

COLONIZATION EXPERIENCES OF ALASKAN IÑUPIAT AND MODEL FOR
DECOLONIZATION

By

Ukallaysaaq Thomas R. Okleasik, B.S. Business Administration

A Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Masters of Arts

in

Rural Development

University of Alaska Fairbanks

December 2016

APPROVED:

Michael Koskey, PhD, Committee Co-Chair

Jenny Bell-Jones, MA, Committee Co-Chair

Anthony Nakazawa, PhD, Committee

Catherine Brooks, Co-Chair

*Department of Alaska Native Studies and Rural
Development (DANSRD)*

Abstract

This project explores a potential method for examining American, Alaskan and Iñupiaq colonization with a process for decolonization to help restore authentic community self-governance that addresses modern socioeconomic challenges and opportunities on terms that will best work in indigenous villages sustainably and effectively. The focus is on Iñupiaq peoples; however, it can be adapted for use by other indigenous peoples.

The six-step decolonization process begins with building awareness and understanding the many layers of colonization – both from the colonizer’s perspective and perspective of those subjected to colonization. The decolonization process continues by encompassing healing, revitalization, vision, strategy and action, and leads to sustainability and growth. Decolonization is an individual and group choice that involves questioning, examining and analyzing political and economic relationships. Overall it can offer a contemporary paradigm shift that empowers cultural revitalization and restoring modern Iñupiatun self-determination.

The social-cultural-economic costs of colonization to Iñupiat are significant historically, today and in the future. Examining the impacts of colonization puts an honest discussion on the table to identify and assess the damages, realize the ongoing costs to society, and build awareness of the systems for effective change. It could also help to create new decolonized political-economic responses that could aid in achieving equitable lives today to authentically achieve democracy, liberty and justice.

Keywords: decolonization, colonization, self-governance

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	5
Introduction.....	5
Methodology.....	7
Chapter 1: Decolonization Model and Process.....	9
Process of Decolonization.....	9
Process Ground Rules and Foundation Values.....	11
Chapter 2: Awareness.....	12
Overview of the Awareness Process.....	12
Facilitation of the Awareness Process.....	14
Colonization Definition.....	16
Colonization in the American Context.....	17
American Colonization of Indigenous Peoples.....	17
Context of Alaskan Colonization.....	21
Russian Colonization of Indigenous Peoples in Alaska.....	21
American Colonization of Alaska and the Indigenous Communities.....	23
Major Periods and Significant Event Markers of US Colonization of Alaska.....	26
Context of Iñupiat Colonization in Alaska.....	28
Commercial Whaling.....	28
Gold Rush and “Resource Discovery”.....	29
Religious Influences.....	30
Community Governance Changes.....	31
US Military Influences.....	33
Federal Education Systems and Boarding Schools.....	33
US Termination Policy.....	35
Christian Evangelism.....	36
Alaska Statehood.....	37
Arctic Oil and Gas Development.....	38
Municipal Government Expansion.....	39
American Media and Consumerism Influences.....	39

Politics of Iñupiaq Colonization	40
Political Considerations	43
Iñupiaq and Colonizer Perspectives	45
Chapter 3: Healing	48
Chapter 4: Revitalize, Vision, Strategy & Action, and Sustain & Grow	54
Revitalize Process.....	54
Vision Process	56
Strategy and Action Process	61
Sustain and Grow Process	63
Conclusion.....	65
References	68

Acknowledgments

The paper and methodology took the support of many people. First of all, my wife, Igluḡuq Dianne Okleasik, for the inspiration, unwavering support and the time to devote to the development, testing, refining and writing. My Master of Arts Rural Development graduate committee included Michael Koskey, PhD, co-chair of the committee, Jenny Bell-Jones, MA, co-chair of the committee, Anthony Nakazawa, PhD, committee member, and Gordon Puller, PhD, former committee member, retired. Each committee member gave valuable input and guidance which is greatly appreciated. I would also like to thank the volunteer participants from Kotzebue in the pilot testing for their important feedback, input and support. Also Chukchi Campus in Kotzebue for the facilities and staff support for the pilot testing. Finally, the scholarship support of a number of entities including the UAF RAP Bridging Program, Northwest Arctic Borough, Sitnasuak Foundation, Bering Strait Foundation, Nome Eskimo Community, and Kawerak. Quyaana to all for supporting my graduate education and project.

Introduction

The contemporary sociopolitical dynamics of colonization among Iñupiaq¹ communities in Alaska operate in extremes, such as the environment. At times the distances between Iñupiaq communities and colonial power centers of politics and economics make it feel like they are worlds apart



Figure 1: winter sunset in Qikiqtaḡruk

¹ According to the Alaska Native Language Center website (2007), “The name “Iñupiaq,” meaning “real or genuine person” (inuk ‘person’ plus -piaq ‘real, genuine’), is often spelled “Iñupiaq,” particularly in the northern dialects. It can refer to a person of this group (“He is an Iñupiaq”) and can also be used as an adjective (“She is an Iñupiaq woman”). The plural form of the noun is “Iñupiat,” referring to the people collectively (“the Iñupiat of the North Slope”)” (Languages, Iñupiaq section, para. 4).

According to Langton (2002), “Alaskan Iñupiat are part of a linguistic and ethnic population continuum that extends across the high Arctic from Alaska to Greenland” (p. 64).

with minimal effects to individuals and local decision-making. At the other end of the scale, the colonization of people and communities can be overwhelming and may be seen through feelings of hopelessness and high suicide rates.

Understanding and navigating the environment of Iñupiaq colonization can be very difficult from the individual to communal levels with flat-out denial of colonization. There are strong group attitudes to accept colonization as the modern or new way of life in order to “get ahead,” as well as the stifling feelings of confusion from the effects colonization. The views among Iñupiat can further complicate understanding – facing colonization is painful and in a way can feel like a battle that is lost or simply too large to challenge or to take on.

This project explores a potential method for examining colonization with a process for decolonization to help restore authentic community self-governance that addresses modern socioeconomic challenges and opportunities on terms that will best work in indigenous villages sustainably and effectively. The focus is on Iñupiaq peoples; however, it can be adapted for use by other indigenous peoples. This six-step process begins with building awareness and understanding the many layers of colonization – both from the colonizer’s perspective and perspective of those subjected to colonization. The decolonization process encompasses healing, revitalization, vision, strategy and action, and leads to sustainability and growth. Decolonization is an individual and group choice that involves questioning, examining and analyzing political and economic relationships. Overall it can offer a contemporary paradigm shift that empowers cultural revitalization and restoring modern Iñupiatun² self-determination.

² According to Seiler (2012), “*Iñupiatun adv. (act) like an Iñupiaq; in the Iñupiaq language*” (p. 84).

Methodology

My introduction to the concept of decolonization was based upon exposure to the idea during the 2005 World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education (WIPCE) in New Zealand. During the conference, a Maori keynote speaker addressed the topic and it was the first time I heard of the concept. This resonated with me personally as a topic I wanted to better understand and study.

My methodology for this paper has been to build and expand from my personal experience as an Iñupiaq born and raised in Nome, Alaska, as well as experiences from living in Kotzebue and visiting Barrow and various villages throughout the Bering Strait and Northwest Arctic. These included personal family history, community discussions, Elder historical accounts, and living through changes in my growing up years during the 1970s to 1990s. The opportunity to read and research information from books and articles by Iñupiaq authors, such as William Oquilluk and William Iggiagruk Hensley, has been very informative and aided strongly in the methodology to present colonization and decolonization information from an indigenous perspective. Also, the colonial history of Alaska Native peoples as recorded by Burch, Berger, Ray and many others confirmed stories with facts and provided new understandings of collective experiences by their historical documentation.

My decolonization methodology was heavily influenced by Native Hawaiian Poka Laenui. He has developed a model for indigenous people decolonization and teaches at the University of Hawaii. I was fortunate to meet with Poka and listen to one of his 2015 lectures at the Honolulu Campus. In this paper I present a model that is an adaption from Poka's model which I feel incorporates Iñupiaq cultural ideas of awareness as well as methods that may work best with Alaska Native peoples.

As to my methodology, I was able to pilot test this with a volunteer group in Kotzebue during April 2014. This provided an opportunity to involve community members for their feedback on the model and ability to refine methods for future use by communities and other indigenous people. IRB approval number for the pilot testing is #574338-1. Volunteers were recruited by individual written invitations/letters to community members for participating in the project. The recruitment process followed a community outreach method by Ukallaysaaq Thomas Okleasik that sought fellow Iñupiaq community members while balancing genders and ages. The pilot group was kept small (a total of twenty-five individuals were invited and eight participated) to help create a supportive environment that was safe for learning, sharing and expressing feelings.

In regards to the measurement of results, each decolonization process in the model can be gauged by different measures. For example, the awareness process can focus on measures that demonstrate an increase in knowledge gained from the review of colonization and its history, and also measure the expanded individual awareness of current colonial systems and structures. The healing process can measure the change in physical, emotional, mental and spiritual health aspects of individuals, groups and/or communities. The revitalize process can measure the personal and group change in identifying cultural strengths and associated positive decolonizing attributes. The vision process can measure the progress towards the long-term goal and the number of people involved in its development and realization. The strategy and action process can measure the number of strategies implemented and/or adapted for implementation. The sustain and grow process can measure the increase in the number of people and organizations involved over time. Overall, the measures should support and track social changes with indigenous peoples and communities towards cultural revitalization, political empowerment, self-determination and decolonization.

Chapter 1: Decolonization Model and Process

Building from graduate level coursework completed through the Department of Alaska Native Studies and Rural Development (DANSRD) program, I present research on the definition, history and experiences with the colonization of the Alaskan Iñupiat. I also propose a decolonization model which was successfully piloted and tested through a three-day series of facilitated meetings with a focus group in Kotzebue during the spring of 2014. This paper documents the process through a report that could be added to the UAF collection of graduate student projects, provide an approach for tribal and community education, and share methods for involvement of groups in exploring decolonization.

As an overview, the decolonization model tested had six interrelated processes as identified in figure 2.

Process of Decolonization

Each step in the process of decolonization has key questions and discussion topics for use with a community and/or focus group of participants. As one considers the process, it is important to have a skilled facilitator lead the process who can create a supportive environment that is safe for expressing feelings, emotions and dreams. Also, I recommend a support network including counselors (cultural, professional and/or religious) and village Elders to help in the healing process which naturally includes grieving.

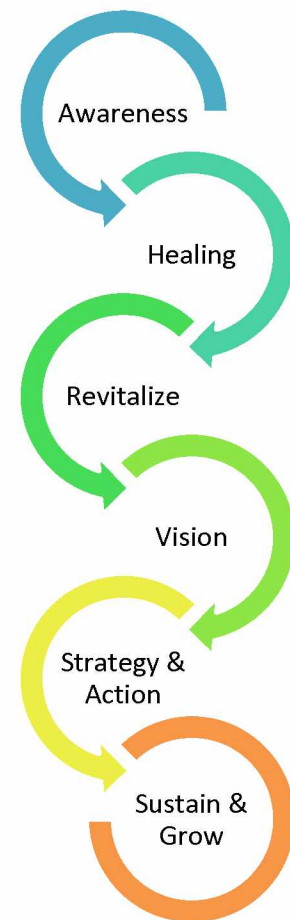


Figure 2: Decolonization Model

The facilitator and group should be prepared for personal and group discomfort in reviewing past colonial history and realizing the present to future affects to the community. The decolonization process will evoke real and justified feelings of mourning including grief, sadness, shock, disbelief, denial, guilt, and anger. The mourning as part of the healing process often includes unresolved intergenerational grief which can compound the heaviness of the emotions. The healing process can also include post-traumatic stress. The benefits that one can expect through the decolonization process are helping to record community history, learning about group healing methods in regards to colonization and social impacts, and addressing longstanding community problems through a new model of decolonization.

The decolonization model and process is meant to be implemented within Alaska Native communities as an effective method to empower the community and aid in restoring self-government while addressing modern socioeconomic problems in the Arctic. One should be aware that the process can put a human face on the colonial history experience through generations (parents and grandparents) and also help individualize the decolonization actions for effective personal implementation. I believe the process can help to create committed leadership and to motivate efforts of individuals for working through steps and reclaim cultural heritage under today's terms. I also believe the process can have significant and extremely positive impacts with valuable community benefits including cost-effective improvement of public health conditions, stabilization and revitalization of the Iñupiaq language and culture, and restorative self-determination for authentic improvements to the quality of life.

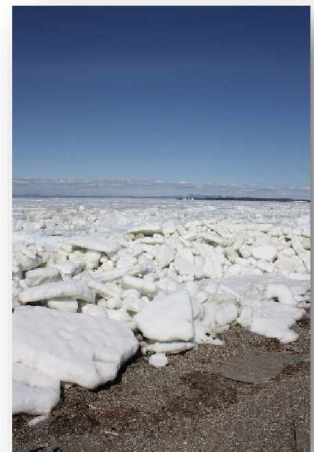


Figure 3: Spring ice break up in Kotzebue

Process Ground Rules and Foundation Values

During the decolonization process, it is important to establish group rules or foundational values among the participants. These serve as agreements among participants to keep the group focused on the topics at hand and allow for a safe setting to share personal stories and experiences. The following are suggested and can be adapted or modified by a group to best fit the local situations:



**Figure 4:
Ukallaysaq
facilitating a
group**

- **Participation:** each person brings a different personal, family and community insight and perspective that formulate the larger community picture. Ask questions and share experiences.
- **Opportunity to Learn:** each person supports the group opportunity to learn from the process and each other. It is important to be considerate of each person and our group wisdom by allowing patience with each other and supporting our learning. Cell phones should be on silent or turned off.
- **Respect:** respect each person, perspective and idea. Various perspectives are important to respect as they can shed light on the whole process.
- **Creativity:** giving permission for the dialogue between the rational (mental or mind) and intuitive (emotional-spiritual or heart) perspectives.
- **Confidentiality:** each person commits to the confidentiality of the process. We will not collect or release names or identifying information. Any information will be kept strictly confidential. Personal stories are personal – respect individuals and the group.

