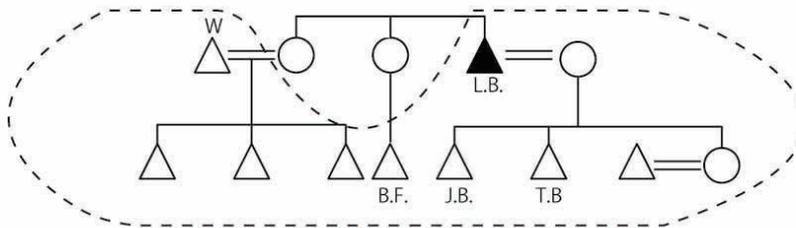


Figure 2. Social Composition of Lewis Brower's Crew (Case 2)

Figure 2 shows the social composition of crew 2, of which captain Lewis Brower is in his early-40s. This group is composed of the captain, his wife, two sons, his daughter's boyfriend, a nephew (his sister's son), a brother-in-law (another sister's husband), and three sons of that brother-in-law. The core members of this group are the captain, his sons and brother-in-law.

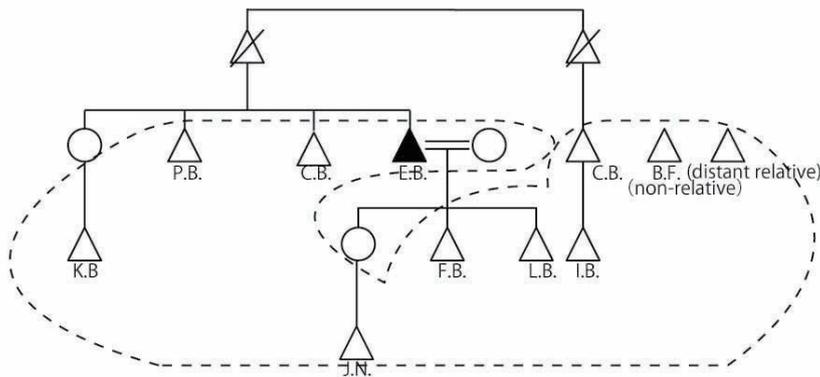


Figure 3. Social Composition of Aalaak Crew (Case 3)

The third case is a whaling crew of which the captain, Eugene Brower is in his 60s. This group is made up of the captain, his wife, two sons, a grandson, two brothers, a nephew, and cousin and his son, a distant relative, and a non-relative. The core members of this group are the captain and his sons and brothers, and a cousin. The unrelated hunter and the captain are long-standing friends who grew up together in Barrow.

These cases show that the core members of these three groups are in father-son, brother, or cousin relationships, although the groups include distant relatives and non-relatives. A person hoping to join a particular crew whose captain is not a close kinsman or family member must obtain permission to join the crew from the whaling captain and/or the captain's wife. On the other hand, a person wishing to leave a whaling crew may depart of his own volition at any time. The social composition and size of a whaling crew may change over time, depending on the age and generation of the captain, and character and experience of the captain and his wife.

A whaling captain and his wife are responsible for whaling activities and lives of their crew. Generally, the couple is obliged to provide food, clothing and hunting equipment to crew members in need of them. On the other hand, crew members, and often their families, must help the captain and his wife prepare for the whaling activities and feasts.

A captain and wife of good character and with experience attract many hunters for their crew. Recently, many people have opined that the authority and influence of a whaling captain has generally decreased. This might have been caused by two factors. The first is that hunters nowadays have a wider choice of whaling crews to join, owing to the increased number of crews (from approximately 30 to 55) in Barrow over the last three decades (Braund, Marquette, and Bockstoe 1988: 12-13). The second factor is that recently several hunters (crew members) also pay for some costs of the whaling, even though the boat captain and his wife are supposed to shoulder all.

Usually, a whaling captain's wife stays in the community and assists him in monetary management and other preparations during the whaling seasons. Because it is thought that she attracts bowhead whales, a wife plays a very important symbolic role in attracting them to the whaling crews. She must be generous to everybody and act kindly and gently toward other people. Because the whale is believed capable of recognizing human beings, it will give itself to a good captain and his wife (Bodenhorn 1990).

Several whaling captains have co-captains to assist in the management of whaling.

Each crew requires from US \$10,000 - \$30,000 as operating costs for spring whaling, and about US \$5,000 - \$10,000 for fall whaling. If a captain hopes to buy new equipment, such as outboard engines, a new boat, and/or snowmobiles, he may need more than \$50,000 (Kishigami 2009: 515; see Table 2).

- * *Umiaq*
 - A wooden frame \$2,000
 - Cover (5 or 6 bearded seal skins) \$1,000
 - Sawing cost (1 day X 10 sawing ladies X \$100) \$1,000
- * Aluminum boat and outboard engine
 - An aluminum boat \$25,000 or more
 - Outboard engine (150 horse powers) \$9,000
 - (70 to 125 horse powers) \$7,000
- * Snowmobile (4 snowmobiles X \$7,000) \$28,000
- * Hunting Tools and Equipment
 - Shoulder Gun (2 X \$1,950) \$1,560
 - Bombs for Shoulder Gun (5 bombs) \$1,000
 - Darting Gun (2 X \$780) \$1,560
 - Bombs for Darting Gun (5 bombs) \$ 1,000
 - Harpoon heads with rope (2) \$110
 - Floats (2) \$260
 - Sleds (5) \$2,000
 - Tent (1) \$200
 - Camping Equipment (one set) \$3,000
 - VHF Radio (2) \$580
- * Gas
 - Gas for spring hunts \$7,000
 - Gas for fall hunts (\$500 a day) \$5,000
- * Food
 - Food for a spring whaling camp \$2,000
 - Food for fall whale hunts: changeable due to number of hunting days

Table 2. Price and Cost List of Whaling Equipment and Tools needed by a Whaling Captain in Barrow (source: information from Herman Ahsoak in September, 2008)

Because a whaling crew cannot make money from their bowhead whale hunts, except through selling baleen, a whaling captain and his wife must save money from their wages and dividends from the Arctic North Slope Corporation, local indigenous corporations, oil companies, etc. to cover the costs of the whale hunts. Although an old and experienced whaling captain and his wife tend to pay for all the expenses of the whaling and associated activities, a young captain and his wife tend to ask their crew members to pay for some of them.

When a whaling captain becomes old, either he may stay in the community during whaling periods or engage in other types of hunting and fishing. Also, when he dies, his wife may take over his position as captain for a while.

There are about 55 registered whaling crews in Barrow. In addition to the household, the extended family, and the community, the crew is one of the important social units. The whaling captains form the Barrow Whaling Captains Association and their wives the Barrow Whaling Captains' Wife Association. As interest groups, these two associations have considerable political and social influence in Barrow.

2.4.2 Spring Whaling and Fall Whaling

The Inupiat carry out spring whale hunts in open water or leads near edges of sea ice from mid-April to late-May. Around mid-April, about 35 to 45 crews make their own base camps at intervals of 50 to 100m on ice edges along the lead or open water. From the camp sites crew members watch for migrating whales. Although an adult bowhead whale reaches to about 15 m in length and weighs about 50 to 60 tons, the hunters prefer to target a young whale of about 10 m in length, because its meat and *maktak* (skin parts with blubber) are much softer and tastier than those

of larger ones. After locating a whale of an appropriate size, the hunters approach it by *umiaq*. When within striking distance, one hunter harpoons the whale with a darting gun and then another shoots it with a shoulder gun. If they succeed in killing it, all the crews there will pray for it. Then they tow it to the sea ice where it is butchered with the help of other crews. Rather than an *umiaq*, boats with outboard engines are used to tow the whale. Once at the ice edge, many people cooperate to pull the whale onto the ice. Sometimes, this takes a long time, as, for example, on May 4, 2010 when more than 20 people and 5 snowmobiles took more than 2 hours to pull a whale onto the ice. After that the successful whaling crew butchers the whale, assisted by many helpers from other crews and the village.

If the quota for a given year is not fulfilled at the end of the spring whaling season, fall whaling will be conducted in that year, usually from the end of September until mid-October. The days are very short and the fall hunting grounds are far from Barrow, so a day's hunting trip is made and whales are towed back to a butchering site near Barrow by several cooperating boats. The hunting and sharing method in the fall is the same for the spring hunt.

3. Sharing Soon after Whale Hunts by Inupiat Whalers in Barrow, Alaska

3.1 The Standard Type of Sharing

A hunted whale is butchered and shared by rule soon after the hunt. The ways of butchering and sharing are slightly different among several whaling crews in Barrow and very different among whaling crews from different villages such as Point Hope (Gamo 1964: 16-17; Foote 1992; Rainey 1947; VanStone 1962: 48-52; Worl 1980: 317-320), Wales (Burch 2006: 160-65), and Gambell (Jolles 2002: 306-309). In this section, I will show the most general way of distribution of a whale in Barrow (North Slope Borough School District 2002).

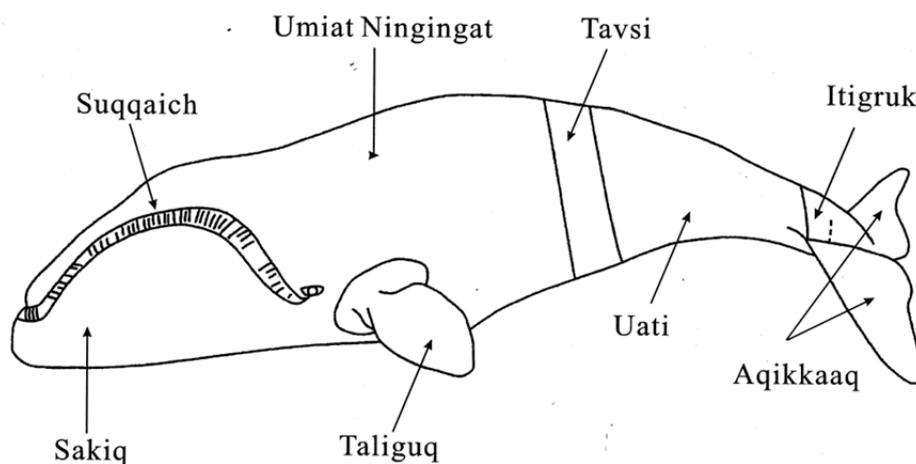


Figure 4. Whale Distribution in Barrow. (Source: North Slope Borough School District 2002)

(1) *Tavsi*: Meat and *maktak* of 30 cm in width are divided into two. Half goes to the successful crew. This half is divided as a personal share among the crew under the supervision of the whaling captain. Another half is cooked and served to the public at the captain's house in the next day of the successful hunt.

(2) *Uati*: This is kept in the successful captain's ice cellar and is served at the feasts such as *Nalukataq*, Christmas and Thanksgiving.

(3) *Itigruk*: This part is kept in the successful captain's ice cellar and given to the visitors at

Nalukataq.

(4)*Aqikkaak*: This part is kept in the successful captain's ice cellar and served at the feasts such as *Nalukataq*, Christmas and Thanksgiving.

(5)*Umiat Ningingat* or *Ningik*: All other whaling crews who help butchering the whale equally share this part. Please note that this part is equally shared to all the registered whaling crews in the first spring hunt.

(6)*Suqqaich*: Half goes to all the crews who help towing. The rest goes to the successful crew.

(7)*Sakiq*: One side goes to the successful whaling captain and another side is divided among the crews who assisted in towing the whale.

(8)*Taliq*: One side goes to the harpooner and another side is used as "*taquun*" by all whaling crews on the butchering site.

(9)*Utchik* (tongue): Half is divided among the all crews on the butchering site. Approximately one quarter is served at the successful captain's feast and the remainder at *Nalukataq*.

(10)*Umman* (heart), *Ingaluaq* (intestine) and *Taqtu* (kidney): Half is served at the successful captain's feast. The remainder is served at *Nalukataq*.

When the butchering process is completed, the successful captain makes a "go ahead" sign for anyone to cut and take from portions left for that purpose. This practice is called "*pilaniaq*".

This distribution system shows that the successful crew does not exclusively own most parts of the whale. According to Brower, JR, and Hepa (1998: 38), 60% of a whale parts go to *Ningik* use, 10% to *Tavsi* use, and 30% to *Utai* use. The sharing rule results in that the majority parts of the whale is provided to other whaling crews who help towing and butchering, and the whole community.



