RESEARCH NOTES

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This edition of Research Notes covers a wide area, from Nunavik, Canada, to Anchorage, Alaska. Although this is the *Alaska Journal of Anthropology*, the questions we are studying are often circumpolar in nature, so contributions from other areas are welcome. They may suggest new approaches or alert Alaska researchers to existing comparative data, which can only benefit our results.

NUNAVIK, CANADA

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELDWORK IN NUNAVIK 2014

Submitted by Pierre M. Desrosiers, Avataq Cultural Institute

This summer's archaeological work in Nunavik focused on two areas. Fifty-six years after William Taylor, Elsa Cencig and Tommy Weetaluktuk (archaeologists at Avataq Cultural Institute) went back on Pujjunaq (Mansel Island), a project conducted in collaboration with members of the community of Akulivik. During three weeks of survey, they recorded over 80 new archaeological sites from Pre-Dorset to Historic, covering about one-third of the eastern coast of the island. Among the most important discoveries was a substantial Pre-Dorset campsite containing over 150 tent rings. The team also observed severe erosion on the archaeological sites located at nearby Amulet Creek, particularly two Dorset camp sites, JlGu-1 and JlGu-3, which appeared otherwise amazingly well preserved (Fig. 1). Many aspects of the island remain to be documented, such as the Hudson Bay Company trading post at the northern tip and a shipwreck located along the western coast. The work on Pujjunaq was financed by Makivik Corporation and also was part of the NUNATOP project, which documented place names in Nunavik.

The second area of research was in the region of Inukjuak, on the central eastern coast of Hudson Bay. This work consisted of salvage excavation and archaeological survey related to community expansion. The work was conducted by Pierre M. Desrosiers (Avataq Cultural Institute) and Tommy Weetaluktuk and included local students who had participated in a field school with Avataq. Krista Zawadski also briefly participated in the salvage excavation. She is a student from Rankin Inlet who was conducting research in Inukjuak, documenting the way people in different areas of the Arctic are managing their cultural resources. Despite the fact that the Inukjuak region had been extensively surveyed before, new sites are recorded almost every time that new roads or facilities are built. This summer, a total of nineteen sites from Dorset to the Historic Inuit period were recorded. One of the sites that will be protected is the IcGm-78 site; this site includes the ninety-year-old grave of Allakariallak, who was the actor who played the main character in Robert Flaherty's 1922 movie Nanook of the North. Inukjuak fieldwork was financed by the Kativik Regional Government and by the Pituvik Landholding Corporation of Inukjuak.

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Figure 1. Dorset dwelling on Mansel Island, at JlGu-3 site beside Amulet Creek, summer 2014. Originally recorded by Taylor (1958).

YUKON, CANADA

DISCOVERY OF MID-THIRD-MILLENNIUM BP WOOD AT OGILVIE PASS IN THE ST. ELIAS MOUNTAINS OF CANADA Submitted by Gerald Holdsworth, Arctic Institute of

North America, University of Calgary Terri Lacourse, Department of Biology, University of

Victoria On 11 May 2005, a site was being prepared for an automatic weather station (AWS) on the end of a rock ridge. This ridge descended from a mountain summit on the west side of Ogilvie Glacier, which descends 1,300 m in 12 km to merge into Logan Glacier flowing west along the north side of Mount Logan. The west end of the West Ridge of Mt. Logan terminates on the other side of Ogilvie Glacier opposite the AWS site (GPS coordinates 60° 37' 07", 140° 47' 00"; 2,930 m asl). To the south, there is a dropoff into Quintino Sella Glacier, which flows southwest into

Alaska. Thus the ridge and the surrounding snow-covered

glacier ice form a pass between two snow sheds. About

5 m west of the AWS site, located in a slight depression in the ridge, two stick-sized pieces of wood were seen protruding 10 to 12 cm through a patch of gravel exposed after some large boulders had been removed for stabilizing the AWS tripod. On a later visit a third stick 1.32 m long was discovered partly protruding from a surface layer of clear ice. All sticks were lying flat and parallel to the long axis of the ridge within approximately a 1 m² area.