These ground rules or foundational values are important to emphasize with a group at the start of the overall process. I would also encourage facilitators to add to or adapt the values based upon the feedback and suggestions from a group. As a group proceeds through the steps, one may also find that the values need to be readdressed with a group to promote appropriate discussions.

Chapter 2: Awareness

Overview of the Awareness Process

The awareness process is a very important first step in the decolonization process. Building awareness of colonization will help to broadly understand social conditions and to reveal indigenous and colonial history – both from indigenous and non-indigenous perspectives. Overall, this is important to support motivations for social change by communities. The awareness process will bring to light perspectives and viewpoints which are often untold, unspoken and underrepresented. According to Laenui (2006), *“This phase of rediscovery [I titled awareness] of one’s history and recovery of one’s culture, language, identity, etc. is fundamental to the movement for decolonization. It forms the basis for the further steps to follow”* (p. 3).

A beginning and important step for decolonization of individuals, organizations and communities is to first build awareness of two major areas:

1) Cultural Identity

- a. Rediscovery of indigenous culture, language, and identity
- b. Bring forward traditional knowledge as a source of pride and strength
- c. Tell history that can aid in understanding past and current concepts which can help revive indigenous links to relatives-words-phrases-places

2) History of Colonization

- a. Revealing colonial history is and can be shocking... some people cannot believe historical events actually happened. Some people may feel it is better to forget those portions of history, but unfortunately the past is real and the resulting negative emotions and pain continue even when unrecognized and untreated.
- b. Exposure of the more accurate colonial past. This can evoke disbelief and denial which are main elements of colonization that need to be overcome with the current and future generations to get “unstuck” by talking about what happened honestly. It is important to build awareness of the full historical picture and reveal the colonizing truth into the light.

- c. Understand the colonizing process that took place in previous generations and continues to take place in the present, often in less obvious ways.

According to Pacific Human Rights (n.d., accessed 2012), *“Raising the consciousness of the oppressive state that indigenous people live in by exposure to a more realistic account of history and identifying an enemy that’s creating and maintaining that oppression. An effective strategy can include proper counter-action methods such as: educating oneself [or building awareness] and serving as an example for others [or revitalization], advocating sovereign Indigenous rights [or strategy and action], and exercising and defending those rights and traditional territory”* (Decolonization section, para. 1).

I recommend the awareness process begin by sharing definitions of colonization; reviewing indigenous peoples’ history, and providing an opportunity to share colonization experiences or stories. The awareness process can transition with a closing discussion on recommendations for cultural practices to spiritually connect with indigenous awareness, and recommendations for outreaching to others for educating current and new generations appropriately.

In building awareness, one must recognize that colonization is a multilayered and complex system involving political, economic, social, and spiritual elements. Also, colonization operates at various levels from the macro to micro – e.g. international, national, state, local, tribal, families to individual levels. According to Smith (2006), *“Decolonization is a process which engages with imperialism and colonialism at multiple levels. For researchers, one of those levels is concerned with having a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values which inform research practices”* (p. 20). One should also be aware that colonization experiences are generally associated with the international and national levels or macro-policy, but do very much apply at micro-levels such as individual, family and tribal levels. However, these personal

levels involve specific exploration to identify and relate to the macro-policy. The micro-levels are important, as Walia (2012) states, *“We have to commit ourselves to supplanting the colonial logic of the state itself”* (Decolonizing relations section, para. 3).

In this project, I focus on American, Alaskan and Iñupiaq colonization experiences – and it should be noted that the Iñupiaq experiences that inform this study were localized to Kotzebue and are not considered comprehensive to all villages and/or families. I have also found that the research into the awareness process reveals sociocultural behaviors and norms that help understand current situations – both functional and dysfunctional in nature. Walia (2012) summarizes, *“...striving toward decolonization and walking together toward transformation requires us to challenge a dehumanizing social organization that perpetuates our isolation from each other and normalizes a lack of responsibility to one another and the Earth”* (Decolonizing Relationships section, para. 4).

Facilitation of the Awareness Process

The awareness process was tested through a process of sharing comprehensive research of the community from prehistory to the present. The research specifically and purposefully encompassed the colonizing history which is often untold, misrepresented and/or undocumented. The research included reviews of articles and reports, historical and biographical books, photographs and video collections, and physical historical or archeological objects.

It is important for a facilitator to conduct research on colonization – often there can be strong denial of colonization and so fact-finding is important. The awareness process can be a powerful, healthy and positive restorative connection for current generations to ancestors, places and cultural practices. This can be achieved by facilitating a connection to art, recordings, photos, videos, maps and family trees. At the same time, the process can help individuals, families and

communities share information that is unsaid but important to discuss or state, as well as raise questions to ask for explanation or exploration.

When presenting the compiled research to a group in the awareness process, one needs to be prepared for emotional reactions – the colonization process is inherently dehumanizing. According to Hawaiian Poka Laenui (2006) -- *“People who have undergone colonization are inevitably suffering from concepts of inferiority in relation to their historical cultural/social background. They live in a colonial society which is a constant and overwhelming reminder of the superiority of the colonial society over that of the underlying indigenous one”* (p. 2).

Through the awareness process, encourage input and oratory, including storytelling, as a collective learning opportunity in an informal workshop setting. The oratory helps reveal historical pieces that are often omitted in history and public education. At the same time, there is generally a lack of documentation of colonization among indigenous and mainstream populations. The opportunity for participants to give oral history accounts helps fill in the many blanks – especially at the community or micro level.

The presentation of historical research can and will spark memories that are important for validating family and community colonization experiences. The goal is to provide group education of a realistic community history that includes colonization – building individual, group and community awareness. The focus of this awareness process is to help understand indigenous and colonial history that explains the present – or the key question: how did it get this way? This is a full day of facilitated meetings and can cover 6-9 hours of group time. At the same time, the awareness presentation can spark individuals or groups to continue additional research that can span larger or specific portions of time, specific topics or experiences, and/or analysis of the effects to individuals, groups and communities. Participants also can reflect on ancestors’ resilience.

The awareness step is a key base-process which serves as a fundamental motivation for further decolonizing action by understanding our past and present situations, sustaining indigenous identities, and building consciousness of colonization and the potential for decolonization.

Colonization Definition

According to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy online (2012), colonialism is defined as “*a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another.*” The process of colonization involves both political and economic control that causes a people and territory to become dependent upon a colonial entity. Processes of political control via colonization impose and command changes in the exercise of sovereignty through regulation of law, indirect change mechanisms of community culture, and local governance domination to the colonial entity. Processes of economic control via colonization regulate trade and profit, resource ownership, and monetary policy. Overall, colonization exerts external power and decision-making over a group of people for political domination with economic benefits.

The process of colonization changes a people – the process purposely weakens and/or crumbles a nation of people to be dominated politically and economically, but also changes people at the roots of their cultural and social identity. The colonized are in a process that continually attempts to change them culturally, linguistically, emotionally and spiritually.

In my observations, one of the significant changes among the nation being dominated is their internal self-perceptions: from autonomy and self-reliance, to defensiveness and reactionary behaviors, and from self-confidence and pride, to self-doubt and shame. This self-perception is transformational by electively putting or allowing more power in the colonizer’s control. The perceiver also generally looks for external and colonized validation. Colonized people develop a societal level of questioning themselves in public issues and search for answers and justice that

includes education, health and social service topics. This leads to communal dysfunction and confusion with a dependence upon the colonizer to provide the answers; however, the colonizer withholds validation and preserves the erosion of the nation to continue assimilation into the colonial culture as their solution to the political and economic “problems.”

Colonization in the American Context

In discussing colonization among Alaskan Iñupiat, it is important to look at the broader colonization of the United States and Alaska including the associated cultural imperialism which overlays American social norms. Both colonization and cultural imperialism represent social-norms that take years to be established within indigenous communities. Once in place, the norms require little overt colonizer influence to maintain social-political-economic control by integrating into organizational systems and societal institutions.

As with any social norm, colonization norms once formed and internalized embody powerful unspoken rules, behaviors and expectations that sustain behaviors and attitudes. Today with colonized norms adopted and internalized by community members as “just the way it is,” the colonized perspectives are assumed to be foundational constructs of present day society – despite it feeling and often being wrong. According to Walia (2012), “*We have to commit ourselves to supplanting the colonial logic of the state itself*” (Decolonization Relationships section, para. 3). I have found this can make the colonial concepts very difficult to understand from an “insider” community perspective, but once revealed and understood they can explain many root causes of social problems experienced by the colonized.

American Colonization of Indigenous Peoples

Historically, the United States of America (US) has implemented colonization through its national experience as a European colony. There are a variety of colonizing methods that have been

crafted over decades that extend into US politics, government and society. An early American colonizing method blended religious thought to justify domination and gain public support. For example, Europeans and later the US colonized Native American territory from the original 13 colonies that expanded further west through the religious-political idea of “destiny by divine providence” or “manifest destiny,” which was introduced by European-American politicians, such as John Quincy Adams, in the 1810-40s (Merk and Bannister, 1963). According to Merk and Bannister (1963) the idea took a while to be accepted but followed a public propaganda campaign development:

“Ideas are spread by propaganda. The greater the resistance to an idea, the greater the need for propaganda. If the core idea is taking another’s property, it may stir up moral objections. In that case, the quantity, the vigor, and the repetition of the propaganda has to be abnormally great. Also, the propaganda must be of a special sort. It must surround the taking with an aura of reasonableness and good conscience” (p. 225).



Figure 5: lithograph of American manifest destiny ideology (Ohio State University, *Manifest Destiny and Westward Expansion*, accessed November 2016).

As one can see, the historical propaganda of manifest destiny crafted by American colonizers allowed a popular public opinion to be formed that supported political action to facilitate the economic taking of the lands and resources as judicious and blessed by a divine power. This is a twisting of religious thought, which in reality is a human injustice and contrary to the morals of Christianity. However, this was and continues to be successful American propaganda that allowed the domination of Native Americans in the Lower-48 with ongoing political support from the country including federal and religious institutions. In fact, this propaganda continues to be contemporary in popular culture and generally accepted as demonstrated in the mainstream public school teaching of American history among elementary to secondary students.

A contemporary American colonizing system is the process, social attitude, and common goal to be Americanized – meaning, *“to assimilate to the customs and institutions of the US”* (dictionary.com, accessed October 2016). This popularized secular idea is centered in economics (e.g. ability to get a job, operate a business, and navigate the financial system) and politics (e.g. ability to secure citizenship, attain a publicly elected office and exercise voting rights, and lawmaking). To be Americanized was instituted as a way to assimilate diverse American citizens into colonially accepted conformity and maintain colonizing domination in US society. According to the Encyclopedia Britannica (n.d., accessed October 2016) regarding the history of Americanization:

“In its earliest days [of Americanization] school programs were directed toward the correction of the most obvious deficiencies. The core of the curriculum was the English language, American history, and the governmental structure of the United States, understanding of which was necessary for naturalization. Those who were interested in teaching other subjects began to capitalize on the popularity of the movement. Soon the offering included courses in millinery, cooking, social amenities, and the care of children, all presented, of course, as essential elements of American culture.”

Today, US mainstream opinion continues to be influenced by this Americanizing process to sustain colonization. For example, when public funding for education is under financial pressure for reductions, the popular social opinion is to return to the basics of the “Rs” in education that sustain Americanization and US colonization: English language reading and writing, and western arithmetic.

Another key colonizing method or social pressure for individuals to Americanize is economic in nature. The American dream is propaganda that sustains US colonization and describes an Americanized (colonized) individual who is able to pull themselves up from their “bootstraps” towards or sustain a lifestyle of wealth with a high standard of living – home, car, goods, vacations, education, etc. The underlying assumption (often unspoken) of the American

dream is that it is only attainable if one is Americanized or colonized. Today, this works within the US as well as globally with the expansion of western institutions and multinational corporations generally dominating the governmental environment for business investment, trade, and employment opportunities.

An associated concept to sustain Americanization is consumerism which often creates unnecessary economic dependence and can be an addictive behavior. According to Postconsumer.com (2013), “...*Consumer addiction is making up for or filling in the holes where something else is missing. In particular, shopping and hoarding often are signs of emotional or mental distress...*” (para. 6). Consumerism can work to placate a person with a façade of life purpose – attempting to fill the human mind and spirit with material things (both owned and desired) instead of spiritual purpose. I believe that among the colonized consumerism can numb the pain of colonization – distress from the loss of culture, language, spirituality – and feel like needed compensation or rewards for changing due to the colonization process. At the same time, consumerism can temporarily release individuals from the reality and stresses of colonial domination and replace it with a fantasy of material items both owned and desired that could be achieved with Americanization.