Picture 3. First cut by the successful whaling captain, Herman Ahasoak (May 4, 2010)



Picture 4. Shares for crews who helped butchering a whale (May 4, 2010)

3.2 Four Cases of Contemporary Distribution in Barrow

This section describes four cases of whale distribution manners as demonstrated by two young whaling captains (mid-40s in age), one elder whaling captain (early 60s), and one elder co-captain (mid-late 60s), in comparison to the standard type of distribution shown in 3.1.

Case 1. Herman Ahasoak (interviewed on August 22, 2010)

Herman Ahasoak is a young whaling captain in his mid-40s who spent about five years as a whaling captain. He is still learning to become a good captain. His crew caught a whale on May 4, 2010. He distributed the whale after butchering it in the following way.

(1)*Tavsi* : the same as the standard type. Herman Ahasoak shares half of *Tavsi* parts equally with about 30 persons including himself, his crew members, and all the other helpers who prepared for and put things in order after the feast at his house.

(2)*Uati* : the same as the standard type. He will spend approximately half of *Uati* for a feast at *Nalukatak*, one fourth of it for that for Thanksgiving, and one fourth of it for that for Christmas.

(3)*Itigruk*: As a part of (2)*Uati*, he will spend the part in the same way as a part of (2).

(4)*Aqikkaak*: As a part of (2)*Uati*, he will spend the part in the same way as a part of (2).

(5)*Umiat Ningingat*: This part is distributed to all the whaling crews including his own crew and all other helpers who participate in the butchering. For example, in a case that 15 whaling crews and 5 persons participated in the butchering process, this part was divided into 16 shares equally, including the 5 persons as a group. As each whaling crew gets one sixteenth of the part, the whaling captain of each crew will redistribute it to all his crew members including himself at his discretion. Herman Ahasoak divided it into 8 equal shares (including himself, four crew members, two persons who provided him gas, one person who let him use a darting gun). His distribution differs from the standard type in that his own crew also gets one share.

(6)*Suqqaich*: the same as the standard type.

(7)*Sakiq*: the same as the standard type.

(8)*Taliġuq*: the same as the standard type in that one flipper goes to the harpooner. But as another flipper goes to the successful whaling captain who will ferment and then provide it to the feast at *Nalukataq*, his distribution way of *Taliġuq* is different from the standard type of distribution.

(9)*Utchik*: Herman Ahsoak does not give half of the tongue to any whaling crews helping the butchering of the whale. In his discretion, half will be consumed at the feast of the captain's house and another half will be provided to the feast at *Nalukataq*.

(10)*Uumman* (heart), *Ingaluaq* (the small intestines) , *Taqtu* (kidney): the same as the standard type.

The practice "*pilaniaq*" is the same way as the standard type.

In the case of Herman Ahsoak, his distribution ways were slightly different from the standard type in (5), (8), and (9). The differences are due to his discretion and decision in the sharing of this part.

Case 2 Gordon Brower (interviewed on August 28, 2010)

Gordon Brower succeeded as captain of his father's crew after his father had passed away. Although he is in his late 40s, he is an experienced hunter and whaler. He caught a whale on May, 5, 2010. He distributed it in the following way.

(1)*Tavsi*: the same as the standard type. But because he owns the *umiaq*, he gets one share as one of his own crew members and another share as an owner of the boat in the sharing portions within his crew.

(2)*Uati*: the same as the standard type.

(3)*Itiġruk*: the same as the standard type.

(4)*Aqikkaak*: This part is regarded as a part of *Uati* and shared as the same way as (2).

(5)*Umiat Ningingat*: This part is equally divided among all the whaling crews and one or two groups of independent helpers who participate in the butchering process. This case is slightly different from the standard type in that as the successful crew participates in the butchering of the whale, it gets one share.

(6)*Suqqaich*: Half goes to the successful whaling crew. Another half is equally divided among all the crews which tow the whale. As the successful whaling crew tows the whale, it gets one share from the latter.

(7)*Sakiq*: Half of this part goes to the successful whaling crew. Another half is divided among the all the whaling crews which tow the whale. As the successful whaling crew tows the whale, it gets one share from the latter.

(8)*Taliġuq*: the same as the standard type.

(9)*Utchik*: Half of the tongue is given to all the whaling crews and one or two groups of independent helpers who participate in the butchering process. Another half is equally divided into three parts. The first part goes to members of the successful whaling crew. The second part goes to the feast at the whaling captain's house and the third part goes to the feast at *Nalukatak*.

(10)*Uumman* (heart), *Ingaluaq* (the small intestines) , *Taqtu* (kidney): the same as the standard type. But ratio of division of these parts is determined by the whaling captain. In the case of Gordon Brower, he uses much more quantity of the parts at the feast at the whaling captain's house than at the feast of *Nalukatak*.

(11) Ear- Drum: One goes to the successful whaling captain and another goes to the harpooner.

The practice "*pilaniaq*" is the same way as the standard type.

In the case of Gordon Brower, his distribution procedures were slightly different from the standard type in (1), (4), (5), (6), (7), (9), and (11). When the successful whaling crew participates in towing and butchering of the caught whale, it gets one share each for the towing and the butchering. Also, as he owns the hunting boat, he gets additional one share within his crew. He decides how many pounds of the edible parts are provided to each feast.

Case 3 Johnny Leavitt (interviewed on March 7, 2010)

Johnny Leavitt is in his 60s is an experienced hunter and whaler and succeeded as captain of the

whaling crew from his father. His whaling crew caught a whale on May 23, 2009. He distributed it in the following way.

(1) *Tavsi*: Johnny Leavitt used all the part for the feast at his house because there are only a few whales landed that spring.

(2) *Uati*: the same as the standard type.

(3) *Itigruk*: the same as the standard type.

(4) *Aqikkaak*: the same as the standard type.

(5) *Umiat Ningingat*: almost the same as the standard type. But his way is slightly different from the standard way in that as his crew participates in the butchering, it gets one share.

(6) *Suqqaich*: Half goes to the whaling captain. He may share it with his crew members or sell it. Another half is equally divided among the all the crews which tow the whale, including his own crew.

(7) *Sakiq*: the same as the standard type. But Johnny Leavitt provides all the captain's share to feasts.

(8) *Taliuq*: the same as the standard type.

(9) *Utchik*: the same as the standard type.

(10) *Uumman* (heart) and *Ingaluaq* (the small intestines) , *Taqtu* (kidney): the same as the standard type.

The practice "*pilaniaq*" is the same way as the standard type.

In the case of Johnny Leavitt, his distribution procedure is slightly different from the standard one in (1), (5), (6), and (7). The captain's and his crew's shares come from (5) and (6).

Case 4 Margaret Opie (interviewed on June 23, 2011)

Margaret Opie who is a daughter of late Luther Leavitt, Sr. played a role of co-captain for her father's crew.

(1) *Tavsi*: the same as the standard type.

(2) *Uati*: the same as the standard type. When a lot of whales are landed, a portion of this part is provided to the feast of *Kigviq* (messenger feast).

(3) *Itigruk*: the same as the standard type.

(4) *Aqikkaak*: the same as the standard type.

(5) *Umiat Ningingat*: This part is equally divided among all the crews and groups of independent helpers which participate in the butchering of a whale. Thus, the successful whaling crew gets one share, which is different from the standard type. When a new whaling crew captain catches his first whale, it is equally divided and delivered to all the whaling crews in Barrow.

(6) *Suqqaich*: Half goes to whaling crews who help towing the whale. Another half goes to the successful whaling captain. He may share it with his crew members. The distribution way is different from the standard type concerning the captain's share.

(7) *Sakiq*: One side goes to the successful whaling captain. Another half will be given to all the whaling crews who help in towing the whale. The distribution procedure is different from the standard type concerning the latter's share.

(8) *Taliuq*: the same as the standard type. One flipper goes to the first harpooner and another flipper is divided among the all the whaling crews which participate in the butchering the whale.—

(9) *Utchik*: the same as the standard type.

(10) *Uumman* (heart), *Ingaluaq* (the small intestines) , *Taqtu* (kidney) : the same as the standard type.

(11) Ear Drums: They are given to the successful whaling captain.

The practice "*pilaniaq*" is the same way as the standard type.

This distribution manner is different from the standard type in (5), (6), and (7).

As these examples of the systems of whale distribution demonstrate, the procedure is slightly different between whaling captains. It reflects each whaling captains' discretion and does not always correspond to the standard type. However, it is stressed that the procedures of whale distribution is generally determined by the 'standard' rules. The general rule of whale distribution brings a large quantity of meat and other edible parts to other whaling crews which help towing and butchering the

whale and to the whole community rather than to only the successful boat captains and their whaling crews.

Also, when the successful crew participates in towing or/and butchering a caught whale, it can get one share each for the towing and butchering. Also, as a whaling captain usually owns a whaling boat, he can get one share for the owner and another share as one of the crew members (a whaling captain) within his crew. Furthermore, in a case that a whaling crew includes many sons, grandsons or/and other kinsmen of the whaling captain, shares to the captain's household tend to increase or have more than other crew members' households. On the other hand, in a case that a whaling crew includes many non-kinsmen, the captain's and other crew members' households tend to have more or less equal shares. It should be emphasized that young whaling captains tend to prefer to have equal shares among themselves and other crew members.

The quantity of a share differs according to the size of a whale and the successful whaling captain's discretion on distribution. To avoid unfair distribution among the whaling crews concerned, a lady from the Barrow Whaling Captains' Wives Association usually supervises the whole butchering process in the butchering place on the sea ice or on a beach near Barrow.

3.3 Generational Comparison of Whale Distribution in Barrow

Craig George carried out participant observation of hunting, butchering and distribution by Arnold Brower's whaling crew from 1978 to 1980. Gordon Brower (case 2) who is one of Arnold's sons is a successor of the crew. This section demonstrates the distribution procedures of Arnold Brower and then compares this with case 2.

Case 5 Arnold Brower (a case from 1978 to 1980)

According to George (1981), a whale is distributed in the following way (Figure 2).

- (1) *Tavsi*: (#17 of Figure 2) #17 and internal organs are cooked and served to villagers at the whaling captain's feast at his house (George 1981: 795).
- (2) *Uati*: (#5 and #6 of Figure 2) #5 is provided to the feast at *Nalukataq*. #6 is provided to the feasts at *Nalukataq*, Thanksgiving and Christmas (George 1981: 792).
- (3) *Itigruk*: (#4 of Figure 2) #4 is provided to the feast at *Nalukataq* (George 1981: 792).

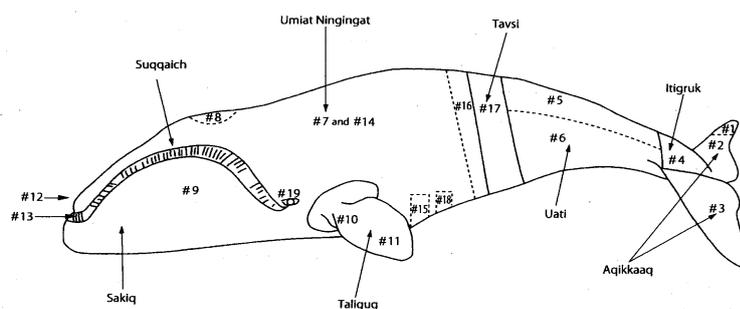


Figure 5. Whale Distribution by Arnold Brower (George 1981: 791)

(4) *Aqikkaak*: (#1, #2, and #3 of Figure 2) #1, a tasty part, is provided to the feast at Thanksgiving. #2 is provided to the feast at Christmas and #3 is provided at *Nalukataq* (George 1981: 790, 792).

(5) *Umiat Ningingat*: (#7 of Figure 2) #7 is divided among the all the whaling crews which participate in the butchering of a whale. #7 from the first catch of each year is equally divided among all the registered whaling crews in Barrow. #7 from the second catch on of each year is divided only among the whaling crews which participate in the butchering of a whale (George

1981: 792).

(6)*Suqqaich*: (#13 of Figure 2) In the case that more than one whaling crews tow a whale, half of #13 goes to the successful whaling captain and another half is equally divided among other whaling crews which tow it (George 1981: 793).