The site has a mean annual temperature of 13 °C with severe winter winds and there are no signs of moss or lichens on any of the rocks, which are sedimentarymetamorphic and highly fractured. There is no possibility that the wood ever grew there or was transported there by ice. Furthermore the thick end of the 1.32 m stick was splintered, as typically results from screwing a branch off a tree by hand or, in this case, likely screwing a stem out of the ground. The evidence strongly suggested the wood was placed there by human hands. On 10 June 2007, after clearing the site of snow and ice, much more than existed in 2005, a sample of the loosened stick (then protected by rocks) was obtained by the author for dating purposes. A 14 C AMS radiocarbon age of 2430 ± 20 yrs BP was obtained in 2010 (ULA-1912/UCIAMS-84618). This places it in the mid-Neo-Glacial interval of the Holocene.

Terri Lacourse identified the wood as the genus *Salix*. No species identification was possible, but it is likely to be (erect) barren ground willow or a similar species that grows today in the vicinity of sheltered glacier termini. The curved nature of the stick and its length is suggestive of this. Bundles of sticks of this size may have been intended for use as "mattresses," firewood, or trail markers as used on long journeys over ice. The practice of taking firewood on long journeys is described by de Laguna (1972).

The question of the provenance of the wood is of some interest, as is any climatic signal or association. To help answer the first question, samples were collected from modern willows near the end of the Kaskawuksh Glacier, the margin of the Malaspina Glacier, and the terminus of the Logan Glacier for analysis of $\delta^{15}N$ and $\delta^{34}S$. It should thus be possible to identify whether the ancient wood came from coastal areas or from inland sites. These analyses have not yet been done. The climatic "connection" may be facilitated by studying sequences of ionic chemistry and stable isotope data in an ice core from Mount Logan (Fisher et al. 2008) and in other paleoclimatic time series that may be available from Alaska or Yukon. There are three possible approaches to the Ogilvie Pass: from the south or coastal route, from the Kaskawulsh and upper Logan Glacier, and from the terminus of the Logan Glacier via the upper Chitina River valley. Any route from the south seems highly unlikely due to topography. If people ever managed to come this far, it would seem that the very presence of abandoned wood signifies a defeat in completing the traverse over ice, which would have involved at least another 70 km of virtually foodless icy terrain just to get to the source of the Chitina River. A route via the Kaskawulsh Glacier also seems unlikely, as any group coming from that direction would logically be heading for the Chitina River valley. Less precarious access to the coast via the Alsek River would likely have been known to any group traversing the ice fields from the Shakwak Valley. The third possibility—from the terminus of Logan Glacier via the upper Chitina River valley-is the most logical one; it would signify a new exploration involving an attempt to get to the coast (Yakutat) by a shorter route than those to the west as known from historical times (Cruikshank 2007:33-36, de Laguna 1972:231232, Swanton 1909:347–368). This route to Ogilvie Pass is the same route as that taken by the 1925 expedition that first climbed Mt. Logan (Foster and MacCarthy 1925). An "Observation Camp" located on Ogilvie Pass (an unofficial name) is shown on the inside back cover of this publication (see also facing p. 48). Reference is also made to "willow markers" (Foster and MacCarthy 1925:61), which were planted into the snow-covered glacier surfaces to mark the trail in low visibility conditions.

Two-and-a-half millennia ago, ancient mountaineers might have expected to see the ocean on attaining the pass, just as Israel Russell (1892:199) anticipated seeing forests and rivers upon attaining what is now called "Russell Col" on the northeast flanks of Mount St. Elias in 1891: "I expected to see a comparatively low, wooded country stretching away to the north, with lakes and rivers...but I was entirely mistaken." What he saw was "a vast snow-covered region, limitless in its expanse, through which hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of barren mountain peaks projected."

Certain species of birds use Ogilvie Pass to access interior Alaska from the coast. (On 29 May 2006, a V-formation of white birds—possibly tundra swans going north over Ogilvie Pass was observed from Quintino Sella Glacier.) Any human explorers on the Logan Glacier seeing this would tend to think that the coastal areas were within their exploration range.

The first author thanks Julie Cruikshank for help with researching the anthropological literature.