I also believe for the colonizer consumerism can engross the individual with a sense of self-justification for colonizing others by viewing the material items amassed as proof of proceeds associated with successful domination and blessings from a divine power (such as manifest destiny). Overall, I see consumerism as a powerful colonizing method that fuels economic incentives to advance colonialism and keeps multinational corporations in accepted public positions to reap profits from the colonized system and promote the growing sale of material goods and services.

Context of Alaskan Colonization

Russian Colonization of Indigenous Peoples in Alaska

The European colonization of Alaska Native peoples and lands began with the Russians. According to Langdon (2002), *“The Russians were the first to come, pursuing sea otters and the profits that could be obtained from trading the pelt of this beautiful and charming animal”* (p. 111). They centered upon economic exploitation of wildlife resources for the global fur trade in the 1700-1800s. According to Langdon (2002) during the 1700s, *“The Unangan [Aleut] were violently subjugated and decimated by disease”* (p. 111). Russians spent early years of Alaska colonization in the Aleutians, South-Central and Southeast portions of Alaska for political-economic domination. Langdon (2002) notes that between 1820 and 1840, *“Russian methods had changed by this time with severe terms of trade and missionaries replacing outright subjugation. But in the Norton Sound area, the Russians encountered an already flourishing trading system centered at Unalakleet consisting of coastal Iñupiat middlemen funneling furs from interior Athabaskan groups of the middle Yukon River to the Siberian Chukchi”* (p. 112). Also in regards to the Arctic and Interior, Russians had limited warfare with a harsh environment and no easy means of military retreat. According to Ongtooguk (2016), *“Russian attempts, however, to move into the interior of Alaska were not as successful, as they did not have the advantage afforded by their navy and they were met by Native groups who used military resistance, diplomacy and alliances to limit the Russian incursion”* (para. 5). The Russians instead sought to influence colonization of northern and interior Alaska Natives through economic means via the Russian-American Company (which also carried on these activities in southern parts of Alaska). In general, the Company would establish trading posts and a Company representative would appoint a “village chief” (Osborn, 1990) – given/marked with a silver medal and designated a “toion/doyon” (meaning “trade chief”) and would be expected

to serve as an economic intermediary between the indigenous people and the Russian-American Company (p. 80-81).

The Russian colonization of Alaska and particularly in the Arctic attempted to financially indebt Alaska Natives through economic dependency upon the European trade provided by the Russian-American Company. European trade items included goods such as tobacco (an addictive substance), knives, sewing needles, blankets, cooking pots, beads, jewelry, dry goods, etc.

According to Ray (1992), *“Tobacco, an indigenous American plant that had to travel round the globe eastward from the New World to Alaska, was eagerly sought by Alaskan Eskimos. The tobacco was used as an intoxicant, and only a tiny portion was mixed with wood shavings at one time, the Eskimos retaining all of the smoke in their lungs until they became unconscious”* (p. 101).

To the colonizing Russians this would ensure an obligatory sense of economic cooperation and an indebted trading network of dependency.

The furthest north Russian trading post was at St. Michael (Yugtun: *Taciq*) established on the Norton Sound near an estuary of the Yukon River in 1833 – the trading network for the goods extended potentially to Kaktovik among Iñupiat. According to Ray (1992), *“After the establishment of Saint Michael in 1833, the trading of furs and other goods by the Eskimos for European goods took place in four ways: (1) at the traditional native markets along the coast; (2) exchange with an occasional [seasonal in the summer] Russian trading ship at Port Clarence and Kotzebue Sound; (3) trading at St. Michael; and (4) through occasional native traders working for the Russian-American Company”* (p. 140).

The Russian-American Company also encouraged Russian Orthodox missionaries to aid in the exercise of the colonizing power through religious conversion – both institutions promoting the change in beliefs to those based upon European interpretation of Christianity.

In regards to trade for alcohol, it was a major influence to colonization by focusing on addiction and incapacitating community leadership. According to Ray (1992), *“In 1824 a treaty between Russian and the United States set the southern boundary of Russian territory at 54° 40’ north latitude and provided a ten-year period of unrestricted freedom for each to fish and to trade – except liquor and firearms – with natives in the other’s territorial waters”* (p. 65). Commercial whaling (generally American) beginning in the late 1840s introduced the trade of alcohol (an addictive substance) and firearms among Alaska Native and Arctic communities for economic gain. Ray (1992) noted that *“...after 1848, when hundreds of commercial whaling and trading ships, most of them from the east coast at first, and then from the young city of San Francisco, brought some of the worst aspects of western civilization [colonization] to the Arctic – intoxicating liquor, guns and an undisciplined exploitation of natural resources”* (p. 9).

American Colonization of Alaska and the Indigenous Communities

The U.S. purchased Alaska as a Russian colonial territory in 1867 – according to Langdon (2002), *“Russian imperial disenchantment with the American colony resulted in the sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867 for \$7.2 million dollars”* (p. 113). The sale was based upon the European colonizing concept of the Rule of Discovery – according to Case (1984), *“This ‘rule of discovery’ held that the [European] nation first landing on or discovering a land in the new world acquired [colonial] title to the land and dominion over the original inhabitants exclusive of any other discovering [European or non-indigenous] nation”* (p. 48).

But in genuineness the Russians did not politically control Alaska Natives and their lands. According to Berger (1985), *“Neither Russia nor the United States ever conquered Alaska, nor have Alaska Natives ever voluntarily given up or treated to give up their inherent political powers”* (p. 140). Rather the reality at the time was that Russians established trading posts operated by the

Russian-American Company focused on economic relationships with Alaska Natives. In fact, Alaska Natives did not know that Russia had made any exclusive legal claims to all of their lands and transferred colonial ownership to the US in 1867. Governmentally, Alaskan lands were politically owned and governed by indigenous peoples as sovereign societies organized by common ethnic associations such as Iñupiaq, Yup'ik, Cup'ik, Tlingit, Haida, Eyak, Dena (Athabaskan), and Unangan (Aleut). Russian land-use could be estimated at less than 2% of the total Alaska land base. According to Gallagher (2001) on Etok's reflection of the sale of Alaska during Alaska Native land claims in the 1960s, *"The Natives of Alaska own Alaska. Now, today, they own it. The Russians offered what they did not own when they "sold" the territory to the United States...Even in 1967, the Indians of Alaska could not understand why the Americans did not deal with them rather with the few Russians who lived behind stockades, venturing forth only to trade for furs and food"* (p. 18).

The US began colonization of Alaska in 1867 with the transference of exclusive Russian rights for trade with Alaska Natives. The purchase of Alaska initially obligated the US government to colonize Alaska through political domination in order to assert political control and a western sense of land ownership. As a primary political assertion with Alaska Natives, the US military was put in charge of administration (Ongtooguk, 2016). There was not a US invasion or Alaska Native or "Indian" war conducted in Alaska; however according to Ongtooguk (2016), two Southeast Tlingit communities were bombed by the U.S. Navy: Kake (Tlingit: Keix') and Angoon (Tlingit: Aangoon) in Southeast Alaska (para. 7). Both bombing examples demonstrated the colonizing relationship of the US and Alaska Natives that intimidated and demanded indigenous peoples' submission to US military control and colonial political power. The US colonizing efforts in Alaska attempted to give the small population of American citizens and businesses in Alaska

various rights including land ownership, wildlife and marine resource harvests, transportation route access and mineral rights.

The colonization of Alaska Native peoples and lands by the United States followed the popularization of American manifest destiny propaganda that intertwined religious ideology. The US took ownership of Russian trading posts and created new settlements for American emigrants to exercise colonial authority in Alaska. This included missionaries, educational and health/medical initiatives, research activities, and corporate and individual resource extraction ranging from furs, fish, minerals and oil/gas. Overall, the colonizing goal was the American political and economic domination of the lands and people of Alaska to benefit businessmen, corporations and government.

Without significant wars or battles for conquering indigenous peoples for asserting political domination, the US relied on the method of Americanization of Alaska Natives for colonization – which continues to today. This was the environmental reality with the vast land base and few military resources and/or non-Native resident populations to exert political domination like in the Lower-48 states. The Americanization of Alaska Natives depended upon strong relationships with churches to implement the 4 Rs: English reading and writing (language), western arithmetic, and religion. According to Burch (1994), Sheldon Jackson the first appointed General Agent of Education for Alaska by US in 1885, “*epitomized the [colonizing] view, widespread at [the] time, that teachers and missionaries were charged with ‘the general uplifting of the whole [Alaska Native] population out of barbarism into civilization.’ Civilization [or colonization] meant, as a minimum, literacy (in English), cleanliness, industry and Christianity... ‘true conversion meant nothing less than a virtually total transformation [colonization] of native existence.’*” (The Introduction of Christianity in Northern Alaska section, para. 3).

Major Periods and Significant Event Markers of US Colonization of Alaska

As a summary, I have identified the following six time periods as significant markers in the colonization process of Alaska Natives. Each period is associated with sizable population emigrations of American settlers that demanded long-lasting concessions from Alaska tribes that strengthened US colonization:

(1) The 1897-1920 gold rush period (Alaska Humanities Forum, *Northwest and Arctic: 1897-1920 Gold* section, 2016);

(2) 1935 period with 201 families from the Midwest resettled to Palmer, Alaska, as part of the depression era new deal organized by the US federal government (Fox, 2008);

(3) 1942 period with World War II and the U.S. military defensive operations against Japan, including the formation of the Alaska Territorial Guard with Western Area Field Headquarters in Nome and field staff in Selawik, Koyuk, Gambell and Anchorage (Alaska Territorial Guard Organization, Inc., 2015);

(4) Alaska Statehood period starting in 1959 and transferring of federal lands to state ownership that started a western process to “legally” acquire significant amounts of land via western institutions and make available the purchase of tracts and/or resource rights at low costs/values (Hensley, 2009);

(5) The period of the 1970s with the Trans-Alaska pipeline construction and Arctic oil fields development and production (Stromhmeyer, 2003);

(6) The period of the 1970-1990s with the implementation of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) and subsequent amendments to “settle” indigenous land claims and extinguish aboriginal hunting and fishing rights (Arnold, 1978).

Historical and contemporary colonization of Alaska Natives continues to impact Alaska Natives. The ongoing colonial processes contributed to the deterioration of Alaska Native tribal sovereignty with the purpose to escalate US authority/political power, including the State of Alaska as an extension of the US government. According to Case (1984), *“One thing seems certain, if the sometimes tragic [colonial] history of aboriginal Americans elsewhere is any guide; long after most*

of the aboriginal lands and even many of the peoples have been lost [colonized], the tribal governments remain. They remain as the rekindling sparks of proud cultures. Perhaps in Alaska, in the waning days of the twentieth century, we will at last find one place where the relationships between immigrant [colonizer] and aboriginal Americans can be structures so that each may enrich the other, and thereby ensure the diversity that is the hallmark of a free society” (p. 477). It should be noted that Alaska Native sovereignty is successfully exercised today; however, it has deteriorated significantly since 1867 when the American colonization of Alaska began. As an example of ongoing colonial actions taken by the State of Alaska government to deteriorate Alaska Native tribal sovereignty, the University of Alaska – Interior Aleutians Campus (n.d.) states that:

“...The next Governor, Walter J. Hickel, rescinded the Administrative Order 123 [recognizing tribes in Alaska]. He described Alaskans as ‘all one people,’ leaving no room for administrative recognition of a special political [sovereign] status for Alaska Native people. The last Governor in the 1990s, Tony Knowles, recognized the tribes and started a major project called the ‘Millennium Agreement’ which was meant to be “a framework for the establishment of lasting government-to-government relationships and an implementation procedure to assure that such relationships are constructive and meaningful and further enhance cooperation between the parties.” After this point the governors came to accept that there are tribes in Alaska because the federal government had made it clear and because tribal self-governance brings in about a billion federal dollars annually to Alaska. The State turned its challenge to tribal jurisdiction. Governor Frank Murkowski ignored the Millennium Agreement and instituted an opinion through the Alaska Department of Law in 2004 that tribes cannot initiate children’s cases. During Governor Palin’s short time as governor, she continued to support the opinion as has Governor Parnell who replaced her in 2009. Although recent cases such as Kaltag and Tanana are forcing more State

cooperation with Alaska tribes, the state will likely continue to protect its own sovereignty [colonialism] and challenge tribal jurisdiction well into the future” (Federal Indian Law for Alaska Tribes, Unit 4, para. 9).

A quote from an Unangan (Aleut) woman (2013) summarizes the colonization process from an Alaska Native perspective: *“They have changed the way we pray, they have changed the way we dress, they have changed the way we raise our children, the food we eat, the language we speak, and the way we live our lives”* (public input during the AFN Alaska Native Language & Preservation Advisory Council workshop).

Context of Iñupiat Colonization in Alaska

Russian and US colonization of Iñupiaq communities and peoples worked around the reality of the cold weather and isolated environment that did not attract early economic and political interests. Generally in 1867, the US colonization of Iñupiaq lands and peoples were a low priority. According to Cloe (2003) on the military history in Alaska, *“For the most part, the military [colonial] contact with Alaska Natives had been limited to southeast Alaska where the bulk of the non- native population lived. Military contact along coastal Alaska including the Aleutians and the Bering Sea islands was limited to short [summer] visits by the Revenue Cutter Service [later known as the US Coast Guard] ships on Bering Sea patrols”* (p. 6).

