

## 43. Food Transactions involving Money among Hunting and Gathering Peoples

### 16323 - Canadian Inuit Subsistence: Antinomies of the Mixed Economy Adaptation

Presentation type: Oral presentation

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From the advent of the fur trade in the Canadian Arctic to the present, it has been repeatedly predicted that the cumulative effect of Euro-Canadian and, more recently, globalized sociocultural and economic pressures would transform the traditional Inuit economy from a system of socially instituted and organized cooperative food production into one in which labor is individualized and commodified. Instead, contemporary Nunavummiut subsistence culture has evolved what is best described as a mixed economy adaptation with two intertwined sectors: one still based in the production, distribution and consumption of socially valued traditional resources (the “informal” sector) and the other in which money is a scarce, but critical, resource and the externally recognized standard of valuation (the “formal” sector). Further, this adaptation functions through the variable articulation of these sectors’ respective currencies (traditional foods and externally-sourced money). This hybridization is a response to contemporary Inuit reality in which wild foods are vital to Inuit physical and cultural health, while money is essential to acquire and maintain the technologies needed to conduct traditional resource activities.

While the adaptive effectiveness of the Inuit mixed economy has been repeatedly demonstrated, it is also the case that certain antinomies regarding the extent of harmony between its sectors have sometimes been glossed over, if not overlooked outright. This paper will examine inherent tensions occurring between the material provisioning and social maintenance aspects of this economic adaptation as a component of contemporary Inuit subsistence culture.

## **16258 - Money and Subsistence Production Levels: Untangling Conflicting Relationships in Alaska**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** *Wolfe, Robert J., (Wolfe Associates / USA) Corte Lira, (Canada / Kanada)*

This paper examines the conditions and pathways when money (or trade) increases wild food production, when money decreases wild food production, and when money perpetuates customary practices. The paper untangles and interprets conflicting findings from Alaska regarding these relationships, including case examples of effects of money/trade on subsistence production levels, and the apparent statistical relationships of money and subsistence production. The extent to which customary trade of wildlife by Alaska Natives should be formally regulated by government depends on understanding these conditions and pathways.

## 16257 - Money within modern mixed economies: Continuity and Change

Presentation type: Oral presentation

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Despite decades of change stemming from broader social, economic and political transformations, as well as recent dynamics associated with anthropogenic climatic change, mixed subsistence-cash economies have emerged as durable forms of livelihood in the circumpolar north. Households continue to engage in both subsistence and wage employment within broader regional cash economies. Social relationships of sharing and cooperation remain a primary means by which hunted food and other key resources circulate between households, thus sharing and other types of exchange represents both access to needed resources and a degree of social “connectedness” that is culturally valued. Previous research highlights that money increasingly plays a facilitative role - some would say critical role – within current subsistence activities, as households leverage cash from employment to purchase, maintain and fuel key technologies (guns, snow machines, ATVs, boats, vehicles) and purchase other resources (ammunition and groceries, etc.) to provision hunting and fishing efforts. However, wage income and hunting ability/subsistence engagement are unequally distributed throughout communities, so we would expect to see a movement of cash-based resources that would redistribute equipment or provisions between HHs through lending/borrowing/trading relationships. A key relationship considered here describes households providing contributions to the hunting of others and receiving “food shares-for helping”. Kinship relationships are expected to explain a proportion of these flows, but strong cultural narratives around helping those in “need” are expected to explain other flows. We thus explore three questions empirically: 1) Relative to all food and non-food resources flowing between households in communities, what is the magnitude of reciprocal exchanges of food (lbs) for cash-based resources (counts of equipment, groceries, ammunition, etc.)? and customary trade. 2) To what extent does calculated kin distance versus “need” explain these exchanges, and 3) How might “need” be interpreted within the context of a modern mixed economy – is it need based on inability to hunt (i.e. a lack of hunters in a household or age), or is does economic condition explain need (i.e. low household income). Data represent kinship, socio-economic activities of households and social network data representing valued flows of subsistence foods, equipment and labor, based on own and cooperative hunting, shares-for-helping, sharing and customary trade relationships through 3 complete village networks in Alaska - two coastal Iñupiaq communities and one interior Gwitch'in community. These analyses contribute to an understanding of processes of continuity, change and transformation occurring within mixed economies.

## **16216 - Skirting the system: Alaskan families efforts to maintain subsistence lifestyles under current regulatory regimes**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** *Marchioni, Meredith (Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Anchorage, Alaska/ USA)*

Alaska and United States law establish subsistence as the customary and traditional use of wild, renewable resources for various uses as well as in barter, sharing and customary trade. Much of the current day trading and bartering involving noncommercial transfers and exchanges of subsistence products occurs without the use of money. Customary trade is permitted by Federal law but legal only in certain locations of the state and is heavily restricted. The subsistence economy is a mixed economy and successful activities require monetary inputs. Subsistence activities also require a significant amount of time and effort making it difficult to conduct subsistence activities and procure the needed income. This paper will discuss three case studies in undisclosed locations where families have established arrangements that allow them to continue their subsistence lifestyles. The paper will then discuss the feasibility of these arrangements functioning within the current state and federal regulatory and economic systems.