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ARCTIC ALASKA

WELL-PRESERVED WOOD BOWS DISCOVERED IN THE BROOKS RANGE

Submitted by Adam Freeburg, National Park Service Jeff Rasic, National Park Service

Richard VanderHoek, Alaska Office of History and Archaeology

Jillian Richie, National Park Service

In July 2014, National Park Service archaeologists discovered two bows and multiple fragments of culturally modified wood in a high pass immediately outside the boundary of Gates of the Arctic National Park. The site, AMR-00215, is located in the Schwatka Mountains, the highest and most rugged portion of northwestern Alaska, on land owned by the State of Alaska. The artifacts were collected under a permit from the State of Alaska and accessioned at the University of Alaska Museum of the North (acc. no. UA 2014-081).

The bows were located at the base of a bedrock outcrop in Shishakshinovik Pass, which lies at an elevation of 3,050 feet (930 m) and separates the watersheds of the Noatak and Kobuk Rivers. The site vicinity slopes gently to an unnamed tributary of the Kogoluktuk River, which empties in the Kobuk River near the village of Kobuk (Fig. 2). The site affords excellent views downslope (to the south) of the tributary and the valley walls. The rock outcrop at the site is a conspicuous—and the only—natural shelter at the valley head. No permanent snowfields or ice patches are present today, nor seem to have been present in the recent past as indicated by well-developed lichen cover and the high degree of weathering seen on the rocky ground surface. The outcrop provides excellent protection to the north, which may be part of the reason for the remarkable preservation of the wood at this site. Additional characteristics of the Arctic alpine setting, such as low soil accumulation and cold temperatures for much of the year, also likely play a role.

An overland route across Shishakshinovik Pass (*Sisiup Sisiñġuvik* [Burch 2005:286]) was in use by local Iñupiat through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A travel route through this pass was reported to early

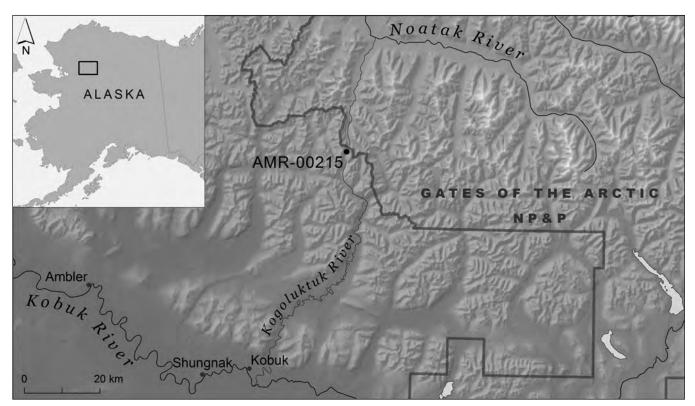


Figure 2. Site location and travel route between the Kobuk and Noatak drainages described by Burch (2005).

European explorers as an "easy" route between the two drainages (Smith 1913:32). While it was passable during winter, avalanche danger was high, and primary use was for summer travel (Burch 2005), although rapids on the Kogoluktuk River are noted to have complicated passage (Mendenhall 1902:26). Foote (1966, cited in Burch 2005) documents a Nuataagmiut raiding trip through this pass that ended disastrously at the falls in a lower canyon.



The two bows were found touching one another on the surface of a field of boulders and cobbles at the base of the rock outcrop (Fig. 3). The associated wooden fragments were all within a five-meter radius. The bows appear to be very similar in design and manufacture, matching closely, but not exactly, the "Western" type bow described by Murdoch (1885). Both bows have flat bellies and backs that taper toward the nock ends, though not as tapered as Murdoch's "Southern" type.

> With rectangular cross sections but no evidence of recurved ears (siyahs), neither bow matches Hamilton's (1970) Eskimo bow types. All the limbs' edges appear to have been squared, though they are somewhat rounded from weathering. Each grip is narrower in width and thicker in depth than its adjoining limbs and is D-shaped in cross section. Only one end of one bow appears to be intact (Fig. 4). This end is squared off and has no indication of a string nock, and no string nocks were visible in any of the other collected fragments. No longitudinal groove for twisted sinew backing is evident on either bow. These characteristics may indicate that the bows were not complete but are instead staves (bow blanks) that had yet to be completed. However, not all bows ultimately received backing (Burch 2005).