Commercial Whaling

Beginning in the late 1840s through the 1930s, Iñupiaq territories were seasonally visited by commercial whaling ships as far north as Barrow (Lundberg, 2009). According to Ray (1992), *“Between 1848 and 1851, 250 ships returned from northern Alaska laden with whale oil”* (p. 198). The economic interests were the abundant numbers of bowhead whales during their spring and fall migration. Bowhead whale oil and baleen were both commodities in global markets at the time;

however, this was a taking of Iñuit resources without compensation or benefit, in fact it was an eventual detriment with declining numbers for subsistence harvest and usage. According to Lundberg (2009), *“By 1907, the price of baleen had dropped from a high of \$7 per pound, to 50 cents; two years later, the market had virtually disappeared as spring steel and other metals replaced baleen”* (para. 13). Most whaling stations were closed in the Alaskan Arctic by 1930. During this same period, the commercial trading and taking of Pacific walrus ivory coincided with whaling. According to Ray (1992), *“Of considerable importance to the Eskimos of northwest Alaska was the whalers’ practice of killing walrus for oil and ivory when whaling was not showing a profit”* (p. 199).

Gold Rush and “Resource Discovery”

With the American discovery of significant gold deposits in Nome during 1899, western economic and political interests in Iñupiaq lands significantly increased. This fueled a gold rush into the southern range of Iñupiaq territory and eventually Nome became the largest non-Native city in Alaska. According to Ray (1992), *“But mining was in an entirely new sphere. It brought persons interested in exploitation and ownership of large areas of Eskimo land. Up to this time, the Eskimos had usually accepted new ideas and objects voluntarily, but the new mining pursuits suddenly eliminated choices, and the disruption of settlement and subsistence patterns and a new authoritarian government were only a small part of the involuntary [colonizing] changes the Eskimos faced as their land was disturbed and its nonrenewable products extracted without their permission”* (p. 204).

This also pushed for further American exploration of Iñupiaq territories spreading north – e.g. the Kobuk River gold rush in the 1880s and 1890s (National Park Service, n.d.). The Nome gold rush also sparked interest in other resources that could be held in the Arctic and Iñupiat in

Barrow shared their knowledge of oil seeps with US explorers (Gordon Brower, North Slope Borough Deputy Planning Director, discussion August 2012).

Religious Influences

The Americanization of Iñupiat via the statewide missionary campaign that was started in the 1880s was initially very unsuccessful. According to Burch (1994), some missionaries in the Norton Sound abandoned their posts to join in the Nome gold rush, a Wales missionary was killed, and a Barrow missionary lacked western supplies and support for effective conversion activities. Also according to Burch (1994), the Point Hope missionary John Driggs was so influenced by Iñupiaq culture he was forced to leave his post by the Episcopal Church – he then spent the rest of his life in Uivak, about 50 miles north of Point Hope (Point Hope section, para. 2). According to Burch (1994) regarding the Quaker missionaries at Kotzebue, *“Despite the apparently favorable circumstances which brought them there, the Friends were not universally welcomed. Like their counterparts at the other mission stations, they were frequently harassed by drunks and harangued by shamans. Several families opposed to Christianity [colonization] established a new settlement at Napaaqtuqtuq, across the head of Kotzebue Sound”* (The Friends Mission at Kotzebue, 1897-1902 section, para. 7).

Despite the shaky start with Christian conversion as part of Iñupiaq Americanization, within a single generation Iñupiat were converted to Christianity and it remains the dominant religion today. This was influenced by a number of social-environmental factors among Iñupiat that the missionaries benefited in the rapid religious conversion including the following which I have combined from the above summaries of American colonization:

- (a) the diseases that decimated whole Iñupiaq families and villages during the early period of 1900³;
- (b) the reduction in bowhead whales and walrus by western commercial ships that strained traditional food supplies;
- (c) the arrival of year-round non-Native residents in the Arctic starting with commercial whaling (some crews were stationed and/or stranded in the Arctic and spent the winter with Iñupiat) and gold rush miners;
- (d) increased trade for western goods and services including healthcare; and
- (e) increased military and US territorial government presence in Nome, Kotzebue and Barrow – judges, schools, hospitals, and law enforcement.

Internally within Iñupiaq communities, prophecies were shared that foretold of changes to the communities – this also helped facilitate colonization by making changes seem destined and divine in nature. For example, a famous Iñupiaq prophet was Maniilaq from the Upper Kobuk River area in the Northwest Arctic. He was estimated to have been born in the 1830s (Haile, 2003) and was raised by his mother as an only child. He lived before contact with the white man and traveled extensively during his lifetime. According to Uyugaq Faye Foster, Selawik Elder (LLT Productions, 1998), *“He lived before a time they talked about [western style] God.”* He foretold of changes to the way of life of the area, and many of his prophecies are considered to have come true after his death – with more prophecies yet to be seen. He lived a peaceful life and raised three children with his wife (Haile, 2003). At the same time, Maniilaq represented signified sociocultural change – both in his own personal life by breaking Iñupiaq taboos to demonstrate change, and by his prophecies of the future.

Community Governance Changes

With many social influences that “fractured the ice” in many ways, colonization among Iñupiat took further hold in the 1940s and 50s with the re-organization of tribal governments via the

³ According to the Disease and Famine Section of the Alaska Native Commission Final Report Volume I (1994), the report estimates that Alaska Native populations were reduced to one third of their original pre-contact numbers by 1910.

Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1935 which was expanded during 1936 in Alaska (*Wheeler-Howard Act* - 48 Stat. 984 - 25 U.S.C. § 461 et seq.). This process of restructuring tribal governments officially changed the name of the tribes to English names (generally the Native Village of a place), and modeled tribal governments after western ideas of political representation. The reorganization advanced political changes that further colonized tribes to favor western structures and configurations that depended upon the US government approving constitutions and future changes and amendments. In my opinion, this is an ongoing internal conflict of political values and ideas that is generally not verbalized or articulated, but a constant underlying theme of struggles to internally examine colonial authority in modern terms by Iñupiat.

These tribal organizational changes were at the expense of Iñupiaq governance, organizational culture and political structures. This erosion of Iñupiaq political and governmental structure included the workplace language usage of English (both formally and informally) and implicitly impacted cultural choices within the broader tribal membership (e.g. a person needed to be Americanized with the ability to speak and write English to qualify for jobs even with the tribe). The changes were “voluntarily” made by the tribe, but in reality were social-colonial pressures by the US government as part of colonization for the Iñupiat to economically qualify for federally funded contracts based upon western metrics in program administration. These imposed federal compliance requirements with economic implications put upon tribal organizations with enforcement via US regulations to maintain funding and contracts have sustained and expanded the modern colonization of Iñupiat. This has deliberately and calculatedly de-emphasized Iñupiaq culture and language within the daily work and community settings into today – even at the tribal institution level.

US Military Influences

The military developments in the Arctic are also a significant Iñupiaq colonization marker. The military advanced their year-round presence among Iñupiaq communities during WWII and later declined in the 1990s. During WWII, a joint US-Russian airstrip was quickly constructed in Nome to support the war in Europe and Asia. The US military presence continued in the 1950s-60s with the White Alice sites for international border surveillance in the Iñupiaq communities of Nome, Kotzebue and Barrow (Everly, n.d., accessed 2016). This brought the military year-round into the Arctic and included the fathering of children and the creation of job opportunities – generally with preference for colonized Iñupiat. The military also recruited young Iñupiaq men for service that changed their global perspective and exposed them to the outside Americanized world. The expansion of the Alaska Armory National Guard originated in the 1960s during the Cold War also contributed to colonization in the communities of Nome, Kotzebue and Barrow, as well as smaller stations in villages such as Little Diomed, Buckland, Ambler, Selawik, and Noatak. The US military decreased their presence in the 1990s, but the forty years of colonial presence that prior was seasonal and far removed, changed Iñupiaq perceptions of the US government through a political alliance in “fighting” a common enemy. Both the military service of Iñupiat men and non-Native soldiers based in Iñupiaq communities advanced Americanization with young Iñupiat by promoting mainstream pop-culture directly in the Arctic – movies, music, clothing styles, language and lifestyles. Americanization was also advanced by WWII unifying Iñupiat with mainstream Lower-48 people via feelings of patriotism that were enforced in schools and churches.

Federal Education Systems and Boarding Schools

Colonization via federal education systems significantly advanced in Iñupiaq communities beginning in the 1950s through the 1970s. Prior to this period, there were BIA or “Native schools” that operated in Iñupiaq villages and most children completed elementary grades with little

expectations by their families and communities to continue western style education -- rather the expectation was to learn and sustain Iñupiaq ways of life. According to Hensley (2009), *“These [Indian boarding] schools were designed not to reinforce their identity, but to destroy it. In the place of a well-rounded individual who knew who he was, who knew his language, his family’s history, and the values that sustained his people, the powers that be wanted an individual trained [colonized] in arithmetic, English, American history, and economics – an individual who might become a mechanic, a secretary, a carpenter, or an upholsterer”* (p. 205-206).

The combined Americanization effects from the military, mining industry, religious conversion and tribal government re-organization, fed into compounded sociopolitical expectations of and by Iñupiat for new generations to advance in colonized terms. This coincided with increased Iñupiaq participation in boarding schools including Sitka, Wrangell, Unalakleet, Seward, and Eklutna. These schools often used military discipline to colonize Native students (strict rules, making beds a certain military way, clothing and shoe appearance, highly structured chores) and “took” Iñupiat as young as 5 years old through grade 9 and later to grade 12 (NWAB Iñupiaq Language Plan, 2012). According to Hensley (2009), *“Our children were being taken away at a tender age and sent hundreds or thousands of miles away to be educated in a curriculum in which no parent had any say. There were no training programs of any consequence to help us make the transition between the old world of subsistence living and the emerging resource economy. In the [colonizing] institutions that affected our lives – the courts, the schools, the hospitals, the bureaucracies regulating fish and game – the voice of the Iñupiat and other Alaskan Natives was barely a whisper”* (p. 124).

The removal of Iñupiaq children into boarding schools changed family and inter-generational interactions – the physical distance as well as linguistically and culturally. This was a calculated federal-state education policy to those who initiated boarding schools and the system was

fully aware of this goal of colonization. The mission schools in Iñupiaq communities from their beginnings enforced a strict English-only policy. Also according to Langdon (2002), “...one of the key elements in the American missionary plan was the eradication of Native languages and their replacement by English. Students were prohibited from speaking their Native tongues in school and were often harshly punished if the rule was broken” (p. 115). The colonizing effectiveness of the schools in the early years was limited – Iñupiaq students generally participated for a short period of time, for example up to the second to the sixth grade, and regular attendance was dependent upon family needs and seasonal movements with the subsistence. Students had the support of the extended families in their home settings to maintain an Iñupiaq identity including language. As an example according to Hensley (2009), “Helen Tullugalik, born to a family of eleven children in 1926, said she made it only to sixth grade, and didn’t attend school often, since she had to help her mother with younger siblings. But she remembered clearly, “They try not to let us talk Eskimo. You miss (the) party when you talk Eskimo”” (p. 207).

With the boarding schools, the English-only enforcement and institutional Americanization among isolated students away from families made a considerable colonizing impact – in fact there was a noticeable language shift from Iñupiaq to English that started in this period. According to Hensley (2009), “As the system drummed our languages out of us, it became more and more difficult to communicate – impossible to have a meaningful conversation with parents and grandparents when you returned home [from boarding school]” (p. 207).

US Termination Policy

This significant advancement in colonization among Iñupiat followed the larger US tribal termination policy from 1953 to 1968 (Boxer, 2009). According to Boxer (2009),

“In August 1953, Congress endorsed House Concurrent Resolution 108 which is widely regarded as the principal statement of the termination policy: *It is the policy of Congress, as rapidly as possible, to make [or to colonize] the Indians [including Alaska Natives] within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same [American] laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship*” (The Termination of the Reservations section, para. 1).

It should be noted that the US termination policy was applied at a significant time (1953-1968) for Alaska and its indigenous people. Alaska gained statehood in 1959, and the Alaska Native land claims were formulated during the 1960’s under the termination policy directive. Both of these set systems and structures into place that continue to promote termination – despite the policy being outdated and abandoned since 1971 with the adoption of the federal self-determination policy. According to Berger (1985) during a hearing in Unalakleet this was summarized as, *“All the things that the White man has brought – language, religion, medicine, schools, welfare – when laid side by side constitute a barrier, walling Native people off from their own past and at the same time from future possibilities. As individuals, some can overcome these barriers, but as a society they cannot. Barriers [colonization] are continually closing in on them, barriers that seem cunningly devised to limit their range of possibilities”* (p. 13).

Christian Evangelism

The 1950-60s were also a highpoint for Christian evangelism among Iñupiat. Churches made program and capital investments in Iñupiaq villages by building new churches, developing training schools and expanding evangelism with fulltime clergy. According to Savok (2004), *“In*

the 1950s and into the 1960s, God place upon the shoulders of Superintendents Rev. Roald Amundsen to teach the Native pastors how to keep the church functioning and growing with Natives themselves working together. The Alaska Covenant Church was then organized with Natives themselves in charge on operate and strengthen the Covenant ministry by teaching their own people on how to support the local churches on the field. The Ministerium, made up of all pastors, made a budget for the coming year” (p. 209-210). During this time period a number of new church buildings were completed by the Lutheran Church in Nome by 1957, and by the Presbyterian Church in Barrow by the 1960s. This was also the ending period of Iñupiaq cultural ceremonies as a common practice in community settings.