(7)*Sakiq*: Half of this part goes to the successful whaling captain and another half of it is equally divided among whaling crews which help butchering a whale (George 1981: 793).

(8)*Taliguq*: (#10 and #11 of Figure 2) One flipper goes to the harpooner and another one is given all the whaling crews in the butchering site (George 1981: 793).

(9)*Utchik*: (#12 of Figure 2) Tongue is divided among the all the whaling crews which participate in the butchering of a whale (George 1981: 793).

(10)*Uumman* (heart), *Ingaluaq* (the small intestines), *Taqtu* (kidney): (#14 of Figure 2) Half of them is provided to the whaling captain's feast at his house and another half of them is provided to the feast at *Nalukataq* (George 1981: 793).

(11) Distribution of Other Parts

#8 of Figure 2: The part around a breathing hole is provided to the feast at Christmas (George 1981: 793).

#15 of Figure 2: *maktak* (50 cm X 50 cm X 40 cm) is cooked and served to people who engage in butchering at a site (George 1981: 793).

#16 of Figure 2: The *maktak* of #16 is given to another whaling crew whose member who has used his shoulder gun. If the shooter hopes to have a bullet for his bomb of shoulder gun rather than *maktak*, the bullet is given to him (George 1981: 794).

#18 of Figure 2: Meat (30 cm X 30 cm X 30 cm) of #18 is given to an owner and operator of a pulley used to pull a whale onto the sea ice (George 1981: 794).

#19 of Figure 2: Ear drums are given to the successful whaling captain (George 1981: 794).

After completion of butchering a whale, the captain gives the go ahead for anyone to cut and take from the portions left (George 1981: 794).

When we compare this case of the case #2 (son of Arnold Brower), two aspects are considered. First, while ways of the whale distribution of these two cases show general similarities, there are certain differences that do not allow oversimplification in describing the distribution. However, I suggest the increasing simplification in distribution procedure of a whale over time. Also, use of *Tavsi* and *Uati* was changed to considerable degrees. It is usually thought that knowledge and techniques are generally transferred from a father to his sons among whaling captains in Barrow. This example demonstrates this is not always the case. Furthermore, it seems that the procedures of whale distribution and whaling captains' discretion tend to be standardized only recently.

3.4 The Quantity of Sharing and Sharing within a Whaling Group

The Inupiat whalers in Barrow prefer to catch whales averaging 10 meters in length. In this section, I examine the sharing of a whale parts according to their weight, using the existing data. George and others report for weights of the parts of a male whale of 11 meters in length and weighing 14,797 kilograms (see Table 3; George, Philo, Carroll and Albert 1988).

Name of parts	weight	ratio
Tongue	893 kilograms	(6%)
Skin and blubber	6,601.9 kilograms	(44%)*
		*edible part is one fifth or one fourth
Muscles	2,428.0 kilograms	(16%)
Baleen	595.5 kilograms	(4%)
Tails	217.7 kilograms	(1.5%)
Flippers	349.2 kilograms	(2.4%)
Kidneys (both)	97.9 kilograms	(0.7%)
Heart	95.2 kilograms	(0.6%)
Intestines	223.8 kilograms	(1.5%)

Table 3. Names of Edible Parts of a 11 Meter Whale, Their Weight, and Ratio
Source: (George, Philo, Carroll and Albert 1988)

Also, ratios of *Umiat Ningingat*, *Tavsi*, and *Uati* are roughly 60%, 10%, and 30% (Brower, Jr. and Hepa 1998:38). In this report, I assume that edible part of skin and blubber is 20 % , and deal with a spring hunt case.

Umiat Ningingat for all the crews and people who participate in butchering of a whale can be, in total, about 1,440 kilograms of meat and about 792 kilograms of *maktak*. For example, in the case of butchering and sharing of a whale on May 4, 2010, 15 whaling crews (each crew sent a few members to the butchering site) and four independent helpers from the village (regarded as a group for the sharing) participated in the butchering process. Thus, meat and *maktak* were divided into 16 shares. As a result, each whaling crew got one share including about 90 kilograms of meat and about 50 kilograms of *maktak*. The meat and *maktak* were redistributed among each captain and his crew members under the captain's supervision.

Tavsi for the successful captain's feast and his/her whaling crew weigh about 240 kilograms of meat and 132 kilograms of *maktak* in total. Half are cooked and provided for the captain's feast for a whole community, with cooked dishes including about 223 kilograms of tongue, 49 kilograms of kidney, 48 kilograms of heart, and 112 kilograms of intestines.

Uati for community feasts such as *Nalukataq*, Thanksgiving, and Christmas provide about 720 kilograms of meat and about 396 kilograms of *maktak*. Although each captain decides how much meat and *maktak* to provide for each feast, he usually provides 50%, 25% and 25% of them on each of these occasions. About 360 kilograms of meat and about 198 kilograms of *maktak* are given to the *Nalukataq* feast while about 180 kilograms of meat and about 198 kilograms of *maktak* are provided to each of the Thanksgiving and Christmas feasts. In the case of *Nalukataq*, a whaling captain (crew) provides about 223 kilograms of tongue, about 49 kilograms of kidney, about 48 kilograms of heart and about 112 kilograms of intestines to the feast. If twenty whales averaging 11 meters in length are landed per year, the whole community can consume, at some twenty feasts per year, about 16.8 tons of meat and 9.2 tons of *maktak* in total.

In this way, most parts of a whale are given to other whaling crews and to community feasts rather than the successful crew in Barrow. The successful whaling crew can get about 210 kilograms of meat and about 116 kilograms of *maktak*. Those are redistributed among the captain, his crew members and helpers under the supervision of the captain. In the hunt of May 4, 2010, eight persons share them equally, including one captain, four crew members, two persons who provided gas for the crew, one person who lent his darting gun to the captain. In this case, there is no difference between the captain and his crew members in terms of a quantity of a share. Each person obtained about 26 kilograms of meat and 15 kilograms of *maktak*. Also, the successful harpooner was given an additional share, that is, a flipper (about 175 kilograms). As this sharing shows, each of the successful whaling captains and crew members do not receive a lot of meat and *maktak* from their successful hunt.

However, if the crew sent a few of its members to help other successful crews to butcher their whale, the crew can obtain about 90 kilograms of meat and about 50 kilograms of *maktak* each time. If a crew helps other 10 successful whaling crews, the crew can receive about 900 kilograms of meat and about 500 kilograms of *maktak*. If these are divided equally among the eight persons, each of them can acquire about 113 kilograms of meat and about 63 kilograms of *maktak*. Thus, each obtains about 140 kilograms of meat and 78 kilograms of *maktak* in total per year. Each person can consume this meat at his household or/and freely give the meat to other persons.

3.5 An Example from Whale Hunts in 2010

In the hunt of May 4, 2010, a female whale of 8.4 meters in length was caught by a whaling crew (see #6 of Table 4). Its weight was estimated 11,300 kilograms. On the basis of Table 3, the weight of meat is about 1,808 kilograms, about 16% of the total weight of the whale and that of *maktak* is about 994 kilograms, about 8.8% of the total weight. *Umiat Ningingat*, which was divided among whaling crews and independent helpers who participate in the butchering the whale, includes about

1,085 kilograms of meat and about 596 kilograms of *maktak*. In the butchering of the whale on May 5, 2010, 15 whaling crews (each of which sent a few members) and 4 independent helpers participated in the butchering process. As these 4 helpers were regarded as a group (a shareholder), the part was equally divided into 16 shares. Each whaling crew or a shareholder received about 68 kilograms of meat and about 37 kilograms of *maktak*. Those were redistributed by each whaling captain to his crew members.

Tavsi for the successful whaling captain's feast and his crew included about 90 kilograms of meat and about 50 kilograms of *maktak*. About 170 kilograms of tongue, about 40 kilograms of kidney, about 34 kilograms of heart, and about 85 kilograms of intestines were cooked and provided to villagers, in addition to the meat and *maktak*.

Uati for community feasts at *Nalukataq*, Thanksgiving, and Christmas included about 542 of meat and about 298 of *maktak*. Although the whaling captain can decide how much kilograms of meat and *maktak* will be provide to each feast, he usually gives 50% of them to the feast at *Nalukataq*, 25% of them to that at Thanksgiving, and 25 of them to that at Christmas. That is, he will generally give about 271 kilograms of meat and about 149 kilograms of *maktak* to *Nalukataq* feast, about 136 kilograms of meat and about 75 of *maktak* to each of Thanksgiving and Christmas feasts. Furthermore, the captain will provide about 170 kilograms of tongue, about 40 kilograms of kidney, about 34 kilograms of heart, and about 85 of intestines to the feast at *Nalukataq*.

Twenty two whales were landed in Barrow in 2010 (see Table 4). According to calculation based on length of each whale, total weight of these whales is 273,556 kilograms. My calculation based on this weight demonstrates that weight of edible meat is about 43,800 kilograms and that that of *maktak* is 24,100 kilograms. About 13,100 kilograms of meat and about 7,200 kilograms of *maktak* were provided to all the feasts held in Barrow in that year.

As I described, most of the whale parts were distributed to whaling crews other than the successful one and independent helpers who participated in the butchering and provided to community feasts. The successful whaling crew received half of *Tavsi*, one sixteenth of *Umiat Ningingat*, that is, about 158 kilograms of meat and about 87 kilograms of *maktak*. Those were divided among whaling captain and his crew members under the supervision of the captain. In the hunt of May 4, 2010, those were equally divided among eight persons including one captain, four crew members, two persons who provided the captain with gas, and one person who lent the captain a darting gun. In this case there was no difference between the captain and his crews concerning shares each of which includes about 20 kilograms of meat and about 11 kilograms of *maktak*. Also, the harpooner received one flipper (about 160 kilograms). This example shows that the successful whaling captain and his crew members receive only small portions of meat and *maktak* of the whale.

Number	Day/month of Harvest in Whale Hunts in 2010	Length of Whales Landed (meters)	Sex of Landed Whales
Spring Whale Hunt			
1	May 1	10.9	Female
2	May 3	8.3	Female
3	May 4	8.0	Female
4	May 4	8.7	Male
5	May 4	8.7	Male
6	May 4	8.4	Female
7	May 5	8.4	Male
8	May 5	7.3	Male
9	May 5	8.7	Not identified
10	May 6	10.7	Female
11	May 7	7.5	Male
12	May 9	9.8	Female

13	May 12	13.1	Female
14	May 15	8.3	Female
	Averaging length of the whales landed in spring	9.1	M: 5, F: 8, unidentified: 1
Fall Whale Hunt			
15	October 7	12.3	Female
16	October 7	7.8	Male
17	October 7	10.8	Male
18	October 8	9.0	Female
19	October 8	10.9	Female
20	October 9	7.7	Male
21	October 9	11.2	Male
22	October 11	7.1	Female
	Averaging length of the whales landed in fall	9.6	M: 4, F: 4
	Averaging length of the whales landed in 2010	9.3	M: 9, F: 12 Unidentified: 1

Table 4. Harvest Day, Length, Sex of Whales Landed in Barrow in 2010
Source : Suydam et al (2011: 6)

However, when a whaling captain sends his crew members to help butchering of whales caught by other whaling crews, his crew receives a certain amount of meat and *maktak* from *Umiat Ningingat* according to the successful whaling captain's decision based on the distribution rule. I will show how much meat and *maktak* a crew will receive in the case that the crew harvest one whale and participates in other crews' butchering ten times. As Table 3 shows, the average length and weight of landed whales in 2010 were about 9.3 meters and about 12,520 kilograms. I assume that 16 whaling crews participate in each of the whale butcherings. Each crew can receive about 75 kilograms of meat and about 41 kilograms of *maktak*. Thus, if the whaling crew participates in the butchering of a whale ten times, it can receive about 750 kilograms of meat and about 410 kilograms of *maktak*. Then, each of 8 shareholders of the whaling crew can receive about 93.8 kilograms of meat and about 51.6 kilograms of *maktak* from helping other successful whaling crews' butchering of whales. Taking into consideration the crew's share from its successful hunt, each of the shareholders can receive about 114 kilograms of meat and about 63 kilograms of *maktak* in a year. Each person can consume those at his/her own household and share some of them with other people. It should be stressed that the amount which the captain's household or his extended family receives is larger than his crew members (shareholders) in a case that his crew includes several members from his household and/or extended family. Also, several captains who own *umiaq* receive additional one share because of the *umiaq* ownership. In this case, the whaling captain receives larger amount of meat and *maktak* than each of his whaling crew members.