> The wood has been identified as a gymnosperm—probably spruce, but possibly tamarack. Sections of the artifacts that were exposed to the elements exhibit heavy lichen growth and weathering. A sample from each bow and from the largest wood fragment was submitted to the Center for Applied Isotope Studies at the University of Georgia for radiocarbon dating using the AMS method. Radiocarbon ages of each specimen have multiple intercepts on

Figure 3. Bows in situ, Shishakshinovik Pass; trowel points north. Photo by A. Neffe.



Figure 4. Possible intact end on right side of bow image (acc. no. UA 2014-081-0004). Photo by A. Freeburg.

Table 1. Radiocarbon dating results using the AMS method. All dates derived from wood samples. Radiocarbon age uses a half-life of 5568 years, corrected for isotope fractionation. Calibrated with OxCal 4.2 (Bronk Ramsey 2009) using IntCal 13 (Reimer et al. 2013); multiple intercepts are listed with corresponding probabilities.

Specimen	Lab Number	δ ¹³ C (‰)	¹⁴ C Age (years BP; 10)	2σ Calibration
UA2014-081-001	UGa-18838	-23.8	110 ± 20 rcybp	AD 1685–1733 (<i>p</i> = .274)
				ad 1807–1896 (<i>p</i> = .554)
				ad 1903–1928 (<i>p</i> = .125)
UA2014-081-004	UGa-18839	-24.3	80 ± 20 rcybp	AD 1694–1728 (<i>p</i> = .248)
				AD 1812–1919 (<i>p</i> = .706)
UA2014-081-005	UGa-18840	-24.8	60 ± 20 rcybp	AD 1696–1725 (<i>p</i> = .186)
				ad 1814–1836 (<i>p</i> = .130)
				AD 1845–1851 (<i>p</i> = .012)
				ad 1876–1919 (<i>p</i> = .626)

the calibration curve. The highest probability age range for each sample falls within the late nineteenth or early twentieth century AD, though possible ages are as early as the seventeenth century AD (Table 1). The largest wood fragment has a 3-cm scalloped cut on an edge that appears to have been made with a metal blade, providing another clue to its age. A bow discovered by National Park Service archaeologists in the Nigu River valley, approximately 80 km to the northeast of Shishakshinovik Pass, also most probably dates to the nineteenth or early twentieth century AD (Ciancibelli 2010).

Archaeological surveys conducted in Gates of the Arctic National Park during the 2014 field season focused on mountain passes connecting the upper reaches of the Noatak and Kobuk River valleys, particularly those spanning documented historic travel routes. Archaeological evidence for human activity in these areas of known use is rare. This suggests, perhaps unsurprisingly, that the nature of human activity in mountain passes was of a brief and temporary nature—travelling through, rather than remaining in place for any duration. Whether the bows found at Shishakshinovik Pass may have been cached or lost—the precise mechanism for their deposition will never be known—they represent a rare glimpse of an otherwise archaeologically invisible phenomenon.

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INTERIOR ALASKA

RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY AND NEW NON-CULTURAL RADIOCARBON DATES FROM THE TOKLAT

RIVER, CENTRAL ALASKA

Submitted by Jake Adams, Washington State University; jsadams@wsu.edu

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Recent archaeological survey along the Toklat River in Denali National Park and Preserve identified two new historic archaeological sites and shovel-tested twenty-seven high-probability localities in an attempt to locate prehistoric archaeological sites. The Toklat drainage lies to the west of the Teklanika River valley. The main river is split into two tributaries and joins to form the Toklat River at Divide Mountain (Sheldon 1930). Minimal archaeological survey has been conducted along the park road and to the mountain area overlooking the Toklat Ranger Station (Davis n.d.); however, the main drainage itself has never been surveyed. Hoffecker (1978) visited the valley as part of the North Alaska Range Early Man Project to determine the potential for "early sites." He concluded that the Toklat River valley "does possess some potential for Pleistocene sites." Beyond this, there has not been any additional work conducted in the area.