Alaska Statehood

Alaska statehood was also a significant colonization marker among Iñupiat. The Alaska Constitutional Convention in 1955 followed western and colonial standards. According to Hensley (2009), *“There were fifty-five delegates to the convention. Only one was a Native Alaskan, and he went along with the status quo. The only person who really spoke up for Alaska Natives was actually a naluagmuit (white man). M.R. “Muktuk” Marston...He was virtually ignored by his fellow delegates”* (p. 108-109). As a result, the state constitution largely ignores Alaska Native rights. In 1959, Alaska was “in” and the Americanization of Alaska Native people took an accelerated pace. At the same time, the ability to speak and write English was important economically, but also politically with rights to vote and hold public offices from city to state levels. Statehood also put more western government influences in Iñupiaq communities – particularly with the knowledge of oil on the North Slope, gold in Nome and base metal deposits throughout the Arctic. The colonizing interests of individuals and corporations in the Arctic grew significantly with a state government available to acquire federal lands, sell resource rights and

promote development. According to Langdon (2002), *“The Alaska Statehood Act was passed in 1958 and provided for the new state to select 108 million of Alaska’s 375 million acres. These selections, which often were made over customary and traditional Native lands, galvanized Natives throughout Alaska to organize into regional associations and protest the taking of lands”* (p. 117).

Arctic Oil and Gas Development

Colonization of the Iñupiat was set into high gear in the late 1960s with oil development. According to Gallagher (2001), *“The strike was on, oil fever began to build. As the Cheechakos had come streaming over Chilkoot pass in 1898 looking for gold, in 1968 the boomers, the get rich-quick artists, the entrepreneurs headed for Alaska. Along with them came big money – the great New York banks, the trust funds, the great corporations”* (p. 177).

At the same time, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) that formed state chartered corporations to manage Iñupiaq lands, was coming to a settlement with oil resource development. The influence of multinational corporations investing for resource extraction and land rights took advantage of the years of Americanization of Iñupiaq community leaders for jobs, swaying public opinion, and making business deals. According to Stromhmeyer (2003), *“Eskimos and Indians, who before statehood had been barred from many saloons and forced to sit in separate sections in some theaters, suddenly became Alaska’s most sought-after citizens. As hundreds of millions in reparation dollars started flowing into corporate treasuries. Natives were pursued by hordes of developers, land speculators and securities salesman offering investment schemes, and a mob of consultants, bankers, and lawyers offering advice – for a retainer – on how to guard against those who would fleece them”* (p. 172).

Municipal Government Expansion

The formation of municipal or city governments in Iñupiaq homelands provided colonization at the local level by allowing governing decisions outside of existing tribal governments. According to Hensley (2009), *“With statehood, the [colonizing] governance in Alaska changed dramatically. Tribal councils were no longer the sole governing power in the villages; that was transferred to city councils, which in some places quickly became the domain of non-Natives who finally saw an opportunity to increase their [colonial] influence in local affairs. It was not long before those councils sought to make send of the patchwork patterns of property use in Alaska’s villages”* (p. 109). In regional hub communities among Iñupiat like Nome, Kotzebue and Barrow, tribes saw the survey of lands that created methods for individual title to lands as well as greater control of schools to western-style authority. According to Hensley (2009), *“In Kotzebue, the BLM surveyors had come to town, surveyed the entire three-mile spit from the beach back to the lagoon, then auctioned off hundreds of lots”* (p. 109).

The colonization of Iñupiaq villages took another step politically with the major expansion of municipal or city governments during the 1970s. Village-level city governments emerged with the financial support from the oil wealth held by the State of Alaska, and efforts to provide village infrastructure like electricity. It should be noted that prior to this Iñupiaq tribal governments operated the villages. The formation of city governments split the village voice and de-emphasized the role of tribal governments in state political relationships for community development, infrastructure operations, local governance and communications.

American Media and Consumerism Influences

Colonization of Iñupiaq communities was furthered in the late 1970s to 1990s with the improvements in mainstream media delivery. This included expansion of the existing public radio broadcasts and print media into cable television, video games, and Internet access. According to

Forbes, Ashworth, Lonner & Kasprzyk (1984), *“In early 1977 the State of Alaska began delivery of public service and commercial entertainment to selected rural sites via the Satellite Television Demonstration Project”* (p. 1). This started the creation of new media access to the outside world that eventually expanded to channels like HBO and MTV from the previous limited number of TV channels, such as two or four. In addition to the new television channels, it changed the prior media delivery which was limited in broadcast time (e.g. weekdays ending at 10:00 pm) to fulltime availability. According to Forbes et al. (1984), *“Television in its present form does not promote regional identity as radio has done, and it isolates members of a community rather than bringing them together as movies did... The influence of the consumer oriented magazines is augmented by television and its commercials, as evidenced by the list of items seen on television which are desired by the participants [Rural Alaskan Native Children] of this study”* (p. 147). The Americanization of Iñupiat is definite and the consumerism effects of colonization via media can be felt even in the smallest and remote villages. According to Mander (1991), *“Because of the technology’s geographic scale, its cost, the astounding power of its imagery, and its ability to homogenize [colonize] thought, behavior, and culture, large corporations found television uniquely efficient for ingraining a way of life that served (and still serves) their interests. And in times of national crisis, the government and military find TV a perfect instrument for the centralized control of information and consciousness. Meanwhile, all other contenders for control of the medium have effectively fallen by the wayside”* (p. 3).

Politics of Iñupiaq Colonization

When understanding and analyzing Iñupiaq colonization, two questions help reveal the underlying politics:

- (1) who gains from the colonization of Iñupiaq communities and people?

(2) who loses from the colonization?

The people who politically gained the most from Iñupiaq colonization were fur traders, commercial whalers, miners and mining companies, oil companies, and state government. The people who lost the most from colonization were the Iñupiat themselves – ability to sustain ownership of lands, speak the language, teach customs and traditions, live beliefs and values, and fully participate in the economic development of homelands. According to Oquilluk (1981), *“But now the Eskimos have learned from the white people what value gold and other minerals have for them. They found out that white people took many millions of dollars from our father’s land, both from the ground and the sea. They took fish of all kinds, whales, and the other animals from the water. They took fur from the land and fur from the seal and sea otters of the ocean. They have gold and silver and money in the banks to buy valuable things”* (p. 225).

Overall, the politics of Iñupiaq colonization are centered mainly in economics. According to Smith (2006), *“Imperialism was the system of control which secured the markets and capital investments. Colonialism facilitated this expansion by ensuring that there was European control, which necessarily meant securing and subjugating the indigenous populations”* (p. 21). The level of colonization was directly associated with the economic value of Iñupiaq resources developed. For example, early in Iñupiaq colonial history with the fur and whaling industries colonization was limited with the seasonal nature of trade with Iñupiat; and later colonialism grew with the value of mineral and oil-gas resource development that required less trade but more permanent land and resource rights. However, most Americans, Alaskans and Iñupiat do not link colonization to economics. The general colonial view is that these economic resources were “discovered” by explorers and resource development companies, and Iñupiat had the same opportunity to exploit the resources but didn’t take the opportunity. In

reality the resources were known by the Iñupiat but they were historically and specifically excluded by the colonial legal and political systems to exercise staking claims and other economic rights in the opportunities to develop and benefit from them. At the same time, colonial systems did not design royalty and other resource sharing systems to ensure the indigenous owners of the land were able to equitably receive the economic benefits in the resource development of Alaska. According to Hensley (2009), *“My land claims research in 1966 had made me acutely aware of the fact that Native people in general had not had any real function in the [colonial] economy other than as consumers or laborers or as human magnets for federal funding”* (p. 169).

For example, during the Nome gold rush (Arnold, 1978), Iñupiat were excluded from making claims on their own homeland because they were not considered US citizens (Chapter 11 Encroachments, para. 5). Just during the summer of 1899, an estimated \$2 million in gold was extracted from the beaches in Nome (Alaska Humanities Forum, 2016). Since that time, gold has been extracted annually from the Nome area to today which could be valued in the trillions of US dollars; yet the Iñupiat are still disenfranchised from the gold resource and take the brunt of the environmental impacts from the colonial resource development and extraction.

Once the land ownership and resource rights were granted to corporations and colonists, the undoing of that colonizing system became practically impossible through the American political organizations and government – which has the most to lose and generally works the hardest to prevent it.

Today, Iñupiaq colonization continues to be politically linked to global economics via multinational corporations. Corporations collectively profit in the billions annually by operating and profiting from oil, gas and mining projects in Iñupiaq homelands. Iñupiat participate and benefit from these developments; however, the economic benefits are significantly greater for

the colonizer than the colonized. In the US, there continues to be political and economic marginalization of Iñupiat with new resource development including Arctic offshore oil development, mineral exploration, international global shipping, and commercial fisheries.

Political Considerations

US and Alaskan colonization of Iñupiat has become ingrained into the modern social and American-Alaskan experience. At first, colonization was heavy-handed and overt with policy set mainly by politicians and church leaders, and administered in very isolated settings with a justifying attitude that it was for their own good to be civilized. Examples of the early overt colonization processes and methods include:

- Christian conversion that bluntly challenged Iñupiaq cultural practices including the desecration of gravesites.
- Emotional and physical abuse by school staff directed at Iñupiat children when speaking their home and heritage language.
- Governmental denial and exclusion to economically participate in initial mining and oil developments that established long-term economic and ownership rights.
- Legal systems that authorized the taking of Iñupiaq lands by non-Native individuals, organizations and businesses without any consultation, permission and/or compensation such as payments, royalties and licenses.
- Reorganization of Iñupiaq tribal governance systems to reflect American political ideology.

Today, the colonization of Iñupiat is maintained much less overtly and generally through established common American and Alaskan norms formed as powerful unspoken rules that sustain sociopolitical behaviors and expectations. One could now describe colonization as white gloved with policy set by politicians and corporations administered in isolated settings but networked with telecommunications, television and other electronic technology. The justifying attitude of colonization continues with an “it is for their own

good” mentality in order to compete in the American and Alaskan economic systems for jobs and education. According to Hensley (2009), *“To be fair, they [missionaries] worked hard to provide health care and sanitation and to set us on what they saw as the path to heaven. But they never really understood us, and abetted by the federal government, they made decisions that should have been made by our own people, using their [colonial] power to repress our ability to govern ourselves”* (p. 222).

Examples of the contemporary covert colonization processes and methods include:

- Cultural homogenization of Iñupiat to fit a mold of acceptable Americanization.
- Community economic dependence for modern conveniences like homes, electricity, oil heat, cable TV, Internet, and motorized vehicles. These create individual and communal financial dependency with regular importation of items.
- The Americanization of Alaska Natives via ANCSA corporations with a model that depends upon assimilating to western business expectations for success.
- Tribal government dependency upon federal contracting has led to the bureaucratization of staff and council members.
- Public education of Iñupiat in local schools that are dominated by non-Native teachers and continue the colonization and assimilation of youth in their home communities. The standards for education are tested on national ideas of Americanization.

Understanding and navigating the politics of Iñupiaq colonization can be very difficult with a complete denial of colonization by both the colonizer and colonized. Social attitudes have formed among community members to accept colonization as the modern or new way of life in order to “get ahead” economically, educationally and politically. According to Hensley (2009), *“Our parents and grandparents acquiesced in all this, and “gave” us to the system in the belief that they were offering us a better life”* (p. 222). At the same time, Iñupiat are made to feel disempowered through the colonization process and the efforts to address issues can feel overwhelming and unattainable. According to Hensley (2009), *“The cultural war [colonization] against us was even more deadly. Generation after generation, our people were told that they*

were not adequate, did not measure up, and had to change from who they were into someone else. Our old religion was repressed. Our languages virtually banned. Our dances were denounced as pagan and sinful. Our names were summarily changed” (p. 204). Adding to the confusion among the colonizer and colonized are disagreements in understanding past history and/or denying or completely forgetting the past.

In my experience, the view of politics among Iñupiat further sustains colonization – the accepted attitude is that politics are for the few willing to be outspoken with the majority desiring very little to do with politics in preference for family-level decision-making or independence. Some Iñupiat also disengage in politics by choosing to pray about the situation and hope that justice will be attained – if not in this life, the next. With the majority of Iñupiat withdrawn from politics, there can be stifling feelings of helplessness to address colonization – particularly with the level of administration created at the village level with tribal and municipal governments, ANCSA corporations, churches, regional profit and non-profit organizations, and schools which interface with state-federal-regional agencies and multinational corporations.

Iñupiaq and Colonizer Perspectives

Perspectives on colonization depend upon the role. For the colonizer, colonization can be viewed as victorious and necessary behavior to sustain control of the national political system promoting wealth and economic growth. For the colonized, colonization can be viewed as victimization and necessary to participate in the economy. Both perspectives reflect a number of behaviors that can be characterized according to addiction associated with power and control.

Based upon the description of an addictive organization by Schaefer and Fassel (1990), colonization can be classified as an addictive communal sickness and collectively as a dysfunctional behavior. Many colonial behaviors in the US can be considered normal for

individuals, communities, institutions and corporations, but these are actually addictive behaviors promoting dysfunction and/or codependency based upon domination centering upon political power and economic control. Colonization as an addiction feeds on power (domination) and money (economics) to become formidable dysfunctional behaviors ingrained into US-Alaska politics and American economics. According to Schaef and Fassel (1990), one of the basic defense mechanisms of addiction is denial (p. 4-5) – and addressing colonization is difficult as it challenges the dominating system and the powerful defenses of denial.