This section shows that about 90 to 95 % of whale meat and *maktak* will be given by the successful whaling captain to other whaling crews and community feasts. In other words, the successful whaling captain and his crew members can own and use only 5 to 10 percent of the total catch amount.

4. Community Feats and Sharing

After the formal sharing on the butchering site, whale meat, *maktak* and other parts are further distributed to the whole community through the successful captain's feast, feasts of *Appugauti*, *Nalukataq*, Thanksgiving, Christmas, and *Kigviq* (Messenger Feast), and daily sharing and exchange practices.

4.1 General Outline of Feasts at Whaling Festivals and Christian Events

I summarize here the general pattern of community feasts at whaling festivals and Christian events in Barrow. A successful whaling captain will host a feast at his house after the butchering of a harvested whale both in spring and fall hunts. This feast is called “*nigipkai*”.

When each of successful whaling crews lands its *umiaq* in mid-May to early June after spring whale hunts, it usually hosts a feast on the shore. In late June, a successful whaling crew or a group of several crews host a day-long whaling festival *Nalukataq*. It consists of communal feast, blanket toss, and Inupiat drum dance. Community feasts are held at Thanksgiving in November and at Christmas in December. Once every two years, the North Slope Borough government hosts *Kigviq* (messenger feast) including communal feasts and Inupiat drum dances in Barrow.

More than twenty community feasts are held in Barrow every year. In these feasts, successful whaling captains and their crews provide whale meat, *maktak*, internal organs of whales, *mikigak* to these feasts. While participants in the feasts eat them, they receive the remaining meat and other food and bring them back to their homes. Thus, these feasts have two functions: communal feast and sharing of the whale products.

4.2 Feast at the Successful Whaling Captain’s House

In the next day of the hunting and butchering of a whale, a feast is held for the whole community at the successful captain’s house. This feast is called “*nigipkai*”. Half of whale meat and *maktak* of the *Tavsi* part, one quarter of tongue, and half of heart, intestines and kidney are cooked and provided to the community.



Picture 5. Nigipkai at Harry Brower Jr’s house (May/April 1, 2010)

The successful whaling captain’s crew flag is installed on the roof of his house. All the crew members and their wives come together at the captain’s house to prepare for the feast. They cut and boil the meat, *maktak* and other parts. Then the cooked parts are divided into two parts: one for feast

and another as gift. For the gift, they place each portion of meat, *maktak*, tongue, heart, intestine and kidney, and a piece of bread or Eskimo doughnut into small plastic bags. Also, they prepare boiled fruits, coffee, and tea.

When the feast is ready, the captain, after praying to God announces the opening, via CB radio. Villagers visit the captain's house by twos and threes. The wives of the captain and his crew members present a few bags to each visitor, according to the number in visitor's household. On the other hand, relatives of the captain and elders enjoy the whale dishes at the captain's house and receive a few bags as a gift after the feast. Also, the captain and his crew members deliver these bags by car to elders and widows unable to participate in the feast.

When the hosts have given all the food bags out to visitors, the captain announces, by CB radio, the end of the feast and removes his crew's flag from the roof. Through this feast, many residents, especially elders, widows and persons in need can obtain some culturally high valued food. For example, at a feast hosted by Herman Ahsoak and his crew members on May 6, 2010, they provided 120 kilograms of meat, 66 kilograms of *maktak*, 223 kilograms of tongue, 49 kilograms of kidney, 48 kilograms of heart, and 112 kilograms of intestines to villagers in my estimation.

Through this feast, a successful whaling captain and his crew provide one meal of whale dishes to many Inupiat households in town, and some meat and *maktak* to many households of elders and/or widows.

4.3 Community Feast and Sharing at *Apugauti*

4.3.1 What Is *Apugauti*?

At the end of spring whaling season, *Apugauti* is held by each whaling captain who was successful in the spring hunt. When his/her crew land *umiaq* at the end of his/her whaling season, he/she and his/her crew will host and carry out *Apugauti* independently from mid-May to mid June. "*Apugauti*" means "to hit the land" in Inupiat language. Each of the events includes a community feast. Whaling captains used not to hold *Apugauti* for a whole community but for their own crews before the 1980s. However, each successful whaling captain and crew began to host it for the whole community in the 1980s.

4.3.2 *Apugauti* Hosted by Johnny Leavitt and His Crew in June, 2009

Because of wind directions and sea ice conditions in spring, 2009, only four whales were landed by four whaling crews in Barrow. One of the successful crews was "Yugo crew" led by Johnny Leavitt. I had an opportunity to observe preparation and carrying out of *Apugauti* held on the shore of Barrow from 15:00 to 16:00 on June 15, 2009.

4.3.3 Preparation for *Apugauti*

The successful whaling captain and his crew members provide villagers *mikigak* (fermented meat, blubber and blood of whale), duck soup and goose soup. Also, pieces of bread or Eskimo doughnut, fruits, juice, coffee and tea are provided to participants.

After several members of the whaling crew had finished storing meat, *maktak*, and other parts of the harvested whale into the whaling captain's ice cellar, they carried their *umiaq* to a spot on sea ice in front of shore of Barrow and put their crew flag on it. Then, they went to inland for geese and ducks used for community feasts at *Apugauti* and *Nalukataq*. Again, they kept them in the ice cellar. They cut half of these birds one day before *Apugauti* and cooked 6 big pots of duck or goose soup in the morning of the feast day.

Mikigak is an Inupiat delicacy. The successful whaling captains put whale meat, *maktak*, blubber, and blood into plastic buckets and fermented mixture of them for approximately two weeks. In order to ferment mixture of them well, a cooker has to stir it in the bucket twice a day during this period.

Three or four days before the *Apugauti* day, several crew member and their wives one after another began to come to and to cut whale meat, *maktak*, internal organs in front of or near the captain's house. They put the cut parts into cardboard boxes and kept the boxes in the captain's ice cellar until the feast day.

Several of the crew members and their wives began to make soup of the birds in the morning of the *Apugauti* day. The wives made Eskimo doughnuts which are a kind of deep fried bread. While

they baked a large amount of bread, they purchased them at a local super-market, too. In the early afternoon of the *Apugauti* day, they began to prepare for tea, coffee and juice. Also, they started to prepare for the feast place, by making windbreak plastic walls, arranging tables and chairs.

When the feast is ready, the captain made an announcement concerning the place and time of the feast via CB radio for the villagers. Also, they made several phone calls to elders in town and asked the local radio station to announce the place and time of the feast through a local radio broadcast.

Around 14:45, the crew members and their families in parties carried dishes and drinks from the captain's house to the feast place. At almost the same time, villagers started to come to the feast place and sit in a large circle. By 15:00 about 300 villagers showed up at the feast place.



Picture 6. *Apugauti* by Yugo Crew (June, 2009)



Picture 7. *Apugauti* by Yugo Crew (June, 2009)

4.3.4 Carrying out the *Apugauti*

Once the whaling crew members reached the shore, they carried it to spot near the *Apugauti* place. The participants who watched the movement, shouted with joy. When the crew members reached the feast place, the captain, his crew members, and their family members stood hand in hand in a circle around several tables on which were placed dishes. The captain expressed his gratitude of harvesting a whale to God and prayed to it. After his speech, the feast began.

First, the crew members and their family members served duck soup or geese soup to each participant. Then, they provided bread or Eskimo doughnuts, tea or coffee, and *mikigak* to each of the participants. While many people ate them at the site, others took all or some of them in plastic bags back to their homes. The captain always paid attention to delivering *mikigak* to all the elders there.

As all the dishes and drinks were gone around 16:15, the captain announced the closing of the feast. After the participants left the place, the crew members and their family members cleaned up the site.

In this way, *Apugauti* is a kind of community feast hosted by each successful captain and his/her crew. In one occasion of the *Apugauti* held in June 15, 2009, Johnny Leavitt and his whaling crew provided 14 buckets of *mikigak* (266 liters), 20 pots of goose soup, 20 pots of duck soup, 2000 pieces of bread, 2000 pieces of Eskimo doughnuts, 10 buckets fruit stew (190 liters), 53 liters of tea, and 38 liters of coffee for a whole community. This *Apugauti* is rather a large one. Usually, each whaling captain decides the scale of the *Apugauti* and quantity of dishes for it. While about 100 people participate in a small *Apugautiit*, more than 400 people participate in a large *Apugauti*. Whenever the food is gone, the *Apugauti* is finished.

4.4 Community Feast and Food Sharing at *Nalukataq*

Nalukataq is a whaling festival hosted by the successful whaling captain and his/her crew in Barrow around June. “*Nalukataq*” means blanket toss in Inupiat language. In this report, I show a case of *Nalukataq* held in Barrow on June 28, 2012.

4.4.1 Spring Whale Hunt and *Nalukataq* in 2012

Inupiat whalers harvested 14 whales in total in Barrow in the 2012 spring whale hunt. That year’s spring hunt was very successful. As one whaling crew caught two whales and 12 other crews one each, 13 whaling crews hosted *Nalukataq*. After these whaling captains discussed dates of *Nalukataq*, one captain decided to host it on June 13, 2012, a group of two whaling captains on June 21, 2012, another crew on June 23, 2012, a group of four captains on June 25, 2012 and a group of five captains on June 29, 2012.

The whaling captains who hosted *Nalukataq* on June 29, 2012 together included Jonathan Aiken, Sr., Jacob Adams Sr., George Adams, Oliver Leavitt, and Charles E. Hopson. Their crews also had conducted trail-making together before the last spring hunt. As Figure 6 shows, these captains are related to each other through blood or/and marriage. They are parts of a large extended family and interact with each other closely in daily life.

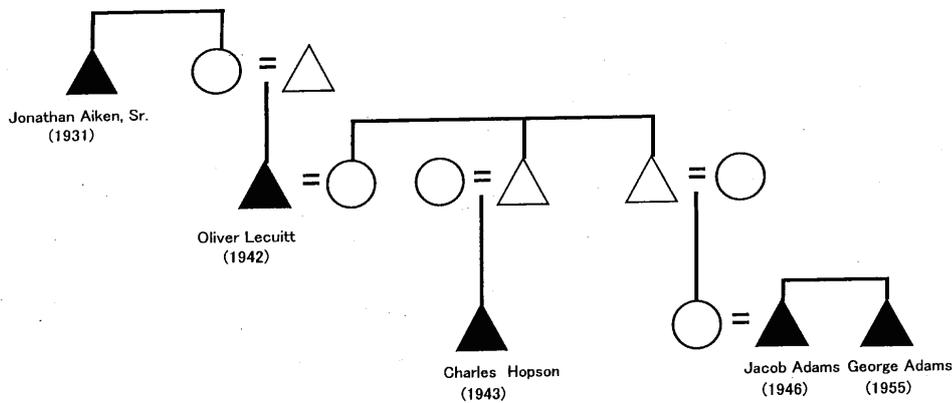


Figure 6. Kinship Relationship among the Whaling Captains Who Hosted *Nalukataq* Together on June 29, 2012 (reconstruction after the interview with Michael Donovan)

4.4.2 Preparation for *Nalukataq*

Preparation for *Nalukataq* began with geese and duck hunts after the successful whale hunt and subsequent whaling captain's feast. Each whaling captain and his wife told their crew members to carry out the hunts for *Apugauti* and *Nalukataq*. Several crew members went goose and duck hunts, and got about 50 of each bird. They kept them in the ice cellar until *Apugauti* and *Nalukataq*.

Approximately two weeks before the *Nalukataq*, the crew members began to cut meat, *maktak*, and internal organs from the ice cellar. That is, they dealt with half of meat and *maktak* of *Uati*, half of *maktak* of *Itigruk* and *Aqikkaak*, half of heart, intestine, and kidneys, and one quarter of tongue. Meat and other parts were cut and kept at the ice cellar for the *Nalukataq* use until one day before or the same day of the *Nalukataq*. Also, two weeks before the *Nalukataq* day, they began to make *mikigaq*, too. Furthermore, the members and their wives saw and made a blanket for blanket toss from the cover of their *umiaq* body. One or two days before the *Nalukataq*, they boiled the meat and internal organs, baked bread, prepared for dessert also by the time purchased fruits, drinks, paper plates, paper cups, etc..