## **16204 - Human-animal relations: Adaptive management in a changing north**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** *Holen, Davin (Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Anchorage, Alaska /USA)*

One of the defining characteristics of indigenous communities in the North is their tie to traditional lands for subsistence and the resources they rely on for their way of life. Projects conducted by social science management agencies in Alaska have mapped traditional territories for subsistence, and traditional ecological knowledge interviews have documented the intimate knowledge that local residents have about the resources they share the land with and on which they have formed reciprocal relationships. Reciprocity between humans and animals often is tied to the reciprocity between people within the community. The relationships between humans and animals are being lost and the reciprocal relationships common within communities are rapidly changing taking on new forms that may come into conflict with existing management of resources in the North.

## **16152 - Monetary Exchange and Moral Economy: Ambivalence and Anxieties in Tlingit and Haida Views on the Use of Money in Exchanges of Subsistence Foods**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** Langdon, Steve J. (University of Alaska Anchorage / USA), Christianson, Anthony, (Hydaburg Cooperative Association/ USA)

In southeast Alaska, Tlingit and Haida villagers regard sockeye salmon as an iconic resource whose harvest, product creation, distribution, exchange and consumption are at the heart of the cultural order. State and Federal law provide for subsistence harvests of salmon only by rural residents. At the present time, transactions of subsistence salmon for money are generally illegal under Alaska State law but authorized with limitations under Federal law. Research in the rural villages of Hydaburg, Kake and Yakutat as well as the urban center of Juneau revealed contra these laws and regulations, a wide range of practices involving the use of money to acquire subsistence salmon products from various sources. Historical data indicate that the use of money in transactions involving subsistence foods with other villagers dates back to the first half of the 20th century as money became more readily available, expanded in importance as a component of the village economy and linkages to the world economy increased. These types of exchanges continued without legal prohibition until Alaska Statehood when a sharp distinction between commercial and subsistence forms of resource utilization was drawn. The state outlawed subsistence transactions for money defining them as forms of commercial behavior that could only be conducted with a state license for commercial transactions. The research found that perspectives on the legalization of monetary exchanges for subsistence salmon ranged from strong support for legalization to opposition based on significant concern about what the outcomes of legalization might be. Tlingit and Haida in Juneau, who by law are not allowed to participate in subsistence salmon harvesting, reported limited access to salmon and high demand for additional amounts. Urban residents strongly supported authorization of the regional tribe to act as an intermediary to allow village subsistence producers to sell their products to tribal members in Juneau. The term moral economy is used in this paper to frame views that expressed ambivalence and anxiety about, among other things, the impact of money on traditional sharing attitudes and practices which provide for the elderly, disabled and disadvantaged and concerns that increased harvest levels would occur causing state-enforced limitations that would affect all residents, not just those engaging in monetary transactions.

## **16009 - Contemporary Subsistence Hunting, Fishing, Gathering, and Exchanges of Wild, Renewable Resources in Alaska**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** Fall, James (*Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Anchorage, Alaska/ USA*)

Hunting, fishing, and gathering of wild renewable resources remain central to the economy and way of life of over 200 Alaska Native and other rural Alaska communities. In 2012, these harvests, consisting of salmon and other fish, land and marine mammals, shellfish, birds and their eggs, and wild plants, provided an estimated 37 million pounds of food, about 295 pounds per person. These harvests are embedded within local, mixed economies with cash and subsistence sectors; limited cash earnings are invested in equipment and supplies to support subsistence hunting and fishing. Subsistence harvests also occur within a complex legal and regulatory framework. State and federal laws recognize sharing, barter, and customary trade as customary and traditional forms of exchange of fish and wildlife taken for subsistence uses in Alaska. Customary trade differs from sharing and barter in that it involves limited amounts of cash. This paper will describe contemporary patterns of subsistence hunting, fishing, and gathering in Alaska and the contrasting approaches to the regulation of customary trade within state and federal resource management systems. The presentation will provide perspectives for further discussion of issues such as food security, sustainability, and co-management of fish and wildlife faced by the hunting and fishing communities of Alaska today.

## **15878 - Customary Trade in Finfish: A Case Study of Processes Leading to Authorization under Alaska State Law in the Norton Sound Region**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** *Magdanz, James (University of Alaska, Fairbanks / USA)*

In Alaska, customary and traditional subsistence uses of wild foods are given a priority over other consumptive uses, such as commercial fishing, in times of resource shortages. Federal and state laws that established the subsistence priority specifically recognized "customary trade" - defined as the limited non-commercial exchange of subsistence goods for cash - as a subsistence use. While the laws provided for customary trade, pre-existing state regulations generally prohibited customary trade. This presentation discusses efforts by a local non-profit Native corporation to amend state regulations to provide for customary trade in finfish.

## **15840 - Aleutian Currency: Money, Markets and Wild Foods**

Presentation type: Oral presentation

**Author(s):** *Reedy, Katherine (Idaho State University, Pocatello / USA)*

This paper chronicles the history of money in relation to people and natural resources in Aleutian communities. It shows the ways with which its presence has both supported and undermined the indigenous Aleut/Unangan over time since the islands were rapidly pulled into the export market economy following Russian arrival in the 18th century. Today, Aleutian communities are some of the most expensive locations to live yet also host high value commercial fisheries for which the local residents are a shrinking portion of the industry. A distinct moral economy of food embedded in socioeconomic and political power structures operates in this environment. This paper explores ways in which money is an integral part of wild food transactions in these complex local conditions.