I have created the following table outlining addictive characteristics and summarizing the cycle of dysfunctional behaviors among both the colonized and colonizer, adapted from the work of Schaef and Fassel (1990):

Table 1: Addictive Characteristics of Colonization and Dysfunctional Behaviors

Addictive Characteristics	Colonized Behaviors / Dysfunction	Colonizer Behaviors / Dysfunction
Denial	Denial of cultural erosion and/or denial of past, history and heritage.	Denial of indigenous peoples' existence and human rights. They may have existed at one-time, but no longer in today and if exist today are considered dominated peoples that no longer have rights.
Confusion	Erosion of culture and language creates confusion in communicating across generations and misunderstanding ancestral culture. Confusion of own culture and heritage.	Ignorant of the abuses to peoples and communities. Confused of any problem associated with colonization.
Self-centeredness	Shame and guilt of cultural and language erosion associated with colonization – victimization view.	Colonial culture is imperial – superior view.
Dishonesty	Lie to self that cannot learn or sustain culture in modern times, or	Lie to the world at-large and themselves about treatment of

Addictive Characteristics	Colonized Behaviors / Dysfunction	Colonizer Behaviors / Dysfunction
	it does not have any value in today. Illusion that being and learning culture will hurt the modern academic, economic and/or political performance of people in Alaskan and American systems or society.	indigenous peoples and the benefits reaped at the expense of them.
Perfectionism	View that people are not good enough or perfect enough to lead organizations and corporations. Fearful of not being able to perfectly meet colonial standards.	Self-view of the colonizer as civilized or perfection of the human race, and indigenous people as bad or imperfect that need to be changed, “fixed” and assimilated.
Illusion of control	Loss of control and give up – turn control over.	Pre-occupied with controlling people’s behavior to conform to assimilation via political and economic means.
Frozen feelings	Frozen in grief associated with cultural erosion and change anxiety.	Out of touch with feelings and intuition – “stiff upper lip.”
Ethical deterioration	Loss of authentic spirituality, and myth that becomes belief to be successful (get ahead) in today one must adopt the “western ways” or assimilate by leaving tribal ways of life behind (deterioration of traditional values).	Related to lying to oneself that misleads self and others into believing colonization is normal and necessary; despite it demonstrating ethical deterioration of humanity.
Forgetfulness	Forgetting the culture and language.	Forget what happened to indigenous people, cover up the real history of colonialism, and forget the people themselves (they no longer “genuinely” exist in today).

Chapter 3: Healing

According to Poka Laenui (2006), *“a natural outgrowth of the first phase is the mourning – a time when people are able to lament their victimization. This is an essential phase of healing.”* (p. 3)

In the awareness process, the sequence of mourning can be felt in both the major parts: (1) cultural identity and (2) history of colonization. The feeling of cultural loss in identity can be triggered when learning about the breadth of traditional knowledge of previous generations and what has been lost in today due to colonization. At the same time, colonization is inherently dehumanizing and designed to be disrespectful and discriminatory.

According to Laenui (2006), he references work by Professor Virgilio Enriquez on the process of colonization and recognizes the following colonization processes/steps that need to be recognized for healing (p. 1-2) – (1) denial/withdrawal, (2) destruction/eradication, (3) denigration/belittlement/insult, (4) surface accommodation/tokenism, and (5) transformation/exploitation. These destructive colonization processes/steps can evoke real and justified feelings of mourning including: grief, sadness, shock, disbelief, denial, guilt, and anger.

The mourning in the healing process often includes unresolved intergenerational grief which can compound the heaviness of the emotions. The mourning can also include post-traumatic stress, which according to Asamoia-Tutu (2013) is an anxiety disorder that may develop in individuals who have been exposed to a traumatic event or environment such as colonization (p. 7). In general, mourning colonization can be very overwhelming – one must be aware that the process could feel like spinning into hopelessness. In the healing process, it is important to realize that (a) one is not alone, (b) the seriousness of the emotions that can be experienced, and (c) be prepared in the

decolonization process for the time needed for processing the mourning to healing with support systems and counseling available. According to Pacific Human Rights (n.d., accessed 2012), *“It must be acknowledged that all indigenous people are assimilated to one degree or another, no one is immune from colonial influence or assimilation”* (para. 12).

As one discusses the healing process, one should recognize that there is a real danger of getting ensnared into a cycle of mourning colonization. According to Laenui (2006), *“...people can get ‘stuck in the awfulizing’ of their victim-hood”* (p. 4). Individuals and groups need to realize that mourning is part of the process, but not the end of the decolonization process or the end goal. Rather, it is a natural human recovery step that acknowledges the pain and suffering caused by colonization, provides time to cope, and rebuilds at individual, family and community levels. Also, it helps for a group to acknowledge there are uplifting actions that can be positively taken for the future to move beyond grief into celebration, but one must go through or work through the grief in the decolonization process.

Grandmother Rita Blumenstein, Alaskan Yup’ik, has shared (Schaefer, 2006):

“We are not our past, we are not our present. We are that which we are becoming.”
We can create our own life out of the past and out of the present. We have the power to reach into the past according to our needs. “It’s good for us to remember that we are here to harvest the knowledge and blessings of our life” (p. 142).

During the healing process, it is important to pose questions for a group to identify healing methods and ways that will work for participants as individuals, as a group and as a community. I have found that healing is a very personal process especially as colonization takes effect on many institutional levels and individuals have also experienced varying personal levels within their lives,

families and communities. Sample questions to help brainstorm healing methods include the following:

- **What are ways you see colonization affecting the community negatively through social indicators?**
- **How can the community start and/or continue to heal from the effects of colonization?**
- **Are there Iñupiaq cultural practices or traditions that could help in the healing process that you would recommend?**

I would suggest in the healing process to address the topic of grief in a facilitated group. According to Smith and Segal (2016), grief is defined as: “*a natural response to loss. It’s the emotional suffering you feel when something [emphasis added] or someone you love is taken away. The more significant the loss, the more intense the grief will be*” (para. 2). For the colonized, the process of colonization can be grieving loss of culture, identity, homelands, subsistence rights, and indigenous rights.

The following is a four-step process of surviving tragedy and loss based upon the Hopes Suicide, Education and Prevention website (Accessed April 2014) a *Survivors Guide*. It is adapted to relate to the grief and mourning associated with colonization and decolonization. I would suggest a talking circle with participants addressing each topic one at a time in the circle – participants can speak to the topic or pass. Once the full circle has spoken to the topic, move to the next area. When all areas have been covered, go through the circle one more time to provide for overall comments and insights.

1. **Tell the story of colonization:** Talk about what has happened from individual perspectives. Facilitate a group discussion for talking about the community and past ancestors, and how the colonization of culture/people/community has impacted one’s life and family. The talking circle can stop when participants feel they don't need to tell their story anymore. Chances are the group will then be close to acceptance at that point.

2. **Express the Emotions:** Grief is filled with conflicting waves of emotion. Just when one thinks acceptance of the colonization, disbelief may sweep over one again. One may feel intense anger along with equally intense feelings of love and loss. Or, in the midst of grief about the colonized community, a sense of unreality may surface. No matter what the range of emotions, all are to be expected during grief. It is crucial to get the emotions outside of oneself. In addition to the talking circle, group activities could include writing about feelings, drawing pictures, singing songs, and/or further group discussion of identifying common community feelings expressed as grief issues.

3. **Make Meaning, from the Loss:** Nothing can make what has happened "okay". Lives are changed forever. However, one can determine that something good and reasonable will come out of the unreasonable circumstances. At some point, one may be able to accept the reality that the community's ancestors' entire life was not defined by their last decisions to colonize. Nothing can take away the good things the ancestors and community accomplished. In addition to the talking circle, groups could define recommendations like reaching out to others with similar experiences, setting up of a scholarship or other appropriate memorial in the families and/or tribe names, and working among the community in a capacity to better the lives of others. There are many ways to make meaning from tragedy. This will be further addressed and accomplished through a group brainstorming process based upon a medical wheel model (the next step in the healing process).

4. **Transition from the Colonized Presence of the Community to the New Decolonized Relationship:** while missing the past indigenous culture, language and practices in our lives may continue well into the future, it is possible to transition into acceptance of social changes in the presence. *What can that new community decolonized status be?* For some, it is memories and love carried in our hearts. No one can take away our authentic memories and, as long as we treasure love for ancestors and culture, they are not forgotten. The new relationship may be spiritual or in some other way in keeping with cultural beliefs. According to Pacific Human Rights (n.d., accessed 2012), one needs to be aware of "*Recognizing the strength in Indigenous ways*" (para. 12). The practice of cultural mourning ceremonies and traditional grieving processes can aid tremendously in the individual and group process. In addition to the talking circle, groups could also brainstorm culturally appropriate ways in today for transitioning to the new decolonization relationship.

As a model of healing within Native communities, I also suggest continuing the group process to review a medical wheel and then structured brainstorming to lead towards healing ideas

and methods. According to Whiteman (2016), the medicine wheel is considered a guide to help find balance and understanding of those things affecting our surroundings (*What is the Medicine Wheel Model?* Section, para. 2). The medicine wheel can represent four interconnected areas leading to holistic healing: (1) Spiritual, (2) Physical, (3) Mental, and (4) Emotional.

The following is an adaption of the medicine wheel for a group healing exercise in the decolonization process. One section of the wheel represents spiritual ideas for healing that could relate to intuition, a higher power, and connections with the spiritual world. A focus of spiritual ideas can help transition colonizing relationships to positive decolonization and promote higher energy. Another section of the wheel represents physical ideas for healing that could relate to the body of people (health, activities, diets, etc.), community characteristics, and social institutions (those that physically exist in the community). A focus of physical ideas is to promote telling the story of colonization and decolonization with the physical voice and promoting the corpus of the community towards healing. Another section of the wheel represents emotional ideas for healing that could relate to the heart, feelings and gut. A focus of emotional ideas is to express and feel the emotions of colonization and processing those emotions for healing and decolonization. Another section of the wheel represents mental ideas for healing that could relate to the head, brain, thoughts and logic. A focus of mental ideas is to make meaning from the colonization and decolonization.

I would suggest reviewing the model with participants, then asking them to individually brainstorm ideas that could apply to their community and ensure there are ideas in each of the four areas. Then individuals can share ideas with the large group by posting ideas on a board or group of flip charts representing each area of the medicine wheel.

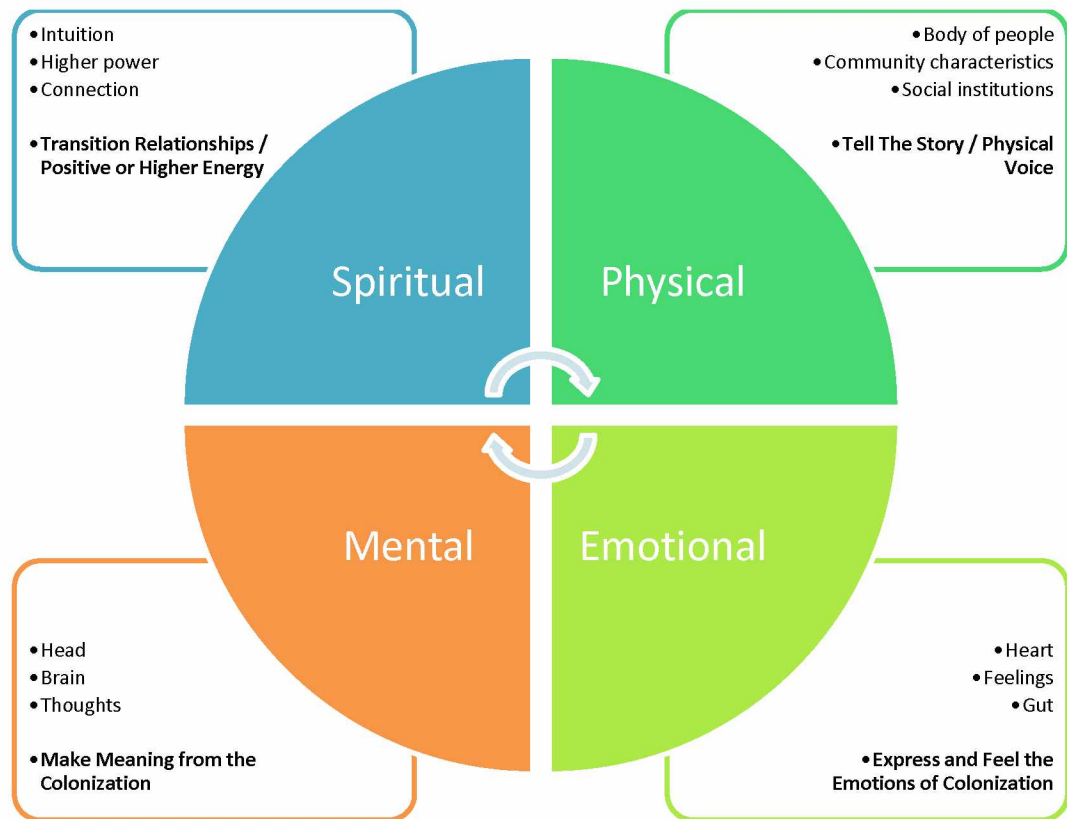


Figure 6: Medicine Wheel Model for Helping to Heal from Colonization

As one works through the healing process, the overall goal is wellness and working to find ways for supporting both individual and community resiliencies. The resiliencies for cultural healing could include promoting connections to the land, water, tundra and environment as well as sharing traditional foods and creating Native art to express grief and healing.