One day before the *Nalukataq*, several people from several whaling crews came to the *Nalukataq* place and arranged the feast. While they built windbreak walls made of plastic sheets and wooden poles along three sides of a rectangular space (approximately 40 meters X 50 meters), they set up 5 of the host whaling crews' flags.

In the morning of the *Nalukataq*, the host whaling crews boiled water and prepared for tea and coffee at their tents at the *Nalukataq* place. Also, they carried cooked food and frozen meat to the site.

4.4.3. *Nalukataq* Carried Out on June 29, 2012

Visitor space at the *Nalukataq* place was divided into four zones. Furthermore, each zone was subdivided into five sections (figure 7). Each of the five whaling crews took charge of one of four zones in turn. A coordinator of this festival assigned one of the crews to one of the zones for providing meals to the visitors. They provided the visitors with three meals. At each meal time, the coordinator assigned one of the crews to one of the different zones.

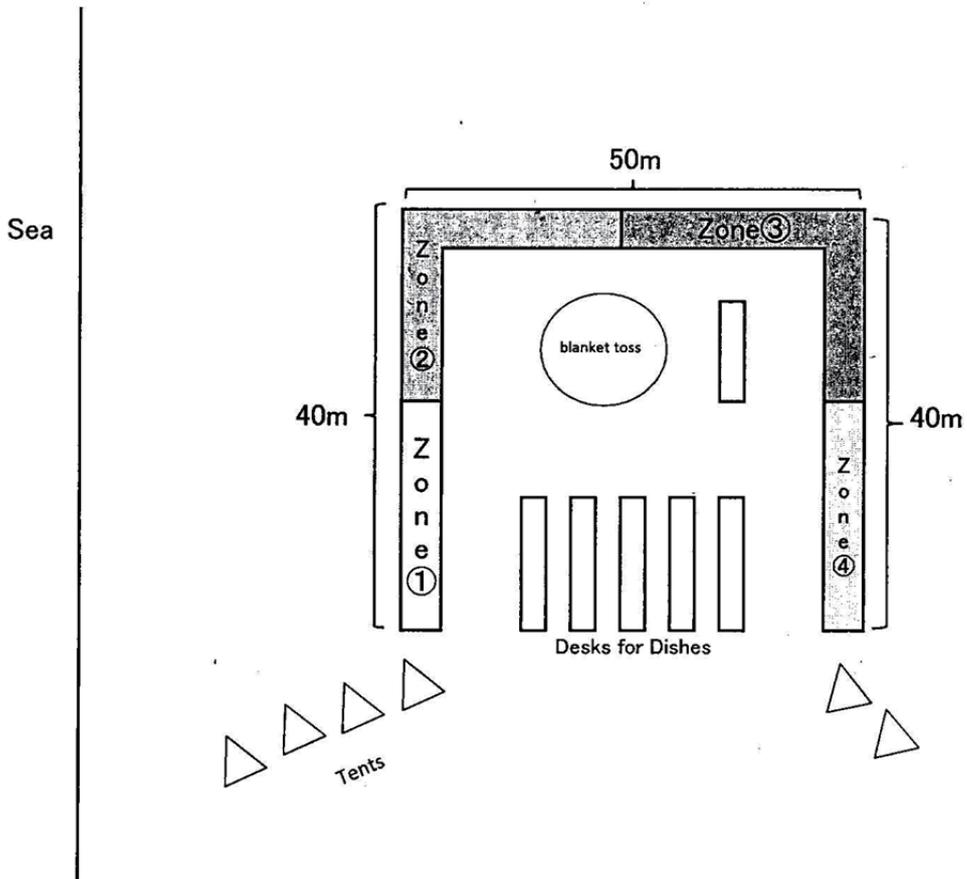


Figure 7. A Sketch of the *Nalukataq* Place



Picture 8. *Nalukataq* (June 29, 2012)

They served visitors the first meal at noon. Soon after noon, the five whaling crew captains and their crew members, and their family members, made a large circle hand in hand, and one of representatives from the whaling crews expressed their thankfulness to God and whales for their successful hunts and holding the *Nalukataq*, and prayed to God. Then, members of the crews provided the first meal to the visitors.

Several couple servers from each whaling crew gave food to visitors one by one sitting in the visitor space. While the majority of visitors came there with plates, cups, knives, ziplock bags, plastic bags, cooler boxes, and folding chairs, each family of the visitors occupied particular spots.

First, the servers provided soup of caribou and rice or geese and rice to each visitor from large pots which they carried. Then, they gave a few pieces of boiled meat and internal organs from the paper or plastic boxes to each of the visitors. Finally, a few of Eskimo doughnuts, and pilot biscuits, and tea or coffee were delivered to each of them. While visitors enjoyed conversation with other visitors and meal servers, they ate the food. While they were eating, candies were thrown into the visitor space from outside the windbreak walls by some of the host whaling crew members. Although each of the visitors ate some of them, he or she took the remaining food back to home later.

Around 13:30 the first meal was finished and a master of ceremonies announced that the next meal would be served at 15:00. From 13:30 to 15:00, most of the visitors remained the spots and enjoyed chatting with others. On the other hand, children enjoyed blanket toss at the center of the *Nalukataq* place. Under guidance of a few caretakers, the children tried to jump as high as they could in turn.

At 15:00 the second feast began. At the beginning of the feast, one elder gave a speech to express her thankfulness to God. After the speech, each of the whaling crews changed their serving zone and provided *mikgak* to each visitor. The visitors spent their time enjoying both food and conversation. Small children played and ran around the blanket toss spot. Several visitors went to the spot where tails and flippers were placed for free sharing, and obtained some portions of the parts which they took back to their homes.

After serving *mikgak*, the crew members served each of the visitors a few pieces of Eskimo doughnuts, a piece of rice and raisin cakes, a cup of stewed fruits, and coffee or tea as dessert. The second feast continued until approximately 17:00.

Around 17:00 the third and last feast began. After an elder's speech, the crew members served food to visitors. At this time, 3 pieces of frozen meat (5 X 5X 5 centimeters) were given to each family, and then another 4 pieces were added to each family. While visitors ate the meat, they kept the remainder in plastic bags. After the frozen meat, 3 pieces of frozen *maktak* were provided to each family and then, another two pieces were added to each. Again the visitors ate some *maktak* and took the remaining portions back to home later. After the frozen *maktak*, a few pieces of tail parts were given to each family. After the tail parts, one piece of Eskimo ice cream, a piece of cake, and coffee or tea were served to each visitor. Also, three of apples or organs are provided to each family. Around 19:00 the third feast was over. The visitors put the remaining frozen meat and *maktak*, and other foods to paper boxes or cooler boxes, and took them to their homes.

After the third feast, all of the host crew members went home for their supper and rest for a while. Then, the blanket toss began at the *Nalukataq* place around 21:30. First, successful whaling members enjoyed the blanket toss while he or she threw candies to visitors. After three small jumps, he or she tried to jump high as much as he or she could and kept jumping as many times as possible until falling down. After he or she conducted the blanket toss successively twice, another person took over the jumper position in turn. After the successful crew members finished the blanket toss, visitors participated in it. The blanket toss was over around 23:15. The crew members and visitors gradually moved to the Inupiat drum dance place.

After 23:30 Inupiat drum dance began at the gymnasium of the local elementary school. When the preparation was completed, each of the successful whaling crews and their families danced in turn. Each group danced two songs, each of which continued for a few minutes only but was original to each crew group. Some whaling crews had a large number of dancers which showed their social power to the visitors. Also, dances by elders appealed their dignity to the visitors. After the dances of

the successful crews, children and other visitors were invited to dance. Both dancers and audience enjoyed the Inuipat drum dance until 1:30 in the morning.

As this case shows, *Nalukataq* consists of community feasts including food sharing, blanket toss, and Inuipat drum dance.



Picture 9. Blanket toss (June 29, 2012)



Picture 10. Drum Dance *Nalukataq* (June 29, 2012)

4.4.4. Quantity of Whale Meat and Other Edible Parts Provided to the *Nalukataq* Feasts

As already mentioned, portions of a whale provided at the *Nalukataq* feasts were as follows, according to the rule.

(1)*Uati*: This is kept in the successful captain’s ice cellar and is served at the feasts such as *Nalukataq*, Christmas and Thanksgiving. Half of this part is provided to the *Nulukataq*.

(2)*Itigruk*: This part is kept in the successful captain’s ice cellar and given to the visitors at *Nalukataq*. Half of this part is given to the *Nualukataq*.

(3)*Aqikkaak*: This part is kept in the successful captain’s ice cellar and served at the feasts such as *Nalukataq*, Christmas and Thanksgiving. Half of this part is given to the *Nualukataq*.

(9)*Utchik* (tongue): Half is divided among the all crews on the butchering site. Approximately one quarter is served at the successful captain’s feast and the remainder at *Nalukataq*.

(10)*Uumman* (heart), *Ingaluaq* (intestine) and *Taqtu* (kidney): Half is served at the successful captain’s feast. The remainder is served at *Nalukataq*.

In this section, I estimate the quantity of whale meat and other edible parts which each whaling crew provided to *Nalukataq* according to the information from George, Philo, Carroll and Albert (1988), and Brower Jr. and Hepa (1998: 38).

Table 5 shows the names of successful whaling captains, and dates of harvest, sex and length in body of whales the five *Nalukataq* hosting crews hunted. The average length in body of the whales caught is 9.32 meters.

Number of each whale	The Whaling Captain (whaling crew name)	Dates of Harvest	Sex of Whales Caught	Length in Body of Wales Caught
1	Oliver Leavitt (Oliver Leavitt Crew)	April 22, 2012	female	10.08 meters
2	Jonathan Aiken (Aiken Crew)	April 22, 2012	Male	9.88 meters
3	Jacob Adams (Anagi Crew)	April 23, 2012	female	8.79 meters
4	George Adams (George Adams Crew)	April 28, 2012	Male	8.31meters
5	Charles Hopson (Hopson 1)	May 2, 2012	female	9.56 meters

Table 5. The Names of Successful Waling Captains, and the Dates, Sex and Length in Body of Whales Caught (Information Source : Department of Wildlife Management, North Slope Borough)

Again, I assume that length of a whale is directly proportional to its weight. As the weight of a 11 meter whale is 14,797 kilograms, that of a 9.32 meter whale is about 12,537 kilograms. On the basis of this calculation, the weight of each part of the 9.32 meter whale can be calculated (see Table 6).

Parts	Percent	Weight
Tongue	6 percent	752.2 kilograms
Blubber with skins	44 percent	5014.84 kilograms
Meat	16 percent	2005.90 kilograms
Flipper	1.5 percent	188.06 kilograms
Kidney (both)	0.7 percent	87.76 kilograms
Heart	0.6 percent	75.22 kilograms
Intestines	1.5 percent	188.06 kilograms

Table 6. The Weight of Each Part of a 9.32 Meter Whale

About 30 percent of *Auti* (meat and *maktak*) are provided to *Nalukataq* and edible part of blubber with skins is about 20 percent. Thus, weight of meat for *Nalukataq* is 601.78 kilograms and that of *maktak* is 330.98 kilograms. As 25 percent of tongue is provided to *Nalukataq*, its weight is 188.05 kilograms. As half of flippers goes to *Nalukataq*, it weighs 94.03 kilograms. 50 percent of each of heart, kidney, and intestines is provided to *Nalukataq*, each of them weighs 43.88, 37.61 and 94.03 kilograms.

Total weight of each part of the five whales is shown in Table 7 and the total weight of five whales is about 6,951.8 kilograms.