This project was designed to perform pedestrian survey and shovel tests at previously identified/high probability locations (Fig. 5). Our survey consisted of a four-person survey team that backpacked from the Toklat Ranger Station, along the Denali Park road, to near the confluence of Stony Creek and the West Fork of the Toklat River. Seven days were spent in the field and twentyseven different localities were tested. These test localities

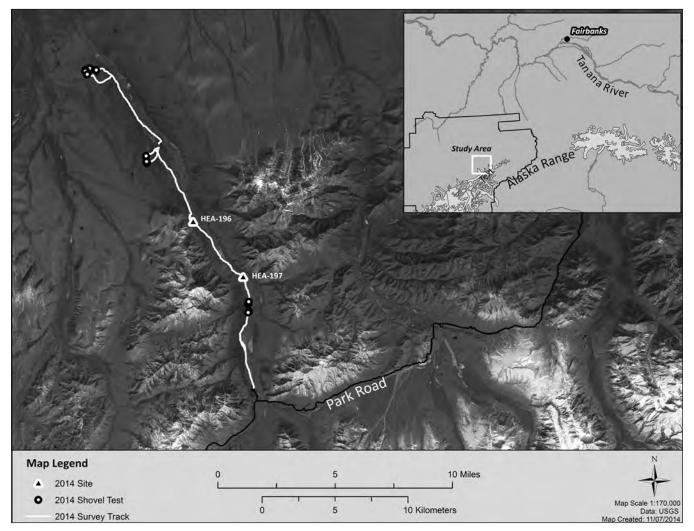


Figure 5. Locations of charcoal samples, shovel tests, and recently discovered archaeological sites.

were based on GIS data and aerial photographs, taking viewshed, proximity to water, and elevation into account. To test the landforms shovel tests (50 cm x 50 cm) were placed arbitrarily to explore the archaeological potential. Over half of our subsurface shovel tests terminated at about 40 cm below the surface due to permafrost. The remaining shovel tests all terminated at glacial till.

Results of the survey were mixed. Two new historic sites were discovered: the Steep Bluff (MMK-196) and River Side Historic (MMK-197) sites. The Steep Bluff site is a historic surface scatter of large items likely associated with mining activities on a gravel spit along the Toklat River. Artifacts at the site included a creosote wooden plank with nails, a corrugated metal pipe, a small wooden plank, a large open-ended drum, a second wooden plank with nails that have rippled ends and a "P" mark on them, and lastly a small plank with a threaded spike with the markings "Jall." This site is located approximately 8 miles north of the Toklat River Bridge on the west side of the river, along the base of large bluffs

that eventually are directly cut into by the river close to where the site is located. The River Side site is a small historic scatter that included a small wooden plank with nails and a threaded spike with the marking "Jall." The site is probably associated with the construction of the Toklat Bridge.

No prehistoric archaeological sites were located. However we were able to obtain charcoal samples and subsequent radiocarbon dates from two of our survey locations. The first of these samples came from test locality 19, located along the Toklat River. This locality consisted of a bedrock outcrop approximately 3 m in height, overlain with loess and sand deposits. Shovel testing of the landform yielded no cultural material; however, our shovel test did uncover a layer of tephra. The tephra is situated approximately 72 cm below the surface (Fig. 6). A charcoal sample (Table 2) was collected above the tephra at 70 cm below the surface and yielded a radiocarbon date of 3070 ± 25 (3268-3339 cal BP at 10) and serves as an upper bracketing date for the tephra. No charcoal samples were

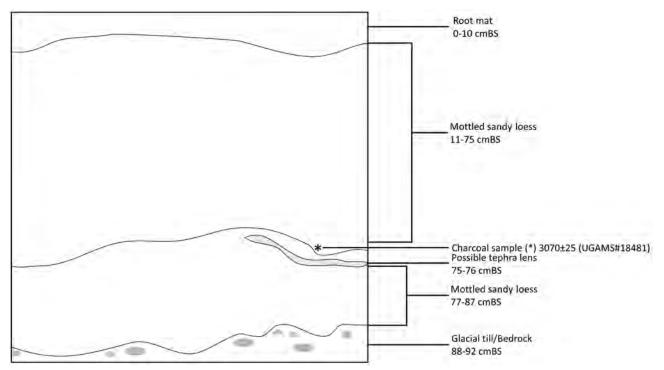


Figure 6. Stratigraphic profile from test locality 19.

Table 2. Radiocarbon dating results. Radiocarbon age using a half-life of 5,568 years, corrected for isotope fractionation.Calibrated with Calib 7.0.2 (Stuiver and Reimer 1993); multiple intercepts listed with corresponding probabilities.

Specimen	Lab Number	Material	δ ¹³ C (‰)	¹⁴ C Age (years BP)	2σ Calibration
ST-19-14	UGAMS-18481	charcoal	-26.5	3070 ± 25 ксувр	3214-3358 вр (р = 1.0)
ST-1114 FS1	UGAMS-18482	charcoal	-25.3	570 ± 25 rcybp	531–564 вр (<i>p</i> = 0.396) 589–641 вр (<i>p</i> = 0.603)

located under the tephra. This upper date suggests this tephra may be related to the Hayes deposits (~3500–3800 cal BP) (Dilley 1988; Riehle et al. 1990). Microprobe analysis of the tephra samples are planned in the future.

The second radiocarbon date was from test locality 11, situated on a glacial feature overlooking a kettle pond. This charcoal sample was derived from an intact paleosol and was collected 40 cm below the surface (Fig. 7). The sample produced a date of 570 ±25 (551-628 cal BP at 1σ). Though no cultural remains were identified at this location, the stratigraphic position of this sample and the relatively young date would indicate that there was rapid aeolian deposition in the area during this time. Environmental conditions, such as permafrost, were limiting factors in identifying prehistoric archaeological sites.

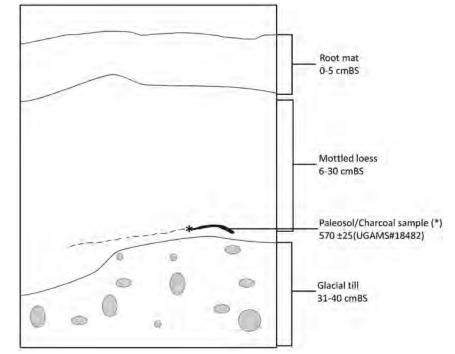


Figure 7. Stratigraphic profile of test locality 11.

The potential for prehistoric sites still exists for the area; however, our findings on this survey indicate more historic use of the valley.

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SOUTHCENTRAL ALASKA

THE COMPLETION OF THE YES WE CAN EXHIBIT

Submitted by Igor Pasternak, University of Alaska Fairbanks

Sveta Yamin-Pasternak, University of Alaska Fairbanks

During October 2014, the International Gallery of Contemporary Art in Anchorage, Alaska, hosted the exhibit *Yes We Can* by Igor Pasternak, Valentina Kilimnik, Sveta Yamin-Pasternak, and Ryan Tinsley. The effort is an artist-led collaboration that explores home pickling from an aesthetic perspective. The show developed in the course of an ongoing ethnographic study that focuses on social and cultural adaptations of settlers from Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus living around Delta Junction, Alaska. Residents of this emerging community usually refer to themselves as "Delta Russians." Experienced agriculturalists from rural areas and temperate climates, they swiftly learn about cultivating vegetables in northern latitudes. They make vast winter reserves of their foraging and farming products.

During our field research we found ourselves becoming more and more enthused by the fulfillment that Delta Russians draw from various food production activities. Many of our visits involved descending into a home's storage space—a cellar or a basement—from which our hosts would select a jar or two to open for the upcoming meal. Upon entering these subterranean spaces we were immediately besotted by the teeming kaleidoscope of jars. Otherwise always fast-paced and working, coming face-to-face with the jars, our Delta Russian hosts tend to pause, displaying visible awe of the beauty they created. During such contemplative moments, their facial expressions resemble those of a roused gallery visitor. The goal of *Yes We Can* was to extend this experience to the public.

Valentina Kilimnik, originally from the Vinnitsa region in Ukraine, was our primary Delta Russian collaborator. Her aesthetic decisions, coordination of efforts by other Delta Russian contributors, and many hours of canning resulted in the jars displayed in Yes We Can. Woodwork artisan Ryan Tinsley of Fairbanks led the construction of the shelves for the installation. Our research in Delta Junction is funded through an award from the National Science Foundation Arctic Social Sciences Program. The University of Alaska Fairbanks Institute of Northern Engineering provided administrative support to implement the exhibit. This body of work is testimony to the laborious process behind the jars of homemade products, valued by their makers for their aesthetic qualities and utility. The show incorporated all formal elements of art while celebrating the commonplace processes of growing, harvesting, and preserving food. It also aimed to raise fundamental questions of where we find beauty and what is art.

MAKING PLACE FOR THE DISPLACED IN ALASKA ANTHROPOLOGY: RECENT STUDIES OF HOMELESSNESS IN ALASKA POPULATIONS

Submitted by Sally Carraher, Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska Anchorage

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Rebecca Barker, Institute for Circumpolar Health Studies, University of Alaska Anchorage Erica Mitchell, Institute for Circumpolar Health

Studies, University of Alaska Anchorage

Bringing anthropological approaches to bear on studies of housing and homelessness offers an opportunity to identify some of the moral contradictions that exist within current political economies of care and inform program and policy with an explicit goal of eliminating homelessness. Increasing numbers of anthropologists are becoming involved in researching, and working with, those experiencing homelessness in Alaska. We report here on some of these recent efforts.

The UAA Anthropology Department is currently developing a long-term applied research partnership with Bean's Café, an Anchorage nonsectarian day shelter and soup kitchen. Sally Carraher began working with Bean's Café in January of 2014, as a term project for her Applied Anthropology course in which students conducted an internal needs assessment for Bean's Cafe. The initial project focused on identifying ways for Bean's Café to improve and expand the services they provide. Based on the initial findings, Carraher and one graduate student are currently working to help Bean's Café build a referral system that incorporates training for staff to better identify underreported needs and successfully connect clients with outside service providers. This project is using a communitybased participatory approach, in which we have developed a planning committee bringing together researchers from UAA, Bean's Café staff, and some of their regular clientele. Findings from this effort should be available by next spring.

The Institute for Circumpolar Health Studies (ICHS) at UAA is completing a three-year evaluation of Alaska's Housing First program. Housing First is an evidencebased program that provides permanent supportive housing to the most vulnerable among those who experience homelessness, addiction and severe mental illness, without preconditions of sobriety or treatment compliance. The evaluation of Alaska's first two project-based Housing First sites, Karluk Manor and South Cushman, located in Anchorage and Fairbanks respectively, looks at changes to health, quality of life, service use patterns, social networks and costs both prior to and after being housed. With housing retention rates greater than 80%, significant reductions in frequency and amount of alcohol consumption, opportunities for family reconnection, and less interaction with emergency services, Housing First represents a viable solution to the persistent vulnerabilities associated with street life. Results of this research will help inform future permanent supportive housing solutions in Alaska. The Housing First evaluation team would like to acknowledge Dr. Richard Brown II as the original principal investigator on the project and his unpublished works based on Karluk Manor baseline findings. These include an unpublished manuscript he was writing at the time of his passing, "Development of Alcohol Consumption Measure for Evaluation of Harm Reduction and Health Associations in an Extreme Drinking Population" (2012).

This year's annual Housing and Homelessness conference, sponsored by the Alaska Coalition on Housing and Homelessness, the Alaska Mental Health Trust Authority, and the Alaska Housing Finance Corporation, was held on September 29-October 1 in Juneau. With over 150 attendees, the conference included a diverse group of providers, researchers, and policy makers. The UAA College of Health has funded a cross-disciplinary research project called Space, Place, and Home: Mapping the Social Environment of Anchorage Homeless Populations," led by Troy Payne (Justice Center) and Donna Aguiniga (School of Social Work) in partnership with a researcher at Covenant House. Other recent work on place and displacement in Alaska has been shaped by Rachel Mason, Don Dumond, Peter Schweitzer, Elizabeth Mikow, Elena Khlinovskaya Rockhill, Becky Saleeby, Hannah Voorhees, Marie Lowe, Cornelia Jessen, Herbert Anungazuk, and Ernest Burch.