Chapter 4: Revitalize, Vision, Strategy & Action, and Sustain & Grow

Revitalize Process

The revitalize process goal is the development of a renewed consciousness to promote strengthening the individual, group and community to continue on the decolonization journey. The revitalization process also recognizes that one is not settling to exist within a colonized environment, nor continually grieve or awfulize the past and present issues of colonization.

The awareness and healing processes are emotionally, psychologically and spiritually demanding, and the revitalize process supports building people up through identifying cultural strengths and positive attributes. According to Pacific Human Rights (n.d., accessed 2012), the process promotes *“Revitalizing a sense of nationality and appreciating the knowledge and ways of indigenous ancestry. Traditional philosophies of respect and appreciation for the Earth, life, others and oneself are positive parts of indigenous culture that are still relevant today. An understanding of the negative and positive aspects of the colonial society is important and education on the negative aspects must be emphasized, while positive aspects be utilized”* (Decolonization section, para. 3).

The revitalize process builds upon the awareness and healing processes, particularly with rediscovering or confirming identities and supporting cultural worldviews. The revitalize process works with individuals and groups to define or redefine in today’s terms the ways to uphold, sustain, restore and/or advance indigenous cultural concepts and identities successfully. The focus is on combining the best of both indigenous and western worlds that can be positively put into practice at personal and community levels.

In the revitalize process, participants should be encouraged to identify uplifting ideas that inclusively blend the past with the present and future. This recognizes that our history and ancient cultural practices can be a valuable strength for revitalizing our bodies, minds, feelings and spirits for successfully embracing resiliency by individuals and communities.

Questions to pose with groups to help work through this process could include:

- **How could families and the community sustain and advance indigenous cultures in today in ways that build on strengths to uplift awareness and promotes sovereignty?**
- **How would you support and/or create forums using positive attributes for supporting unity and nationalism?**
- **How can you revitalize language and culture into daily modern lives including home, school and work/job spheres?**

In working with a group in the revitalize process, it is important to create a broad array of ideas, strategies and activities. This recognizes that many options are needed for revitalization – and help show the number of the possibilities. I would suggest a brainstorming process using an arrow diagram with three areas/arrows that lead to an overall revitalizing strategy. The process can begin with individuals first brainstorming ideas to the above three questions that represent each of the three arrows representing strengths, positive attributes and revitalizing practices – reference the diagram below. Next form groups to combine individual lists, and then put these ideas on cards for posting on the arrows. After this work, the full group then can cluster into groups within the arrows that identify the common revitalization themes – there could be 3-5 themes per arrow. Finish with identifying the overall revitalization strategy – where all the arrows are leading and supporting.



Vision Process

The vision process focuses on reframing the present and future with the capacities built from the awareness, healing and revitalize processes which can contribute to the whole person, families, communities and global society. This is a motivational and inspirational process by evolving what the decolonized future can be – a new emotional-physical-mental-spiritual state where cultural and political independence is promoted.

In this phase of decolonization, Laenui (2006) encourages people to dream of the possibilities and future that creates new social orders with updated community practices and reformed structures. According to Laenui (2006),

“...here is where the full panorama of possibilities are expressed, considered through debate, consultation, and building dreams on further dreams which eventually becomes the flooring for the creation of a new social order.” [This is important as] *“Decolonization includes the reevaluation of the political, social, economic and judicial structures themselves, and the development, if appropriate, of new structures which can hold and house the values and aspiration of the people”* (p. 4)

As one works through the visioning process, it is important to recognize that decolonization is greater than taking and changing the leadership. According to Laenui (2006) “*True decolonization is more than simply replacing indigenous or previously colonized people into the positions held by colonizers*” (p. 4). For example, it is possible to change the organizational and governmental leadership to indigenous representatives, but continue the colonized model of operating. Today there are many entities that are led by indigenous leaders, but operated under colonized rules, models, standards, regulations and policies – in fact in these situations some may see that colonization is advanced further by the common saying of “doing it to ourselves.”

True or authentic decolonization focuses on changing the political-social-cultural frameworks that indigenous communities and organizations operate within. Or in other words, it changes the rules to be built upon and promotes the indigenous culture, language, ideas, models and values. According to Laenui (2006), “*Decolonization includes the reevaluation of the political, social, economic and judicial structures themselves, and the development, if appropriate, of new structures which can hold and house the values and aspirations of the colonized people*” (p. 4). This is a present-day reimagining of the mentality within the community and its structures to promote decolonization and adapt the very foundations to integrate or to completely change towards indigenous contexts while honoring contemporary situations and issues.

The visioning process will directly challenge colonization and participants should be encouraged to openly dream and envision social reforms and changes. One has to recognize that colonization discriminates against indigenous ideology as substandard and promotes colonial ideology as superior. This simply is not true and a major dysfunction of colonization that sustains the addictive colonial behaviors which were identified during the awareness process.

In the vision process, I would advise that people and communities may need to self-validate indigenous ways of framing, proposing and envisioning solutions. Participants should be encouraged to uphold and work within cultural worldviews preferably in indigenous languages. This process in decolonization will center upon Indigeneity. According to Harris and Wasilewski (2004), *“We believe that an articulation of Indigenous perspectives, of the concept of Indigeneity, with its inclusive management of diversity, constitutes a contribution to global discourse which has the potential of positively transforming the relationship dynamics of the 21st-century world, politically, socially, economically and spiritually”* (p. 2). The visioning process should facilitate long-term expressions based upon culture, language, history, values and practices. This is very different than depending upon the colonial advisement of “outside” experts who often come from a mindset of colonization and western cultures. There is a place for experts, particularly Elders and tradition bearers; however, the experts must be closely involved throughout the decolonization process and understand the importance of promoting and accepting indigenous worldviews, models, structures, rules and other concepts.

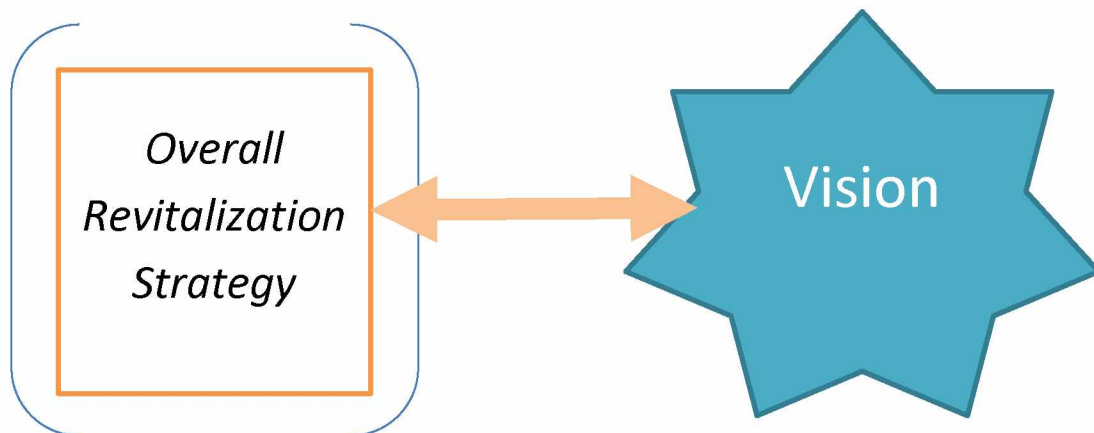
According to Pacific Human Rights (n.d., accessed 2012), another equally important factor in the vision process is accepting *“...that indigenous culture and ways are not static. If indigenous people had not undergone the influence of colonialism, they would not be the exact same societies as those that existed at the time of initial contact. It is at this point that the indigenous person must learn to exist within a colonial environment in a decolonized manner”* (Decolonizing section, para. 3). Laenui (2015) has identified this as a western or colonial expectation that indigenous people must “freeze in time” at the time of colonial contact for external validation of cultural identity (lecture May 19, 2015). This unrealistic expectation is a modern way of keeping indigenous people colonized. As one works with a group in the decolonization vision process, the facilitator must

allow groups of indigenous peoples to be contemporary, dynamic and adaptable in the dreaming. Pacific Human Rights (n.d., accessed 2012) summarizes in context of contemporary terms with “...an incorporation of the positive aspects of modern society and ancestral indigenous ways will contribute to overcoming the effects of inferiority and identity crisis” (Decolonization section, para. 4).

In the visioning process, participants should be encouraged to use their eye of awareness and dream long-term in ways that support modern decolonization and contemporary indigenization of the community. It may help to recognize that social changes like colonization took decades for change among people and communities. Decolonization takes the same effort and needs a vision that can sustain people for years of guidance, inspiration and implementation. According to Hensley (2009) on the Iñupiat Spirit, “*What they didn’t understand was that it was possible to retain our souls, our identity, our culture, and still pick up enough of the Western ways to flourish in the new [decolonized] order*” (p. 222-223).

Laenui (2015) has developed an example of a vision based upon the Hawaiian language with an abbreviation of OLA (lecture May 19, 2015): O = Oluolu or Caring; L = Lakehi or group, family and community; A = Aloha or joyfully sharing life. This is a guiding vision based upon seeing a thriving indigenous people and communities in today. This is a significant shift from his analysis of the often unspoken but strong message of colonization among indigenous peoples which he summarizes as DIE: D = Domination; I = Individualism, E = Exclusion. Hensley (2009) states the DIE experience among Iñupiat, “*Always, the message to us had been that our way of life was doomed, that our language was passé, that our homes stank, that we stank, and that the ajatkut, our medicine men or shamans, were evil and had no positive aspects*” (p. 217).

As one can see, a strong vision focused on the living spirit and spirituality of indigenous peoples is needed for a successful decolonization movement. In the group process, the vision can be built upon the revitalize process by having the group identify an overall vision for community decolonization. Participants can be asked to individually brainstorm and then combine ideas in a large group discussion until there is consensus on the vision statement. According to Laenui (2006), the goal of the vision process is to “...culminate in people combining their voices in a clear statement of their desired direction” (p. 5). Overall, the vision process should uplift spirits and facilitate a renaissance of unity and national identity among a community recognizing the contemporary environment.



Strategy and Action Process

The strategic and action process is very interrelated with the vision process. The goal of the process is to engage individuals and organizations in developing strategies and actions for commitment and implementation at multiple levels: personal, familial, community and institutional.

According to Pacific Human Rights (n.d., accessed 2012), strategies and actions should lead people into “*reoccupying traditional territory*” (Decolonizing section para. 5). This can be physical reoccupation such as setting up camps and marches into traditional land/territory areas for supporting decolonization and asserting sovereignty. It can also be a reoccupying of the mental-emotional-spiritual such as in the area of legal documents and proceedings, organizationally in community development, community social norms and unspoken rules of conduct, corporate and business training, research projects and priorities, and educational curriculum including grading standards.

For example, a strategy could be the redrafting of an institution’s articles of incorporation, bylaws and policies to be based upon indigenous ideology. Other examples include how can local-community justice systems be based upon Iñupiaq cultural laws and ideas of justice? Or how can organization boards and elections of tribal officials be restructured to be modeled on Iñupiaq ideas of leadership, self-governance and representation? As one can see these help develop strategies and actions that support a vision and also address the foundational levels that change community institutions and structures to achieve decolonization in modern times. According to Gallagher (2001), Etok shares in his essay “The New Harpoon” another example of actions that support modern decolonization: “*I feel that it is possible to develop a distribution system – an Eskimo [or decolonized] distribution of money profits – that can save man from some of the indecencies, some*

of the human indecencies that corporate America suffers. This can be developed by building into these human institutions things the Eskimos have learned from their whaling charter” (p. 255).

As one works with a group in brainstorming strategies and actions for decolonization, it is important to look at the medicine wheel from the prior healing process. Strategies and actions need to support the ongoing healing within an indigenous community and also be multi-faceted by encompassing the four areas of the medicine wheel: *Physical (individual, community and organizational), Psychological (mind-mental), Emotional (heart-feelings), and Spiritual (transformational)*. Key questions to pose to working groups in developing strategies and action include:

- **What do we (as a community) need to internally change within ourselves (in our minds, hearts, bodies and spirits) to decolonize?**
- **What are strategies to incorporate decolonization into tribal and community organizations via changes in governance structures, institutional policies and work environments?**
- **What are educational reforms (in school and out of school systems) that could spur actions to support decolonization of current and new generations of youth?**
- **What are psychological and health strategies that need to be strengthened to support healing processes associated with decolonization among various age groups – e.g. Elders, middle age adults, young adults, teens and youth?**
- **What are strategies to empower indigenous sovereignty to attaining true decolonization?**

A key part of the strategy and action process needs to be experimentation that makes allowances for failure with changes or modifications. This is important to remember as strategies may not work as intended or simply fail. Rather than give up, the group and indigenous leadership need to examine what happened and make successful adaptations to revamp a strategy and/or action(s) to achieve the greater purpose and vision.

Overall, strategies and actions put into practice the vision and make the decolonized indigenous voices heard with positive changes to the society and civic institutions for more self-directed control with sovereignty and unity.

Sustain and Grow Process

The sustain-and-grow process is the opportunity to grow the network of people and organizations involved in decolonization and eventually expand into the whole community and indigenous nation. As a concluding process in the facilitated workshop, the group will be asked to brainstorm how the decolonization process could be indoctrinated into a community for continuation and success.

As a group works through sustain and grow, I would suggest that a decolonization movement may start small by working at the individual and family levels. Over time, the movement will need opportunities to grow including the tribal membership, community residents, organizations, and broader audiences towards regional to statewide levels. Like colonization, which was integrated into the norms of a society and practiced on a daily basis via institutions, human behaviors and social interaction, promoting decolonization needs to both (a) undo the colonial damage to indigenous cultures and identities (healing processes), and (b) put in place new constructive norms, behaviors and social interactions (revitalize, vision, and strategy and action processes) that will sustain and grow a movement. This will take an assertive approach and nurturing efforts with new individuals, families, organizations and institutions.

As a decolonization movement and network includes more people and organizations, it is also important to recognize that prior decolonization processes (awareness, healing, revitalize, vision, strategies and actions) will need to be revisited again as part of ongoing education, sharing and working together. This is both as an orientation to new members as well as updating ideas,

strategies and actions with current members. As individuals and groups repeat processes, they can gain more knowledge and wisdom that will aid in successful decolonization and growing the movement. According to Laenui (2006), “...*Nor are these phases [or processes] of decolonization, once passed through, never to be revisited again. As one goes through the phase of recovery and rediscovery [or awareness], then the mourning [or healing], next the dreaming [or visioning], it is at times helpful or even necessary to return to recovery and rediscovery [or awareness] to aid in the dreaming [or visioning]*” (p. 6).

Questions to pose with a group include:

- **What are new constructive norms, behaviors and social interactions that support decolonization in the community?**
- **What are ways to sustain efforts with current individuals, families, organizations and institutions?**
- **What are ways to grow and include tribal membership and community organizations?**

Below is a graphic that could be presented to the group for guiding brainstorming.

Sustaining the current members or group is at the center – this will honor and strengthen members while aiding in the future growth of the decolonization movement. At the same time, ideas can be generated for outreaching to various groups from new individuals, families, organizations, institutions, communities, regions, statewide and globally.



Figure 7: Sustain and grow model

Conclusion

In conclusion, this decolonization process could be implemented within indigenous communities as an effective method to “fix” the community and restore self-government while addressing modern socio-economic problems. The process will take committed leadership and motivated individuals to work through challenging steps, formulate decolonization actions and reclaim cultural heritage under today’s terms. The process can have significant and extremely positive impacts with valuable community benefits including cost-effective improvement of public health conditions, stabilization and revitalization of the Iñupiaq language and culture, and restorative self-determination for authentic improvements to the quality of life.

The decolonization process and movement can start with a small group of supportive individuals, which may be most effective for establishing a decolonized group that can provide a base of leadership and support. The process could then grow outward with more families,

community entities/organizations, and eventually the whole indigenous nation. Overall, decolonization can lead towards the greater decolonization all of Iñupiat, Alaska Native peoples, and indigenous peoples – strengthening and freeing whole populations of people across the Arctic from Alaska to Canada, Greenland, Northern Europe, and Russia.

There are multiple political and economic factors in the colonization of Alaskan Iñupiat. Colonization is a bitter reality that was directed at changing Alaska Natives and Iñupiat both historically and in contemporary terms. At least five generations of Iñupiat have experienced various levels and methods of colonization, with successive growth among people within each generation. The main political driver is economics valued in the trillions of US dollars and involving many multinational corporations in various industries including fisheries, oil and gas, mining, and shipping.

Colonization depends upon a fixation of power and control that is addictive and dysfunctional at individual to community levels. The addictive nature of colonization creates political challenges in addressing changes – particularly denial. The economic values associated with colonization also sway people to keep wealth and sustain the status quo.

The social-cultural-economic costs to Iñupiat are significant historically, today and in the future. Examining the impacts of colonization puts an honest discussion on the table to identify and assess the damages, realize the ongoing costs to society, and build awareness of the systems for effective change. It could also help to create new decolonized political-economic responses that could aid in achieving equitable lives today to authentically achieve democracy, liberty and justice.

My own vision for decolonized Iñupiat are for individuals, groups and communities to have established an inspiring vision that is broadly endorsed for commitment by the community. I

would suggest a sample vision such as INUA: I = Iḷumtuuruaq *n.* truth, that which is true; N = Nakuuqtitut - *vt.* to treat each other right (reciprocal); U = Uumman *n.* heart; A = Atausiḷuḡun *n.* 1) unity.⁴ The vision would have guided individual to communal healing from the damaging and shaming effects of colonization. The group would also have cultivated strong indigenous identities, cultures, values and languages that are brilliantly reflected in personal home settings as well as communal settings such as workplaces, public schools, universities, and gathering places. More importantly, the group would have reframed and restructured institutions from local schools and public safety to tribes, corporations and regional nonprofit associations to be based upon Iñupiaq concepts of governance, leadership and ideology. The same institutions also support the ongoing decolonization of future generations leading to sustainable cultural revitalization and modern Iñupiatun self-determination. There will always be conflict and challenges; however, the community would have the collective and institutional capacity to operate from an indigenous perspective when working through solutions. Overall, there is political, economic, social and cultural authority for Iñupiat to operate in the Arctic based in Iñupiatun policies that build from the centuries of wisdom to best work in the Arctic, as well as respectfully interact and negotiate with global stakeholders from federal and state government, multinational corporations and conservationists.

⁴ Iñupiaq definitions according to Seiler (2012).

References

- Alaska Humanities Forum. (2016). *Alaska History and Cultural Studies*. Retrieved from <http://www.akhistorycourse.org/>
- Alaska Native Language Center. (2007). *Languages – Inupiaq*. Retrieved from <http://www.uaf.edu/anlc/languages/i/>. University of Alaska Fairbanks.
- Alaska Native Language Preservation & Advisory Council. (October 24, 2013). *Council workshop and public input during the Alaska Federation of Natives Convention*. Fairbanks, AK: Carlson Center.
- Alaska Natives Commission. (1994). *Alaska Natives Commission, Final Report, Volumes I-III*. Retrieved from http://www.alaskool.org/resources/anc_reports.htm
- Alaska Territorial Guard Organization, Inc. (2015). *History of the Alaska Territorial Guard*. Retrieved from <http://www.goodmanforatg.com/history.html>.
- Americanization – Sociology (n.d.). In *Encyclopedia Britannica* online. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Americanization> (Accessed October 2016).
- Americanized (n.d.). In *Dictionary.com Unabridged online*. Retrieved October 6, 2016 from <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/americanized>.
- Arnold, Robert D. (1978). *Alaska Native Land Claims*. Retrieved from <http://www.alaskool.org/projects/landclaims/LandClaimsTOC.htm>
- Arrabito, James (Director), & Barwald, Cindy (Director). (1998). *Maniilaq the Eskimo Prophet* [DVD]. United States: LLT Productions.

Asamoia-Tutu, Sierra R. (2013). *Walking Two Worlds: Healing from Trauma in the American Indian Community* (Master of Social Work Clinical Research Papers). University of St. Thomas – St. Catherine University, School of Social Work.

Berger, Thomas. (1985). *Village Journey: The Report of the Alaska Native Review Commission*. Inuit Circumpolar Conference.

Boxer, Andrew. (2009, September). *Native Americans and the Federal Government*. Retrieved from <http://www.historytoday.com/andrew-boxer/native-americans-and-federal-government>

Burch, Ernest S. Jr. (1994). *The Iñupiat and the Christianization of Arctic Alaska*. Retrieved from http://www.alaskool.org/native_ed/research_reports/christianization/burch.htm.

Burch, Ernest S. Jr. (1998). *The Iñupiaq Eskimo Nations of Northwest Alaska*. University of Alaska Press.

Case, David S. (1984). *Alaska Natives and American Laws*. University of Alaska Press.

Cloe, John. (2003). *Native Alaska – Military Relations 1867 to Current*. ALCOM Historian.

Colonialism (2012). In *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* online. Retrieved from <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/colonialism/>.

Everly, Bill. (n.d.). *White Alice Communications Systems*. Retrieved from <http://www.whitealice.net/history/history.html>. (Accessed October 2016)

Forbes, N., Ashworth C., Lonner W., & Kasprzyk, D. (1984). *Social and Cognitive Effects of the Introduction of Television on Rural Alaskan Native Children*. Center for Cross-Cultural Studies – University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Fox, James H. (2008). *Building a Town: An Introductory History of Transient Workers of the Matanuska Valley Colony of 1935*. Retrieved from

<http://www.palmerhistoricalsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Building-a-Town-pdf-revised-Feb-2016.pdf>

Gallagher, Hugh Gregory. (2001). *Etok a Story of Eskimo Power*. Vandamere Press.

Haile, Sarah (2003). *Maniilaq Eskimo Prophet Crying from the Wilderness*. Bonneville Books.

Harris, LaDonna & Wasilewski, Jacqueline. (2004). *Indigeneity, an Alternative Worldview: Four R's (Relationship, Responsibility, Reciprocity, Redistribution) vs. Two P's (Power and Profit) – Sharing the Journey Towards Conscious Evolution*. Wiley InterScience.

doi:10.1002/sres.631

Hensley, William Iggiagruk. (2009). *Fifty Miles from Tomorrow – A Memoir of Alaska and the Real People*. Sarah Crichton Books.

Hopes Suicide, Education and Prevention website (Accessed April 2014). *Survivors Guide*.

Retrieved from http://www.hopes-wi.org/SurvivorsGuide/mourning_process.htm, distributed by The Link Counseling Center's National Resource Center for Suicide Prevention and Aftercare.

Laenui, Poka. (2006). *Processes of Decolonization*. Retrieved from

<http://www.sjsu.edu/people/marcos.pizarro/courses/maestros/s0/Laenui.pdf>.

Laenui, Poka. (2015). Lecture at the University of Hawaii – Honolulu Campus on the Psychology of Culture. May 19, 2015.

Langdon, Steve J. (2002). *The Native People of Alaska – Traditional Living in a Northern Land*. Fourth Edition. Greatland Graphics.

- Lundberg, Murray. (2009). *Thar She Blows! Whaling in Alaska and the Yukon*. Retrieved from <http://explorenorth.com/library/yafeatures/bl-whaling.htm>
- Mander, Jerry. (1991). *In the Absence of the Sacred – The Failure of Technology and the Survival of the Indian Nations*. Sierra Club Books.
- Merk, Fredrick, and Bannister Merk, Lois. (1963). *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation*. Harvard University Press.
- National Park Service. (n.d.). *Kobuk River Stampede*. Retrieved from <https://www.nps.gov/gaar/learn/historyculture/kobuk-gold-rush.htm> (Accessed October 2016).
- Northwest Arctic Borough. (2012). *Iñupiaq Language Plan 2011-2021 (Addendum A to the Northwest Arctic Borough Comprehensive Plan)*. Kotzebue, AK: Ukallaysaaq Tom Okleasik.
- Ohio State University (n.d.). *Manifest Destiny and Westward Expansion*. Retrieved from <https://hti.osu.edu/history-lesson-plans/united-states-history/manifest-destiny-westward-expansion> (Accessed November 2016).
- Ongtooguk, Paul. (2016). *Alaska's Cultures: Military in Alaska*. Alaska Humanities Forum. Retrieved from <http://www.akhistorycourse.org/alaskas-cultures/military-in-alaska>
- Oquilluk, William with the assistance of Bland, Laura. (1981). *People of Kauwerak – Legends of the Northern Eskimo*. Alaska Pacific University Press.
- Osborn, Kevin. (1990). *The Peoples of the Arctic*. Chelsea House.
- Pacific Human Rights (n.d.). *Decolonization*. Retrieved from <http://pacifichumanrights.tripod.com/index-1.html> (Accessed 2012).
- Postconsumer.com (2013). *What Is Consumer Addiction?* Retrieved from <http://www.postconsumers.com/education/consumer-addiction/>.

- Ray, Dorothy Jean. (1992). *The Eskimos of Bering Strait, 1650 – 1898*. University of Washington Press.
- Savok, Fred. (2004). *Jesus & The Eskimo – How the Man of the Sky Brought the Light to My People*. HLC Publishing.
- Schaefer, Anne Wilson and Fassel, Diane. (1990). *The Addictive Organization*. Harper One.
- Schaefer, Carol. (2006). *Grandmothers Counsel the World – Women Elders Offer Their Vision for Our Planet*. Trumpeter Books.
- Seiler, Wolf A. (2012). *Iñupiatun Eskimo Dictionary*. SIL International.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. (2006). *Decolonizing Methodologies; Research and Indigenous Peoples*. University of Otago Press, Dunedin, New Zealand.
- Smith, Melinda M.A., and Segal, Jeanne PhD. (2016). *Coping with Grief and Loss: Understanding the Grieving Process*. Retrieved from <http://www.helpguide.org/articles/grief-loss/coping-with-grief-and-loss.htm>.
- Stromhmeyer, John. (2003). *Extreme Conditions – Big Oil and the Transformation of Alaska*. Cascade Press.
- University of Alaska – Interior Aleutians Campus. (n.d.). Federal Indian Law for Alaska Tribes, Unit 4: Federal Recognition of Alaska Tribes and Relations with the State of Alaska. In *TM112 Course Materials*. Retrieved from <https://tm112.community.uaf.edu/unit-4/federal-recognition-of-alaska-tribes-and-relations-with-the-state-of-alaska/>. (Accessed October 2016)
- Walia, Harsha. (2012). *Decolonizing Together – Moving Beyond a Politics of Solidarity Toward a Practice of Decolonization*. Briarpatch Magazine. Retrieved from <http://briarpatchmagazine.com/articles/view/decolonizing-together>.

Whiteman, Phillip Jr. (2016). *Medicine Wheel Model*. Retrieved from

<http://medicinewheelmodel.com/>.