Parts	Total Weight of Each Part Provided to the <i>Nalukataq</i>
Tongue	940.25 kilograms
Blubber with Skins	1654.90 kilograms
Meat	3008.90 kilograms
Flippers	470.15 kilograms
Kidney (both)	219.40 kilograms
Heart	188.05 kilograms
Intestines	470.15 kilograms

Table 7. Estimated Weight of Each Part of the Five Whales Provided to the *Nalukataq* on June 29, 2012

This estimation shows that about seven tons of meat and other parts were provided by five whaling captains and their crews to the *Nalukataq* held on June 29, 2012. If one thousand villagers participate in this whaling festival, each person can obtain about 3 kilograms of meat, about 1.7 kilograms of *maktak*, and other parts. If he or she cannot eat all of them, he or she can take the reminders back to his or her house. Thus, the feasts of *Nalukataq* have two functions: communal feasting and food sharing (distribution)

4.5 Communal Feasts and Sharing at Thanksgiving Day

At Thanksgiving Day in November and at Christmas in December, several churches in Barrow host feasts. Each successful captain provides meat and *maktak* to these churches which the Inupiat people attend, such as the *Utiqagvik* Presbyterian Church, Assembly of God Church, the New Beginning Church, and Cornerstone Community Church. Every two years a messenger feast will be held in Barrow. As many people from outside the community are invited to the feast, whaling captains and crews members provide food including whale meat and *maktak* for the feast. While participants enjoy meals at a feast of each church, they receive remaining whale meat and *maktak* and take them home back. In this section, I describe a feast at Thanksgiving Day at the *Utiqagvik* Presbyterian Church on November 24, 2011.

4.5.1 Preparation for Thanksgiving Feast

The days get shorter and the temperature lower in October in the Barrow region. Thus, several members of each of the successful whaling crews engage in cutting 2 X 6 inch pieces of meat and *maktak* at their captain's house or the workshop house owned by the Barrow Whaling Captains Association. They put them into paper boxes and keep them at the captain's ice cellar until the Thanksgiving Day.

Around 9:00 AM on the Thanksgiving Day, each whaling crew delivered many boxes of each of meat and *maktak* to four churches where many Inupiat attended the church service. For example, Herman Ahsoak, a successful whaling captain of the previous fall hunt and his four crew members divided many boxes of whale meat, those of *maktak*, and those of tails equally into four groups and delivered each of them to each of the churches by truck. They began their delivery soon after 9:00AM and completed it just before 11:00 AM.

At each church, its church committee members and volunteers prepared for the feast and sharing

of whale meat and *maktak*.

4.5.2 Carrying Out the Thanksgiving Feast

Villagers started to come into the church and to occupy spots for their families with their dishes, cups, knives, salt, plastic bags, corrugated cardboard boxes, and large plastic boxes around 11:00AM. Usually, the Thanksgiving feast begins after offering a prayer around noon.

The program of the Thanksgiving ceremony at the *Utiqiaqvik* Presbyterian Church on November 24, 2011 is in the following.

1. Welcome and Call to Worship
2. HYMN
3. Offering
4. HYMN
5. Scripture
6. Blessings of the Food
7. Roll Call of the Servers
8. Feasting
9. Closing Song – “How Great Thou Art” in Iñupiat
10. Benediction



Picture 11. Thanksgiving Day Feast @ *Utiqiaqvik* Presbyterian Church (Nov. 24, 2011)

Just after noon, the prayers began. After the prayers, several volunteers started to serve soup of caribou meat, rice and potatoes to each participant. At 13:25, they provided three pieces of frozen *maktak* to each of his/her family. The participants cut them into small pieces and ate them. Volunteer children poured fresh coffee in their cups. Several participants sang songs and gave messages to other participants. Then, four pieces of *maktak* was given each family in the church, then two, two, and two pieces. The participants kept the remaining pieces in their plastic cooler boxes.

Around 14:15, a group of women members of the church song sings, and then other people sang them and spoke to the participants on the front stage in the church. An additional four pieces of *maktak* were given to them. The volunteer children served tea to all the participants. 12 pieces of frozen meat (10 to 15 kilograms) from the last spring or fall whale hunts were given to each family. The participants ate some of them and kept remainders in the boxes. An additional four pieces and then another 2 pieces were given to each family. Several people sang songs on the stage in the

church.

At 15:30, many wives of whaling captains sang a song. Then the whaling captains sang a song back to their wives. Volunteer servers provided a one third bag of *mikigak* to each family. A group of ladies from a family sang a song. Then several elders of the church sang a song for Mr. Johnny Chambers who would leave here for another town in December. Ten pieces of frozen tail part (7 to 8 kilograms) were given to each family, then four pieces of it.

At 16:25 several people sang songs and participants began to go home gradually. One fish called “Cisco” was given each family by the volunteers. At 16:35, children sang songs. Boiled fruits were served to each of the participants. Around 16:50 all the remaining people sang a song and the end of the feast was declared by one of the church committee members.

Each family group left the church for home with the cooler box filled with frozen *maktak*, frozen meat, and frozen tail. As many people attended the *Utiqiaqvik* Presbyterian Church, each family received a relatively small amount of whale meat and other parts. On the other hand, each of participants in other churches which attract fewer people than the Presbyterian Church receives a relatively larger amount than each of those in the church.

At 19:30 many villagers gathered and enjoyed Inupiat drum dance at the elementary school in the town. While about ten men drummed and sang a song, a group of people such as a whaling crew or an extended family danced by turns. Through dancing, each group confirmed and expressed its group identity or/and Inupiat identity. Each of four special dance groups in Barrow took over the drumming and singing for one hour for villagers.

4.5.3 Spring and Fall Whale Hunts in 2011

The Barrow whalers harvested seven whales in spring and eleven in fall of 2011. The following Table 8 shows the names of successful whaling captains (crews), dates of harvest, sex and length in body of harvested whales.

Number of Each Whale	Whaling Captain (Crew Name)	Date of Harvest	Sex	Length in Body
1	Ned Arey (AC Crew)	April 26, 2011	male	8.8 meters
2	Crawford Potkotak (Poktotak Crew)	April 28, 2011	male	8.6 meters
3	Harry Brower, Jr. (Little Kupaaq Crew)	May 6, 2011	female	17.5 meters
4	Edward Itta (Saggan Crew)	May 12, 2011	female	7.8 meters
5	Joseph Ahkivgak (Ahkivgak Crew)	May 21, 2011	female	16 meters
6	Anthony Edwardssen (Edwardsen Crew)	May 21, 2011	female	16.9 meters
7	Charles Hopson, Sr. (Hopson II Crew)	May 22, 2011	male	15.4 meters
8	Jonathan Aikin (Aiken Crew)	October 8, 2011	female	8.4 meters
9	Gorden Brower (ABC Crew)	October 8, 2011	female	12.5 meters
10	Quilliuq Pebley	October 24, 2011	male	8.6 meters

	(Panigeo Crew)			
1 1	Geroge Adams (Geroge Adams Crew)	October 24, 2011	male	8.5 meters
1 2	George Ahmaogak (Ahmaogak Crew)	October 27, 2011	male	10.2 meters
1 3	Qulliq Pebley (Papigeo Crew)	October 27, 2011	male	8.2 meters
1 4	Jacob Adams (Anagi Crew)	October 29, 2011	male	11.7 meters
1 5	Henry Kignak (Agnatuk Crew)	October 29, 2011	male	14.6 meters
1 6	Herman Ahsoak (Quvan Crew)	October 29, 2011	male	13.9 meters
1 7	Ross Wilhelm (Makalik Crew)	October 29, 2011	female	14.5 meters
1 8	Frederik Brower (Aalaak Crew)	October 30, 2011	female	10.2 meters

Table 8. The Names of Successful Whaling Captains (Crews), Dates of Harvest, Sex and Length in Body of Harvested Whales in 2011

4.5.4 The Quantity of Whale Meat and Other Parts Provided to the Thanksgiving Feast on November 24, 2011

A successful whaling captain provides half of meat and *maktak* of the *Uati* and that of *maktak* of the *Aqikkak* from spring whale hunts to feasts at Thanksgiving Day and Christmas. Thus, one fourth of each of the parts goes to the Thanksgiving feast.

On the other hand, all the parts except those consumed and shared at each successful boat captain's feast from fall whale hunts go to feasts at Thanksgiving Day and Christmas. Thus, each of the successful whaling captains gives half of meat and *maktak* of the *Uati*, half of *maktak* of the *Itigruk* and that of *maktak* of the *Aqikkak* from fall whale hunts to either of them. Generally, the captain does not provide tongue and internal organs to the feast at Thanksgiving Day or Christmas.

4.5.5 The Quantity of Whale Meat and *Maktak* Provided to the Thanksgiving Feast

As the average length of harvested whales was 13 meters in the spring hunts in 2011, the average weight of them can be estimated as 17,460 kilograms per whale. The table 9 shows the estimated weight of meat, *maktak*, and tails of the whale.

Name of Parts	Weight	Percent
Meat	2,793.6 kilograms	16%
<i>Maktak</i>	7,682.4 kilograms	44%
Tails	261.9 kilograms	1.5%

Table 9 Names of Meat, *Maktak*, and Tails of 13Meter whale, Their Weight, and Ratio

On the basis of this table 9, I estimate the weight of each of meat, *maktak*, and tails provided to the Thanksgiving feasts. Meat weighs 16 percent of the total weight of a whale and *Uati* is about 30 percent of a whole whale. Also, one fourth of the *Uati* is provided to the Thanksgiving feasts. The weight of the total meat of an average whale for the feasts is 209.5 kilograms. On the other hand, *maktak* weighs 44 percent of the total weight of a whale and edible part of it can be estimated 20 percent of its weight. Also, *Uati* is about 30 percent of a whole whale and one fourth of the *Uati* is provided to the Thanksgiving feasts. Thus, the weight of *maktak* for them is 115.2 kilograms. One fourth of tails are given to the Thanksgiving feasts and edible part of tails is 20 percent. Thus, the

weight of the tails for the feasts is 13.1 kilograms. In the spring of 2011, seven whales were landed in Barrow. Therefore, total weight of each of meat, *maktak* and tails for Thanks giving feasts is 1,466.5, 806.4 and 806.4 kilograms respectively.

4.5.6 The Quantity of Whale Meat and Other Edible Parts provided to Thanksgiving Feasts from the Fall Whale Harvest

As the average length of whales landed was 11 meters in the fall whale hunts in 2011, the average weight of them is estimated to be 14,797 kilograms. The table 10 shows the estimated weight of meat, *maktak* and tails of a 11 meter whale, their weight, and ratio.

	Weight	Ratio
Meat	2,428 kilograms	16%
<i>Maktak</i>	6,601 kilograms	44%
Tails	217.7kilograms	1.5%

Table 10 Weight and Ratio of Meat, *Maktak*, and Tails of a 11 Meter Whale

I estimate the weight of meat and *maktak* provided to feasts at Thanksgiving on the basis of Table 10. Meat weighs 16 percent of the total weight of a whale. The *Uati* part of it weighs about 30 percent of it. 50% of meat of the *Uati* is provided to feasts at Thanksgiving Day. Thus, 364.2 kilograms of meat is given to them. On the other hand, *maktak* weighs about 44 % of the total weight of a whale and its 20 percent is edible. The *Uati* part of it weighs about 30 percent of it. 50% of *maktak* of the *Uati* is provided to feasts at Thanksgiving Day. The total weight of *maktak* for them is estimated to be 198 kilograms. Half of tails is provided to the Thanksgiving feasts and edible parts of the tails are 20 percent. Thus, the total weight of *maktak* for them is estimated to be 21.8 kilograms. Eleven whales were landed in the fall whale hunts. Thus, total weight of each of meat, *maktak*, and tails for the Thanksgiving feasts is 4,006.2, and 2,178, and 239.8 kilograms respectively.

4.5.6 Thanksgiving Feasts held on November 26, 2011

The Table 11 shows the total weight of each of meat, *maktak*, and tails provided to Thanksgiving Feasts held in Barrow on November 26, 2011.

	Weight
Meat	5,472.7 kilograms
<i>Maktak</i>	2,984.4 kilograms
Tails	331.5 kilograms

Table 11 The Total Weight of Meat, *Maktak* and Tails Provided to Thanksgiving Feasts held in Barrow on November 26, 2011.

As I described here, the successful whaling captains and their crews provided a large amount of meat, *maktak*, and tails to Thanksgiving feasts. The participants in them receive and eat them at one of the churches and bring the remaining food back to their homes. Almost the same amount of meat, *maktak*, and tails will be provided to the Christmas feasts by the captains and their crews. Thus, the Thanksgiving Day and Christmas feasts have two functions: community feasting and food sharing.

Each of the all the whaling captains and their crews provides their catch equally to four churches. Thus, the more family attendants at a church, the less meat, *maktak*, and tails they receive. If we assume that all the Inupiat persons (about 3,200 including babies in 2011) receive an equal amount of meat, *maktak* and tails, one receive 1.7 kilograms of meat, 0.93 kilograms of *maktak*, and 0.1 kilograms of tails.

5. Sharing and Exchange within Barrow and Those between Barrows and Other Places

5.1 Sharing of Whale Meat and *Maktak* within Barrow

Whale meat and *maktak* are shared among a captain and his crew members under the supervision of the captain. Also, the captain will give some meat and *maktak* as a share from *Tavsi* parts to several persons who provide gas, food, cash or equipment for the whale hunt. Furthermore, the captain and his/her crew members will share meat and *maktak* with other people such as their parents, uncles and aunts, siblings, elders, widows, and persons in economic need through meals and/or giving (Bodenhorn 2000 : 38-44 ; 2005). Some meat and *maktak* are given by the whaling captain to a family in which a member passes away. Also they may give baleen to several artists in Barrow, who are their kinsmen.

5.2 Exchange of Whale Products

A lot of siblings, cousins, children, nephews, nieces, friends of the Inupiat in Barrow live in other villages, towns and cities in USA. The Inupiat in Barrow communicate with them by phone, facebook, and/or e-mail. If their relatives or friends tell Barrow people they hope to have whale products, the Barrow people send some meat and *maktak* to these persons. For example, a whaling captain sent about 13.6 kilograms (30 pounds) of meat, *maktak* and tail parts to his wife's aunt in Nuiqsut, 10.9 kilograms (24 pounds) of them to the Alaska Children Service in Anchorage, 11.3 kilograms (25 pounds) of them to his cousin in Anchorage, and 13.1 kilograms (29 pounds) of them to his another cousin in Fairbanks by air cargo after his successful fall hunt in 2011. As far as my research concerns, the Barrow people send whale meat and *maktak* to people in Nuiqsut, Atqasuq, Point Lay, Point Hope, Nome, Anaktutvuk Pass, Kotzeboue, Nowvik, Fairbanks, Anchorage, Montana State, Washington State, Arizona State, California State, Hawaii State, etc. by air cargo. On the other hand, their family, relatives and friends in neighboring communities send smelt or meat/*maktak* of beluga whale to them.

On a village level the North Slope Borough mayor's office in Barrow sends whale meat and *maktak* to other communities at their request. In November, 2011, each of eleven successful whaling captains brought 3 boxes of meat and 3 boxes of *maktak* to the North Slope Borough mayor's office at the request of the communities such as Anaktutvuk Pass, Atqasuk, and Point Hope. Each box weighs about 13.5 kilograms. The mayor's office delivered about 150 kilograms each of meat and *maktak* to each of the communities for the Christmas feast.

Barrow people also exchange local products with people in other communities whom they met at various indigenous meetings. For example, while an Inupiat man in Barrow sent about 20 kg of whale meat and *maktak* to a Yupiit man, the latter sent dried salmon to the former. In this way, Barrow people often share and exchange local products with people in other places or other Aboriginal people.

Persons outside Barrow	Food/Goods to Barrow	Food/Goods from Barrow
A non-Inupiat friend in Hooper Bay, Alaska	moose meat	<i>Maktak</i>
A non-Inupiat friend on Kodiak Island	salmon and halibat	<i>Maktak</i>
A non-Inupiat friend in Inland Alaska	Caribou blubber	whale meat, <i>maktak</i> , and whale oil
An Inupiat friend in Wainwright	arctic rainbow smelt and beluga whale meat	<i>Maktak</i> , caribou meat, white fish, bearded seal meat, and walrus meat
A non-Inupiat friend on Yukon river inland Alaska	salmon and moose stripes	seal oil and <i>maktak</i>
A non-Inupiat friend in Bethel	salon and berries	<i>maktak</i> and seal oil
An Inupiat friend in Atqasuq	white fish with roe	<i>Maktak</i>
Inupiat friends in Anchorage and Fairbanks	tea and coffee, flour, gloves, and rope for a float	whale meat and <i>maktak</i>

Table 12. Exchange of Food and Goods between Barrow and Other Villages

As Table 12 shows, Barrow people and persons outside Barrow exchange their products with each other.

5.3 Sale of Whale Products

Edible parts of whales are not sold by the Inupiat but are shared or distributed among them through a rule-governed and voluntary sharing in Barrow. Furthermore, Barrow people share them with their families, relatives, or friends in other places and exchange them with their friends or acquaintance in other locations. The Inupiat people do not attempt to make monetary profits from their activities. Rather, the Inupiat people use their own cash income to run their whaling activities.

There is an exception concerning sale of whale products. Baleen can be sold \$35 per about 30 cm in Barrow. However, many captains and hunters often simply give baleen parts to their family members, relatives and/or friends who make artistic pieces from the baleen. Arts and crafts made of Baleen or whale bones are sold to tourists.

6 Discussion

Whale products such as meat and *maktak* except baleen are not sold but shared or/and exchanged by the Inupiat in Barrow. The first sharing soon after the butchering of a whale and secondary sharing through several community feasts such as the successful whaling captain's feast, *Apugauti*, *Nalukataq*, Thanksgiving, Christmas, *Kigviq* (messenger feast) are a kind of rule-governed sharing or sharing by rule. Also, there are voluntary sharing, gifting and/or exchange by whaling captains and hunters.

In this section, I hope to discuss characteristics, reasons, and functions of sharing and gifting by the Inupiat.

6.1 Characteristics of Sharing of a Whale

First, there are two kinds of sharing of a whale: sharing by rule and voluntary sharing. The former sharing includes that of formal sharing soon after butchering of a whale and that through several community feasts. In this case, how to and how much to share the parts of the whale is defined by rule to considerable degree. On the other hand, the voluntary sharing is carried out based on individual decision and discretion in daily life.

Second, the two kinds of sharing allow for the distribution of whale meat and *maktak* to all of the households in the whole community. In particular, while the rule governed sharing soon after the butchering of a whale does not allow a particular successful captain and his crew members to get only certain amount of meat and *maktak*, it gives most of the whale products to other whaling crews who help towing and butchering the whale, and whole community feasts. Then, voluntary sharing results in the distribution of the whale products to many Inupiat in and out of Barrow.

6.2 A Reason to Share a Whale by Rule

In this section, I would like to discuss the rules concerning whale sharing and distribution. There are two very interesting studies concerning this topic, including Bodenhorn (2000) and another by Dahl (2000). Bodenhorn argues that we should clearly distinguish between shares and sharing in the case of the Inupiat's sharing of a whale (Bodenhorn 2000: 28-2). She refers to "shares" as something one can earn as an individual within Inupiat organization (Bodenhorn 2000: 29). On the other hand, people are expected to share, but decide for themselves how much they will give, to whom and in what context (Bodenhorn 2000: 39). She points out that a person can earn his/her share by providing a means of production or by participation in the whale hunt.

Dahl who has conducted his field research in Saqqaq in Northwestern Greenland stresses that it is important to distinguish between sharing and the giving of meat gift. Dahl describes as follows.

"I prefer to use the term 'sharing' to denote an integrated part of the system of relations of production, and thus distinguish sharing from exchange, in which distribution of meat gifts is the most important component. In this sense, sharing follows from a right that some persons have to specified parts of an animal or to a specified amount of meat and *mattak*,

in contrast to a moral and social obligation to give away meat or lend things to others. ‘The meat gift is, as mentioned, a voluntary distribution not demanding any payment according to value or need’ (Dahl 2000: 177-178).

Although Bodenhorn and Dahl use the term ‘sharing’ in different ways, they share a similar view that a rule-governed sharing of a whale or a beluga is associated with relations of production and/or co-production. I share this idea with them.

Although a whaling crew can kill a bowhead whale, it may have a lot of difficulty in towing, pulling it up on the ice, and butchering it by one crew’s labor only. Two or more whaling crews always participate in the butchering process. Taking these matters into account, I would argue that a reason to share a whale by rule is established to make sure it that co-workers or providers of tools can always get a certain amount of the whale products (cf. Alvard 2002; Alvard and Nolin 2002). Furthermore, the sharing by rule soon after the butchering of the whale prevents a successful crew from exclusively owing it and contributes to making sure that other whaling crews, helpers and a whole community can get shares from the successful whale hunt. Thus, I maintain that the formal sharing by rule is a device that whale products are to be distributed to and benefit the whole community.

6.3 Function and Effects of Sharing by Rule and Voluntary Sharing

The successful captain and his crew members cannot earn a lot of material benefits from a successful hunt. Why do they continue hunting and sharing whales? I think that the reason comes from multi-dimensional functions and effects of sharing practices.

First, the formal sharing of a whale by rule soon after butchering provides culturally high-valued food such as whale meat, *maktak*, etc. to a whole community through several community feasts. Whaling captains and crew members stress that they carry out whale hunts in order to feed the whole community. As I pointed out, about 95% of edible parts of a whale are given to other whaling crews who help the successful crew for towing and butchering of a whale (60%) or community feasts (35%). Thus, successful whale hunts and sharing of the whales bring meat and *maktak* not only to whaling crews through the formal sharing by rule but also to a community at large through several community feasts hosted by successful whaling captains.

Second, participation in whale hunts and community feasts provide occasions for the Inupiat to reconfirm their ethnic and community identities. Community-wide activities create “we feeling” among the participants.

Third, two kinds of sharing are practiced according to particular social relationships of the Inupiat. Through the rule-governed sharing practices, symbolic relationships between whales and the Inupiat, social relationships between whaling crews and the whole community, and those within each whaling crew, etc. are reaffirmed and maintained. Also, the voluntary sharing practices reconfirm and maintain familial relationships, kin relationships and friend relationships.

Fourth, a series of practices of the two kinds of sharing result in leveling the amount of consumption and possession in whale products among households, extended families or whaling crews within the community.

Fifth, as the voluntary sharing practices have a social security function that they help widows, elders, disabled persons, persons in economic need, etc., the practices contribute to community well-being.

Sixth, as sharing practices of the two kinds are based on a worldview of a reciprocal or cyclical relationship among whales, the God, and the Inupiat, the worldview is reproduced through sharing practices. A bowhead whale is a special entity to the Inupiat who believe that a whale has the capability to see and hear what is happening in a human society. Also, they believe that the whale gives itself to a whaling captain and his wife who are generous and kind both to other people and it. As a whaling captain’s wife is thought to attract whales, she plays a very important symbolic role in the whale hunt to attract them for her husband’s whaling crew (Bodenhorn 1990). Thus, whaling captains and their wives try to behave or speak properly so as not to threaten or bother whales. Also, they share their food with other people and help anybody in trouble or need. These ideas are still prevalent among the contemporary Inupiat in Barrow. However, they have another view on

relationships between the Inupiat and whales under the long-standing influence of Christianity, which was introduced in this region around the 1890s (Burch 1994). Because the contemporary Inupiat believe that the Christian God sends whales to the Inupiat, they give their thanks to the God for their success in whaling. In other words, they thank whales indirectly via the God that gives whales to the Inupiat. A wife of a whaling captain told me: “A whale is a gift from the Lord. Thus, we have to give it to the whole community. A whale is a special gift. We feel a greatness to distribute the meat to people.” Also, another lady who used to be a co-captain of her father’s crew told me: “When we hunt and butcher a whale, we thank it and pray to God”.

Seventh, both sharing by rule and voluntary sharing have the effect of enhancing the reputation or high prestige of successful whaling captains and hunters. A whaling captain and his crew members who always catch a whale and host community feasts as well as those who help other Inupiat through voluntary sharing can obtain social status and are regarded as a real Inupiat person. Respectful whaling captains and their wives tend to be elected as chair persons of various community committees, mayors and members of assemblies of North Slope Borough and the city of Barrow, and presidents of various aboriginal organizations.

I think that the Inupiat continue whaling and sharing their products because of the above mentioned multi-dimensional functions and effects of whaling and sharing practices.

7 Conclusion

There are two kinds of sharing practices: formal sharing by rule and voluntary sharing among the Inupiat whalers. Both of the sharing practices are devices that the culturally high valued food such as whale meat and *maktak* is to be distributed to a whole community. Furthermore, these sharing practices have multi-dimensional functions and effects including efficient distribution of culturally valued food to a whole community, contribution to community well-being, and leveling the amount of consumption and possession of whale products among Inupiat households within a community, in addition to reproducing the worldview, identities at several levels and social relationships of the Inupiat. Also, whaling captains and their crew members can get social prestige and cultural satisfaction through practices of these two kinds of sharing.

Finally, I argue that whaling and sharing practices are a means to seek and share culturally high valued resources such as whale products for a whole community among the Inupiat. The whaling and sharing of the products themselves seem to be one of their aims (cf. Bodenhorn 2005; Fienup-Riordan 1983). And the results contribute to community well-being (Wenzel 1991: 100) and the continued cultural and social identity of the Inupiat.

(Acknowledgements)

I thank the following people for their help and moral support to my research in Barrow, Alaska from 2006 to 2011: Glenn Sheehan of BASC, Eugene Brower, Harry Brower, Jr., Herman Ahsoak, and Johnny Leavitt of The Barrow Whaling Captains Association, Craig George and Taqulik Hepa of Department of Wildlife Management, NSB government, Lewis Brower, George Neakok, Robert Ningeok, Sr., Gordon Brower, Margaret Opie, Dora Arey, Janita Kignak, Charlotte Brower, Bryan Thomas, Scott Oyagak, Nok Acker, Edith Suvlu, Michael Donovan III, Michale D. Stotts, Anthony Edwardsen, and others. Also, I thank Dr. Jamaes Savelle of McGill University for his check and correction of my earlier drafts. If there are any shortcomings, they are of course mine.

Bibliography

Alvard, Michael S.

2002 Carcass Ownership and Meat Distribution by Big-Game Cooperative Hunters. *Social Dimensions in the Economic Process* 21: 99-131.

Alvard, Michael S. and David A. Nolin

- 2002 Rousseau's Whale Hunt?: Coordination among Big-Game Hunters. *Current Anthropology* 43(4): 533-559.
- Bockstoce, John R.
2009 *Furs and Frontiers in the far North: The Contest among Native and Foreign Nations for the Bering Strait Fur Trade*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Bockstoce, John R. et al.
2005 The Geographic Distribution of Bowhead Whales, *Balaena mysticetus*, in the Bering, Chukchi, and Beaufort Seas: Evidence from Whaling Records, 1849-1914. *Marine Fisheries Review* 67(3):1-43.
- Bodenhorn, Barbara
1990 I'm Not the Great Hunter, My Wife Is: Inupiat and Anthropological Models of Gender. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 14(1-2): 55-74.
2000 It's Good to Know Who Your Relatives Are. In G. W. Wenzel, G. Hovelsrud-Broda and N. Kishigami (eds.) *The Social Economy of Sharing: Resource Allocation and Modern Hunter-Gatherers* (Senri Ethnological Studies No.53), pp.27-60. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
2003 Fall Whaling in Barrow, Alaska: A Consideration of Strategic Decision-Making. In Allen P. McCartney (ed.) *Indigenous Ways to the Present: Native Whaling in the Western Arctic*, pp. 277-306. Edmonton: CCI Press.
2005 Sharing Costs: An Exploration of Personal and Individual Property. In Thomas Widlok and Wolde Gossa Tadesse (eds.) *Property and Equality* Vol.1 (Ritualisation, Sharing, Egalitarianism), pp.77-104. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Braund, S. R., W. M. Marquette and J. R. Bockstoce.
1988 Appendix 1. Data on Shore-Based Bowhead Whaling at Sites in Alaska. Anchorage: Stephen R. Braund and Associates.
- Braund, S. R. and E. L. Moorehead
1995 Contemporary Alaska Eskimo bowhead Whaling Villages. In Allen P. McCartney (ed.) *Hunting the Largest Animals: Native Whaling in the Western Arctic and Subarctic*, pp.253-279. Edmonton: CCI Press.
- Brewster, Karen (ed.)
2004 *The Whales They Give Themselves: Conversations with Harry Brower, Sr.* Fairbanks: University of Fairbanks Press.
- Brower Jr., Harry and Taqulik Hepa
1998 Subsistence Hunting Activities and the Inupiat Eskimo. *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 22(3): 37-39.
- Burch, Jr. Ernest S.
1994 The Inupiat and the Christianization of Arctic Alaska? *Études/Inuit/Studies* 18(1-2): 81-108.
2006 *Social Life in Northwest Alaska: The Structure of Inupiaq Eskimo Nations*. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.
- Dahl, Jens
2000 *Saqqaq: An Inuit Hunting Community in the Modern World*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Fienup-Riordan, Ann
1983 *The Nelson Island Eskimo: Social Structure and Ritual Distribution*. Anchorage: Alaska Pacific University Press.
- Foote, B. A.
1992 1. Hunting, Fishing and Gathering – Methods and Equipment. *The Tigara Eskimos and Their Environment*, pp.21-32. Point Hope, Alaska: North Slope Borough Commission on Inupiat History, Language and Culture.
- Gambell, Ray
1983 Bowhead Whales and Alaskan Eskimos: A Problem of Survival. *Polar Record* 21: 467-473.
- Gamo, Masao

- 1964 Structural Principles of Alaskan Eskimo Bands. *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology* 28: 149-180. (In Japanese)
- George, John Craig
- 1981 Current Procedure for Allocating the Bowhead Whale, *Balaena mysticetus*, by the Eskimo Whalers of Barrow, Alaska. In T. F. Albert (ed.) *Tissue Structural Studies and Other Investigations on the Biology of Endangered Whales in the Beaufort Sea*, pp.789-805. Report to the Bureau of Land Management from the Department of Veterinary Science, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. 20742.
- George, John Craig, L. Michael Philo, Geoffrey M. Carroll, and Thomas F. Albert
- 1988 1987 Subsistence Harvest of Bowhead Whales, *Balana mysticetus*, by Alaskan Eskimos (SC/39/PS12). Thirty-Eighth Report of the International Whaling Commission.
- Hess, Bill
- 1999 *Gift of the Whale: The Iñupiat Bowhead Hunt, A Sacred Tradition*. Seattle: Sasquatch Books.
- Huntington, Henry P.
- 1992 *Wildlife Management and Subsistence Hunting in Alaska*. London: Belhaven Press.
- Ikuta, Hiroko
- 2007 Iñupiat Pride: *Kivgiq* (Messenger Feast) on the Alaskan North Slope. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 18(1-2): 81-108.
- Jolles, Carol Zane with the assistance of Elinor Mikaghaq Oozeva
- 2002 *Faith, Food and Family in a Yupik Whaling Community*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.
- IWC (International Whaling Commission)
- 1981 Report of the Ad Hoc Technical Committee Working Group on Development of Management Principles and Guidelines for Subsistence Catches of Whales by Indigenous (Aboriginal) peoples. IWC/33/14, 30pp.
- Kishigami, Nobuhiro
- 2005 Co-Management of Beluga Whales in Nunavik (Arctic Quebec), Canada. In N. Kishigami and J. M. Savelle (eds.) *Indigenous Use and Management of Marine Resources* (Senri Ethnological Studies No.67), pp.121-144. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- 2009 A Preliminary Consideration of Aboriginal Subsistence Whaling from the Perspective of Cultural Security: A Case from Northwest Alaska, USA. *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* 33(4):493-550. (in Japanese)
- 2010 Climate Change, Oil and Gas Development, and Inupiat Whaling in Northwest Alaska. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 34(1): 91-107.
- North Slope Borough School District
- 2002 Whale Distribution in Barrow, Wainwright, Kaktovik and Nuiqsut. Aġviqsiuġnikun, Whaling Standards, Barrow and Wainwright. Barrow, Alaska: North Slope Borough School District.
- 2012a Barrow Snapshot. In North Slope Borough (ed.) *2010 Economic Profile and Census Report*. Barrow: NSB Department of Administration and Finance.
- 2012b Table 23: Barrow 2010 – Estimated Household and Per Capita Income by Ethnicity. In North Slope Borough (ed.) *2010 Economic Profile and Census Report*. Barrow: NSB Department of Administration and Finance.
- 2012c Table 25: Barrow 2010 – Total “Estimated” Household Income by Ethnicity. In North Slope Borough (ed.) *2010 Economic Profile and Census Report*. Barrow: NSB Department of Administration and Finance.
- 2012d Table 17: Barrow Comparison of Employment Status (all Ethnicities) – 2003 to 2010 (in %). In North Slope Borough (ed.) *2010 Economic Profile and Census Report*. Barrow: NSB Department of Administration and Finance.
- Rainey, F.
- 1947 The Whale Hunters of Tigara. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 41(2): 231-283.

- Sakakibara, Chie
 2010 *Kiavallakkikput Agviq (Into the Whaling Cycle): Cetaceousness and Climate Change among the Iñpiat of Arctic Alaska*. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 100(4): 1003-1012.
- Savelle, James M.
 2005 The Development of Indigenous Whaling: Prehistoric and Historic Contexts. In N. Kishigami and J. M. Savelle (eds.) *Indigenous Use and Management of Marine Resources* (Senri Ethnological Studies 67), pp. 53-58. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- Sheehan, Glenn
 1997 *In the Belly of the Whale: Trade and War in Eskimo Society*. Anchorage: Alaska Anthropological Association.
- Suydam, R. et al.
 2006 Subsistence Harvest of Bowhead Whales (*Balaena mysticetus*) by Alaskan Eskimos during 2005. Barrow: Alaska Whaling Commission.
 2007 Subsistence Harvest of Bowhead Whales (*Balaena mysticetus*) by Alaskan Eskimos during 2006. Barrow: Alaska Whaling Commission.
 2008 Subsistence Harvest of Bowhead Whales (*Balaena mysticetus*) by Alaskan Eskimos during 2007. Barrow: Alaska Whaling Commission.
 2009 Subsistence Harvest of Bowhead Whales (*Balaena mysticetus*) by Alaskan Eskimos during 2008. Barrow: Alaska Whaling Commission.
 2010 Subsistence Harvest of Bowhead Whales (*Balaena mysticetus*) by Alaskan Eskimos during 2009. Barrow: Alaska Whaling Commission.
 2011 Subsistence Harvest of Bowhead Whales (*Balaena mysticetus*) by Alaskan Eskimos during 2010. Barrow: Alaska Whaling Commission.
- Turner, Edith
 1990 The Whale Decides: Eskimos' and Ethnographer's Shared Consciousness on the Ice. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 14(1-2): 39-52.
- VanStone, James W.
 1962 *Point Hope: An Eskimo Village in Transition*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Wenzel, George
 1991 *Animal Rights, Human Rights: Ecology, Economy and ideology in the Canadian Arctic*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Worl, Rosita
 1980 The North Slope Inupiat Whaling Complex. In Y. Kotani and W. B. Workman (eds.) *Alaska Native Culture and History* (Senri Ethnological Studies No.4), pp.305-320. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- Worl, Rosita and Smythe, Charles W.
 1986 Barrow: A Decade of Modernization. The Barrow Case Study Prepared for Minerals Management Service, Alaska OCS Region, Alaska OCS Socioeconomic Studies Program. U.S. Department of the Interior Technical Report No.125.

* This report is written for the Barrow Whaling Captains Association and other persons concerned in Barrow, Alaska, USA. The research project in Barrow from September, 2006 to July, 2012 could not be possible without help and moral support of Mr. Eugene Brower, Mr. Herman Ahsoak, and Mr. Johnny Leavitt of the BWCA, Dr. Glenn Sheehan of Barrow Arctic Science Consortium (BASC), Ms. Taqulik Hepa, Mr. Harry Brower, JR., and Dr. Craig George. I also thank you for all other people who participated in my research, especially for the Quvan Crew and Yugo Crew members, and their families. Shortcomings are of course mine.

Contact:

Nobuhiro Kishigami, PhD
National Museum of Ethnology
10-1 Senri Expo Park
Suita City, Osaka, Japan 565-8511

(e-mail) inuit@idc.minpaku.ac.jp
(phone) 81-(0)6-6878-8255
(fax) 81-(0)6-6876-2160

Title of Report:

Sharing and Distribution of Whale Meat and Other Edible Whale Parts by the Inupiat Whalers in Barrow, Alaska, USA

Author: Nobuhiro KISHIGAMI

Month/Year: January, 2013

Place: Kishigami's Office at National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan