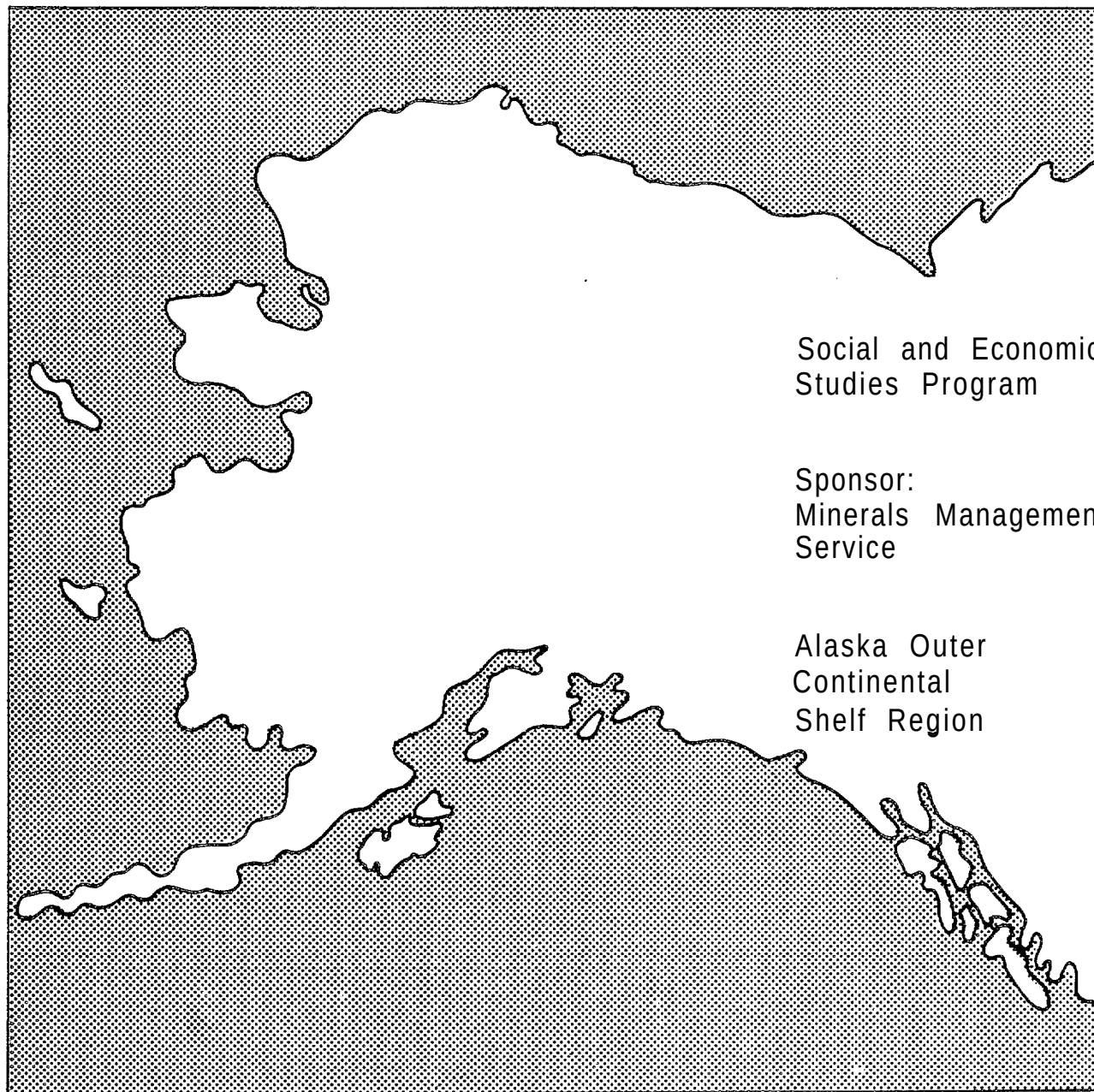


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Monitoring Methodology and North Slope Institutional Change, 1979-1983

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MONITORING METHODOLOGY AND
ANALYSIS OF NORTH SLOPE
INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE AND CHANGE
1979-1983

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CHILKAT INSTITUTE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Part I. ANALYSIS OF NORTH SLOPE INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE AND CHANGE 1979-1983	
SECTION ONE: WAINWRIGHT INSTITUTIONS	
chapter II. Population	
History	15
Recent Trends	17
Ethnic Composition	19
Chapter III. Extended Families .	
Interrelations Between Households	23
Patterns of Institutional Participation	24
Chapter IV. Local Government.	
History	
Wainwright Traditional Council	31
Wainwright City Council	31
Powers and Authorities	39
Policy Formation/Decision-Making Processes	41
Housing	43
Land	45
Local Hire	52
Alcohol	54
The Blue Ticket	55
Management/Control Structures	56
Sources of Revenues and Expenditures	57
Employment	60
Institutional Linkages to Other Organizations	
North Slope Borough	60
Olgoonik corporation	63
community of Wainwright	64
Bingo and the Recreation Committee	64
The Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission	67
Internal/External Relationships	
Prioritizing Village Needs	67
North Slope Borough	68
OCS Development	69
Growth and Development, 1979-83	70
Chapter V. Olgoonik Corporation	
History	73
Land Entitlements	74
Policy Formation	77
Management	79

Social Investments.	246
Economic Investments.	247
Chapter XVII. Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope	253
Membership.	254
Leadership.	256
Powers and Authorities	257
Institutional Linkages	258
Historical Overview.	264
Chapter XVIII. Voluntary Organizations.	275
Barrow Search and Rescue	276
Barrow Mothers Club.	279
Barrow Dancers.	285
National Guard.	287
Barrow Chamber of Commerce	289
Chapter XIX. Churches	
History of the Presbyterian Church	291
History of the Assembly of God Church.	293
Change and Development in the Recent Period	296
SECTION FOUR: NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH	
Chapter XX. North Slope Borough Government	
Historical Overview, 1979-83	301
Political Leadership	306
Institutional Development.	310
Planning and Zoning.	317
Haul Road.	318
Other Planning Activity	337
Environmental Protection	340
Chapter XXI. North Slope Borough School District.	345
Chapter XXII. Cumulative Review of Oil and Gas Leasing on the North Slope, 1979-83	
Overview of Oil and Gas Leasing, 1979-83	361
Federal Outer Continental Shelf (OCS)	362
National Petroleum Reserve Alaska (NPR-A).	366
Arctic National Wildlife Refuge	367
State of Alaska Oil and Gas Leasing Program	368
Summary.	369
Public and Institutional Responses	371
Procedures.	372
Chronology of Public Meetings	378
Synthesis of Public Meetings.	379
Litigation	392
Environmental and Subsistence Protections.	405
Deletions and Deferrals	405

Housing	151
Institutional Linkages.	153

Chapter XII. Formal Organizations

Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation	
Aboriginal Lands	165
Shareholders	166
Board of Directors and Management	168
Business Investments	167
Land Entitlements	172
Kaktovik Schools	174
The Elders and the Presbyterian Church	178

Chapter XIII. Voluntary organizations

Search and Rescue	181
Kaktovik Women's Club	182
Recreation Committee	184

SECTION THREE: BARROW INSTITUTIONS

Chapter XIV. Population

Recent Trends.	187
Barrow's Ethnic Population	193
Pioneer Filipinos	195
Population Expansion.	195
Housing and Employment.	196
Employment Patterns	199
Social and Interethnic Relations.	203

Chapter XV. Local Government

History	209
Powers and Authorities *	211
Organization and Membership	214
Land	217
Sources of Revenues and Expenditures.	224
Institutional Linkages to Other Organizations.	228
North Slope Borough	229
Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation	232
Recreation.	233
Employment	234

Chapter XVI. Native corporations

Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation.	237
Board of Directors and Management	237
Social Investments.	240
Economic Investments.	243
Arctic Slope Regional Corporation.	244
Board of Directors and Management	245

Habitat Protections	407
The Seasonal Drilling Restriction	409
Wildlife Protections	412
Access for subsistence Purposes	41
Summary	418

PART TWO. FIELDWORK METHODOLOGY

Chapter XXIII. Significant Domains of Change on the North Slope	42
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Chapter XXIV. Variables and Indicators of Institutional Change

Whaling Complex	429
Political component	43
Economic Component	433
Socialization Component	435
Symbolic Component	436
Family (Kinship) Relations	438
Political component	444
Economic Component	44
Socialization Component	451
Leadership	452
Political Component	453
Socialization Component	457
Symbolic Component	458
Voluntary Organization Component	45
Other Cultural Institutions	458
Symbolic Component	460
Land and Sea	464
Political Component	468
Economic Component	474
Symbolic Component	47
Economic Development	479
Political Component	481
Economic Component	482
Socialization Component	489
Voluntary Organization Component	491
Social Differentiation	49
Economic Component	493
Socialization Component	503

Chapter XXV. Fieldwork Methodology

Introduction	509
Selection of Communities	506
Barrow	506
Kaktovik	508
Wainwright	510
Methods of Data Collection	514
Participant-Observation	515
Unstructured Discussions	516
Archival Research	517

Fieldwork Design and Schedule.	518
Phase I.	518
Phase II	519
Phase III.	521
North Slope Institutions.	522
Traditional Social Groups.	552
Formal Institutions.	524
Population	525
Summary of Institutions.	525
APPENDIX A. Haul Road Actions 1978-83 . 0	529
APPENDIX B. Selective Chronology of Litigation Concerning North Slope Oil and Gas Lease Programs 1979-1983.	533
APPENDIX C. Organizations and Groups to be Monitored for Institutional Change and Response on the North Slope	537
APPENDIX D. St. George and Navarin Basin Methodology for Monitoring Institutional Change and Response	539
REFERENCES CITED.	561

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
TABLE 2-1. Wainwright Population, 1890-1984	18
TABLE 2-2. Wainwright Ethnic Composition, 1970-1984	20
TABLE 2-3. Percent Non-Native Population	21
TABLE 3-1. Average Density of Native Households, 1944-1984	24
TABLE 4-1. Wainwright Village Lot ownership, 1984	48
TABLE 7-1. Number of Whaling Crews in Wainwright, 1970-1984	102
TABLE 10-1. Kaktovik Household Composition, 1983	122
TABLE 11-1. Kaktovik City Budget, 1983-1984	141
TABLE 11-2. Restricted Deeds	146
TABLE 14-1. Barrow Population, 1970-82	188
TABLE 14-2. Recent Population changes in Selected North Slope Villages	188
TABLE 14-3. Barrow Native Population, 1970-80	190
TABLE 14-4. Barrow Ethnic Populations, 1980	190
TABLE 14-5. Average Household Size in Selected North Slope Villages	192
TABLE 15-1. City of Barrow Lease Agreements, 1983	222
TABLE 15-2. City of Barrow Revenues and Expenditures 1979-83	225
TABLE 15-3. City of Barrow Capital Projects, 1979-83	226
TABLE 17-1. Implementation of ICAS Election	254
TABLE 18-1. Contributions by Barrow Mothers Club, 1981	283
TABLE 20-1. Voter Participation, 1979 and 1983	309
TABLE 20-2. Change in North Slope Borough Employment 1980-1983	312
TABLE 20-3. North Slope Borough Yearly CIP Expenditures	315
TABLE 20-4. CIP Contracts 1980-1983	316

TABLE 20-5. Development Permits Approved by NSB Planning Department, 1983	339
TABLE 21-1. Major School Construction Projects, 1979-83	346
TABLE 21-2. Changes in North Slope Borough School District Staff, 1979-83	347
TABLE 21-3. North Slope Borough School District Enrollment, 1979-83	349
TABLE 21-4. Participation in Community Schools, 1983-4	357
TABLE 22-1. North Slope Oil and Gas Lease Sales, 1979-83	363
TABLE 22-2. Exploratory Drilling Activity on 1979-1983 Leases	364
TABLE 22-3. North Slope Oil and Gas Leasing Program Public Meetings, 1979-1983	380
TABLE 23-1. Significant Areas of Change on the North Slope	424
TABLE 23-2. Types of Institutional Change to be Monitored on the North Slope	426
TABLE 24-1. Distribution of Income among Inupiat Families (% of North Inupiat Slope Families)	501
TABLE 24-2. Distribution of Income among Inupiat Families in Barrow (% of Barrow Inupiat Families)	502"

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Chilkat Institute initiated an analysis of North Slope institutional development and change which occurred during the period of 1979 to 1983 and designed a sociocultural monitoring methodology to focus on cumulative sociocultural change. The project was sponsored by the Minerals Management Service with the specific objective to develop a standardized approach to monitor sociocultural effects of OCS development for use by the agency.

The sociocultural monitoring methodology is holistic in its approach and identifies seven cultural domains which are significant in the development and change of the social, cultural, economic and political institutions within the North Slope region. The monitoring methodology provides a framework for the systematic collection of data comprised of key indicators of the formal and informal institutions. The methodology is also designed to assess the interrelationships of the seven domains within the institutions, and to monitor the cumulative changes in the institutions, the communities, and the region.

The institutional study was carried out in three Communities within the North Slope region. The communities were selected because of their social and economic diversity, variances in developmental activities associated with the North Slope Borough Capital Improvement Projects, and proximity to industrial development.

The analysis of the data from the three communities indicates that institutional change and development ranged from a high degree of centralized control within one community to specialized and diversified control among many institutions

within another. Five issues emerged as significant in monitoring institutional development and change:

1. Population (ethnicity)
2. Political Control
3. Land (within and beyond village boundaries)
4. Business Development/Wage Employment
5. Housing

Kaktovik

Kaktovik is a community that reflects centralized control through a high degree of communication and cooperation between the two major institutions, the city council and the village corporation. The local population maintained community control through action initiated in three areas: land, housing, and employment.

Wainwright

Wainwright represents the middle between Kaktovik and Barrow. In this community, we see institutional socialization occurring and occasional conflicts between institutions. Individuals are beginning to promote the objectives and purposes of the institutions they represent.

Barrow

Barrow represents a community in which institutions are diversified and specialized. (a proliferation of institutions has occurred). The result is that community control and functions are dispersed through many formal and informal institutions. Institutional conflict is also readily apparent in Barrow. The ethnic composition of the local population has diversified significantly.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Research Assistant Leona Okakok in Barrow provided invaluable assistance in collecting data from different organizations. Barbara Bodenhorn also assisted us with the collection of institutional data in the village. We would also like to thank the members of the many organizations and groups in Barrow, Wainwright, and Kaktovik who responded to our questions and provided us with much of the information presented in our descriptive analysis.

Research Associates Thomas D. Lonner and Steve J. Langdon participated in the discussion seminars which led to the development of the monitoring methodology. Steve Langdon was responsible for the discussion of applicability of the methodology to South and West Alaska (Appendix G). Research Assistant Taylor Brelsford collected data and provided a summary analysis of oil and gas leasing programs on the North Slope (Chapter XXII).

GLOSSARY

AACL	Agency Advisory Council on Leasing (State of Alaska)
ACMP	Alaska Coastal Management Program
ADF&G	Alaska Department of Fish and Game
AEWC	Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission
AFN	Alaska Federation of Natives
ANCS A	Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act
ANICA	Alaska Native Industries Cooperative Association
ANILCA	Alaska National Interest Lands Association
ANWR	Arctic National Wildlife Refuge
AS HA	Alaska State Housing Authority
AS NA	Arctic Slope Native Association
AS RC	Arctic Slope Regional Corporation
BF	Beaufort Sea
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
BLM	Bureau of Land Management
BUECI	Barrow Utilities and Electrical Cooperative, Inc.
CEQ	Council on Environmental Quality
CETA	Comprehensive Employment Training Act
CIP	Capital Improvement Project
CRS A	Coastal Resource Service Area
DEW	Distant Early Warning
EA	Environmental Assessment
EIS	Environmental Impact Statement
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
ESA	Endangered Species Act
FPPAC	Federal Programs Parents Advisory Committee (North slope)
FS LUPC	Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission
HUD	Housing and Urban Development
IC	Interim Conveyance (Under ANCSA)
ICAS	Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope
ICC	Inupiat Circumpolar Conference
IRA	Indian Reorganization Act
IWC	International Whaling Commission
JO M	Johnson O'Malley
KIC	Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation
MBTA	Migratory Bird Treaty Act
MMPA	Marine Mammal Protection Act
MMS	Minerals Management Service (U.S)
NANA	Northwest Alaska Native Association
NARL	Naval Arctic Research Laboratory
NEPA	National Environmental Protection Act
NMFS	National Marine Fisheries Service

NPDES	National Pollution Discharge Elimination System
NPR-A	National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska
NS B	North Slope Borough
NS BS D	North Slope Borough School District
OC	Olgoonik Corporation
OCS	Outer Continental Shelf
PHS	Public Health Service
UIC	Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation
USDOI	United States Department of the Interior
US GS	United States Geological Survey
REAA	Rural Education Assistance Area
SEEA	Social, Economic and Environmental Assessment (State of Alaska)
S NWO	Statewide Native Womens' Organization
TERO	Tribal Employment Rights Office
TLUI	Traditional Land Use Inventory
VFW	veterans of Foreign Wars

I. INTRODUCTION

The North Slope region encompasses 88,000 square miles north of the Brooks Range. The Inupiat (northern Eskimo) is the indigenous population of the eight permanent communities situated within this region. During the last fifteen years, the Inupiat have experienced extensive sociocultural changes. The changes have been stimulated in part by petroleum development both on- and offshore and the revenues which such development provides to the North Slope Borough. The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 and the expanded use of modern technology also contributed to the changes which are apparent in the traditional social and cultural systems of the Inupiat. Associated with the sociocultural changes have been the introduction and expansion of new institutional forms within the communities.

Community development occurred at a rapid pace following the formation of the North Slope Borough in 1972. Under the leadership of Mayor Eben Hopson, ambitious projects were inaugurated including the building of new schools and housing in all the villages, safe water supplies, dependable power sources, expanded health and public safety services, and substantial improvement in transportation and communication systems. Three new villages were constructed as North Slope residents resettled areas of traditional occupancy that were abandoned in previous years. The capital projects brought vastly increased, though episodic, employment into all communities. Barrow has the the largest population and serves as the administrative center of the region. The effects of pro-

gram and capital project development were the greatest in Barrow and resulted in a substantial increase in permanent non-Inupiat populations.

During the same period, the on-shore development of petroleum resources in the Prudhoe Bay area took place. The trans-Alaska pipeline was constructed, linking this area by road to population centers in southcentral Alaska. In late 1979, the first offshore tracts were leased to oil companies by state and federal agencies. The Prudhoe development area is expanding seaward, as well as west, south, and east, as the original field matures and new fields are explored and developed. State and federal lease sales in the 1980's will encompass the remaining areas of the Beaufort Sea and additional areas in the Chukchi Sea, providing for the potential development of petroleum resources across nearly the entire coastline of the North Slope. At the same time, onshore industrial activity will continue to expand into other areas in the region.

However, the borough will not continue with its fast pace of Community development in the future because many of the initial plans have been completed. Those projects which remain are being reassessed as the financial limitations to municipal bonding (under which most of the capital projects were funded) are being reached. A change in the borough administration in late 1984 has called attention to this situation, and a more fiscally conservative capital improvement program is being implemented at the present time. The period of economic boom

of the late seventies and early eighties, which is the focus of this project, has slowed considerably by 1985, and the trend will continue through the decade.

The purpose of this project is to analyze institutional development and change within the North Slope region from 1979 to 1983 and to design a methodology for monitoring socio-cultural change on the North Slope. Implicit in both components is the examination of recent culture change and institutional development in response to the effects of federal oil and gas leasing on the Outer Continental Shelf (OCS). This project was designed as the first phase of an ongoing socio-cultural monitoring research project. The objective of the sociocultural monitoring methodology is to develop a standardized approach to track OCS effects for use by the leasing agency, Minerals Management Service (MMS).

The methodology is designed to focus on cumulative socio-cultural impact monitoring. Cumulative impact monitoring has been defined as "monitoring with a focus on critical issues in a region that is undergoing rapid development or change, whether related to or independent of a particular project" (Rees 1984 p. 16). This approach contrasts with monitoring for project-specific impacts or for project-impact management, both of which entail the tracking of anticipated impacts of particular projects. We decided the cumulative approach is appropriate because the OCS leasing program will cause the development of many projects and processes both on and offshore in several widespread areas on the North Slope, and the effects of all must be assessed in the methodology.

The methodology is confined to sociocultural change and development. The scope of work describes these cultural processes in terms of institutional behavior, hence the definition of the work tasks in terms of institutional response and development. We define institutional behavior as any patterned, regularized behavior. Patterned behavior refers not just to the units defined by a specific institution or organization, such as a corporation or a church, but also includes the recurring behavior marking cultural institutions like sharing, showing respect, and socializing the young. This definition avoids the problem of restricting the analysis of institutional behavior to specific institutions, since any behavior may at the same time be economic, political and religious (see discussion in Fallers 1965, p.9). This usage has been employed in previous SESP work, such as Luton (1984), and was applied in our research and analysis of Inupiat organizations and groups.

The general monitoring framework and appropriate variables and indicators were developed in a series of workshops attended by the senior investigators and research associates following a review of literature on culture change and on institutional and political formation, as well as on recent work on the North Slope region. The initial methodology was designed to be expansive, to include the social, economic, political and cultural systems, because it was assumed that changes within any of these systems would cause changes within the culture. It was also designed with the assumption that the sociocultural

creasing the length of field investigations in Barrow and adding an Inupiat research assistant to the project. In some areas of the institutional analysis, underestimation of time and budgetary allocations have resulted in more general description of recent changes and developments.

The analysis of the data from the three communities indicated that institutional change and development was reflected by a high degree of centralized control within one community to specialized and diversified control among many institutions within another community. The analysis of institutions indicated that five issues emerged as significant in monitoring institutional development and change: population, political control, land, business development/wage employment, and housing. These issues centered around the ability of the communities to control development within and beyond their village boundaries. We are providing below a summary of these issues, using Barrow as an illustration of our monitoring results. We are suggesting that future sociocultural monitoring include the assessment of these issues.

1. Population Increase

Significant population growth within the communities will lead to social differentiation" and ethnic formations. Alterations in the Native/non-Native ratio are apparently stimulating further institutional changes. As the Native population decreases in relationship to the non-Native population, they could conceivably become a minority in their own communities and lose control of their political and economic institutions. Competition could occur not only in the capital economy, but

Several methods of data collection were employed in the research for this project. 'First, traditional anthropological approaches involved in participant-observation and informal discussion with individuals and groups about the activities they are engaged in providing information. The second method comprised focused, topical discussions with key institutional actors in which previously prepared protocols and lists of topics were utilized. Third, archival and reference material have been sought from the institutions under study. This information consists of both formal records of meetings and activities and other, more internal, types of documentation. Finally, readily available literature and data sources from libraries, government agencies, and accessible publications and reports were reviewed prior to developing the methodology and initiating fieldwork. This "multiple methodology" provided qualitative and quantitative information, necessary to conduct the analysis. Through a process of "triangulation," this approach involves alternative measures of change, by means of which data are verified for reliability and validity. This is a common approach in anthropological research and has been employed in the Harvest Disruption and Nuiqsut Case Studies (Technical Report Numbers 89, 90, 91, and 96].

The size and complexity of institutional growth and participation, particularly in Barrow, exceeded our expectations. We made adjustments in our fieldwork schedule by in-

was 39 percent. Also significant is the low number of Inupiat voting in Barrow.

3. Land

Two different conceptions of land are apparent:

A. Core township sites

Local and regional political and economic institutions focus considerable attention on lots within the communities. Lots are necessary for the construction of additional houses and business expansion. Conflicts between local and regional entities were also evident. The movement of lots from Natives to non-Natives in the regional center was evident. The Bureau of Indian Affairs trust "responsibility over restricted lots offered a measure of protection for Native ownership, but it also was a source of problems for the municipal governments which have no zoning control over these lots.

B. Subsistence and Wildlife Environment

The Native population views land outside of the community as significant for its subsistence resources. A growing awareness that land has capital value as well was evident among Native corporate leaders. The indigenous population utilized political institutions to protect the wildlife habitat and their access to the resources. Conflicts between these subsistence interests and the corporate interests should be monitored.

4. Business Development/Wage Employment

Increased governmental revenues within the communities stimulated rapid business expansion. The businesses were largely controlled by non-Natives. The larger number of CIP contracts were awarded to non-local companies. The emergence

of a non-Native entrepreneur class was evident in Barrow. They received a limited number of CIP contracts and established a variety of service businesses. Ownership of these businesses assures permanency of this population.

Professional and highly skilled positions were largely dominated by non-Natives. Other lower paying jobs in the private sector were also held by non-Natives. The Native population was concentrated in the higher paying jobs associated with the NSB CIP and clerical and middle management jobs within the governments. Overall the non-Natives are concentrated in the permanent operation and maintenance jobs. The CIP jobs which are dominated by the Native population are anticipated to decline.

The patterns of wage employment are also significant in the areas in which they interrelate with peak subsistence cycles. The major employers within the communities adopted informal policies which allowed hunters flexible leave time to participate in subsistence activities.

The new population in Barrow has moved into professional, highly skilled jobs and lower paying jobs. These jobs are also relatively permanent (many have permanent employee status protection) and will be continued after development (decrease of CIP). The Inupiat are concentrated in the CIP jobs. The NSB departments with the largest number of jobs are held predominantly by non-Inupiat, i.e., Public Safety, Prudhoe Bay Service Area No. 10 and Health Department. Of the 236 administrator, teacher, and teacher aide positions in the school district,

only 58 are held by Alaska Natives. They are concentrated in the lower paying jobs and many of these jobs may disappear with the federal cuts and deletion of special Native programs.

The "white entrepreneurs" who live in Barrow are also bidding on NSB CIP contracts. Less than 20 percent of the businesses in Barrow are Inupiat companies. Although we do not have a breakdown on the transfer of lots to non-Natives in Barrow, we know that it is occurring. (This is a variable that can be tracked, we were constrained by time and funds.) We also know that the lack of lots is an impediment to further expansion of the non-Inupiat in Barrow, as well as to young Inupiat families.

5. Housing.

Housing emerged as an issue not so much as the potential effect it had on extended families, but as a means to control community development. Housing for in-migrant workers was the significant criteria for community growth and diversification.

In rural communities, housing shortage is usually critical. It was a major problem in Barrow. Because of the high hotel and living costs in Barrow, the extreme climate and isolation (which did not permit easy access to transients who might have camped out) transients could not gain permanent entry into the community unless they had housing. The private sector began to provide houses to attract employees who tended to be from the outside.

Finally, we found that this type of sociocultural monitoring has importance for policy formation to local and

regional governments. Chilkat Institute has made several presentations of its findings to local agencies, including the North Slope Borough Planning Commission and administration, several key personnel within the North Slope Borough, the City Council (and administration) of Barrow, and the Board of Directors of Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation (UIC). The identification of the monitoring issues as presented by Chilkat Institute appear to coincide with the policy concerns by these governmental and private sector entities and has stimulated considerable discussion. A suggestion has been made that perhaps the borough itself should establish a monitoring office and indications are that the NSB Scientific Advisory Committee may be called into session to discuss the implications of a sociocultural monitoring methodology.

PART I

ANALYSIS OF NORTH SLOPE
INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE AND CHANGE
1979-1983

SECTION I: WAINWRIGHT INSTITUTIONS

II. POPULATION

History

Settlement at the present site of Wainwright dates from 1904, when ice conditions forced the captain of a supply ship to unload materials for a school building on a rise of high ground. The building of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) school at the location, access to inland and riverine subsistence resources, and availability of coal useful for heating fuel probably account for the persistence of the settlement since it was not a favorable location for whaling.

Through interviews, Brosted (n.d.) carefully estimated the original population of Wainwright to be about 45. These people were living at the turn of the century in Kilamiktagvik, a settlement on the coast about 14 miles southwest of the present village. Presumably, they moved to Wainwright following the building of the BIA school in 1904.

Because it had competition from a neighboring community, the village did not grow significantly until after 1920. Icy Cape, a community to the southwest, had a school before Wainwright, and was both a superior whaling site and the center for a large reindeer-herding operation. When the school closed in about 1920, people began resettling in Wainwright. Their migration was encouraged when the Icy Cape herd was split, and a herd established in the Wainwright area. In 1918, Wainwright had 3 herds with a total of 2,300 reindeer. These grew to

4 herds with 8,000 deer by 1924 and to even more herds totaling 22,000 deer by 1934 (Alaska Consultants 1983, p. 8).

The village population continued to grow through the 1920's and 1930's, despite several years of epidemics at the beginning of the 1930's. There was some in-migration from Barrow in this period. U.S. Census Bureau data show the village population growing from 100 to 200 in the 1920's and from 200 to nearly 350 in the 1930's (see Table 2-1).

With the swift decline of the reindeer herds and the crash of the international fox fur market in the 1930's, the pattern of in-migration was reversed after 1940. The 1940's were a period of net out-migration, particularly after 1947. Some families moved to Kotzebue or Fairbanks, but most moved to Barrow. They sought wage employment in military construction, especially DEW line sites, and NPR-A oil exploration jobs, etc. (Brosted, n.d.; Milan, 1964 p. 25).

During this period, the pattern of population decline was intensified by poor health conditions. The BIA relocated individuals with tuberculosis from the village. In addition, an epidemic of whooping cough took a heavy toll, causing the death of 11 newborn infants between July 1949 and January 1951 (Brosted, n.d., p. 80). In 1950, the village population had declined to about 230 and remained at that level until after 1955 (Milan, 1964, p. 27).

With improved health conditions in the 1950's, the death rate fell and the population began a period of growth which continues to the present. In the 1950's, there was still a net out-migration of Wainwright residents, but the remaining popul-

ation offset the decline with a higher frequency of births and with shorter intervals between births. By 1960, the village had grown slightly to about 250 people, and increased by 1970 to over 300. Average household size for Natives grew from a low of 4.2 in 1950 to 5.5 in 1955 and to a high of 6.4 from 1965 to 1970 (see Table 3-1). From 1966-69, the ratio of births to deaths was nearly 3:1, the ratio of out-migration to in-migration was 2:1. During these years, 38 individuals moved out of Wainwright looking for work (Brosted, n.d.). The increase in births and family size, not the migration pattern, accounted for village population trends from the mid-1950's to 1970.

Recent Trends

The population growth rate remained about the same until 1975 or 1976, when the rate increased dramatically in a trend that continues to the present (1984). Wainwright population climbed from under 360 in 1976 to between 380 and 400 in 1977, reached 400 in 1980, and rose to 465 in 1982 and to 494 in 1984 (see Table 2-1). Between 1980 and 1983, the community experienced an 18 percent increase. The North Slope Borough's Capital Improvement Program (CIP) was the major factor in this increase by creating more jobs in building the new elementary and high schools, and by providing improved housing to Wainwrighters.

TABLE 2-1

Wainwright Population, 1890-1984

Year	Source	Total	
1890	11th Census	72	
1919	ANS school records	137	
1920	U.S. Census	99	
1924	C.L. Andrews	168	(3 whites)
1929	U.S. Census	197	
1939	U.S. Census	341	
1940	ANS school records	392	
1941	"	343	
1944	"	341	(3 whites)
1949	"	295	
1950	"	227	
1954	"	227	
1955	Milan (1964)	232	(7 whites)
1960	U.S. Census	253	
1965	R. Bane (n.d.)	284	
1968	Milan (1970)	308	(7 whites)
1970	U.S. Census	315	(8 whites)
1970	Brosted (n.d.)	341	(6 whites)
1974	N.S.B.	354	
1975	N.S.B.	341	
1976	N.S.B.	357	
1977	Wain. Comp. Plan	380	(25 whites)
1977	N.S.B.	398	(7 whites)
1980	US. Census	405	(33 whites)
1982	N.S.B.	465	
1983	N.S.B.	483	(46 whites)
1984	N.S.B.	494	(49 whites)

Sources: Luton (1984); Milan (1964, 1970); Brosted (n.d.); U.S. Census, North Slope Borough, Wainwright Comprehensive Development Plan (Alaska Consultants, Inc., 1977).

The average density of Native households decreased from 6.4 in 1970 to 5.1 in 1977 and to 4.1 in 1983, thus demonstrating the effect of new housing in the village (see Table 3-1). This trend is discussed in more detail in the Extended Families section.

Ethnic Composition

The population of non-Inupiat ethnics also increased dramatically after 1975-76. Prior to the 1970's, the white population consisted of the BIA school teacher(s) and families, missionary families, and white traders during the commercial whaling period. This pattern changed significantly after the mid-1970's, beginning with the construction of the new schools in the village (see Table 2-2). The population figures show that, whereas prior to 1970 there had been a maximum of 6 to 8 whites in residence throughout the history of the community, there were 25 in 1977, 33 in 1980, and nearly 50 in 1984. This change is a 300 percent increase by 1977 and another 100 percent increase beyond that level by 1984, or a net 600 percent increase in about 10 years. Comparison with other villages on the North Slope is provided in Table 2-3.

The non-Natives in Wainwright tend to be N.S.B. school teachers, CIP managers and foremen, public safety officers, and village corporation employees. Typically, the Wainwright population figures do not include the transient construction workers who may double the number of non-Natives in Wainwright for periods of time. In 1982, Luton (1984), estimated that the number of such workers fluctuated from a low of 4 to 5 to a

TABLE 2-2

Wainwright Ethnic Composition, 1970-1984

	Total Population	Native	Non-Native (White)	
1970	341	335	6	6
1977	380	355	25	25
1980a	395	358	37	37
1980b	405	372	33	32
1983	483	437	46	46
1984	494	445	49	49

Brosted notes that in 1970, another 47 residents were temporarily absent from the village, 90 percent of them were away from the village to continue their education. Most likely they were high school students. The population increase from 1970 to 1977 is thus probably more apparent than real, since the new high school was constructed in the village by that time.

Sources: For 1970, Brosted, n.d.; for 1977, Alaska Consultants, Inc.; for 1980a North Slope Borough; or 1980b U.S. Census Bureau; 1983 and 1984, North Slope Borough.

TABLE 2-3

	<u>Percent Non-Native Population</u>			
	Wainwright	Barrow	Kaktovik	Nuiqsut
1970	2.5	9.5	12.2	n/ap
1977	5.5	n/a	n/a	n/a
1980	9.4	26.6	27.6	24.2
1983	9.5	n/a	24.1	13.4

n/ap - not applicable

n/a - not available

Note: 1980 data were collected in the summer, at the peak of local CIP construction projects.

Sources: For 1970 U.S. Census Bureau; for 1977, Wainwright Comprehensive Development Plan; for 1980 and 1983, North Slope Borough.

high of 40. The high figure is confirmed by an independent count of the camp beds available to the Olgoonik Corporation (OC) joint venture in that year (personal communication: Alaska Consultants? Inc.).

Information on household composition for the years 1977 and 1984 indicates that three to four whites resided in Native households in various family roles (such as husband, wife, child, or friend). The number of individuals fluctuated over time, and they did not take an active role in village organizations. This situation contrasts with that in Kaktovik, in which some whites have married into the community and have played significant roles on the village council. It also

differs from Barrow, where white entrepreneurs, married to Inupiat women, have established business enterprises in the community.

III. EXTENDED FAMILIES

Interrelations Between Households

Twenty-seven new houses and two four-plexes were constructed for Wainwrighters through the borough's CIP in the recent period. Additional housing was built for school staff and other borough personnel. Many of the new homes extend out in opposite directions from the center of the village, resulting in a larger and more dispersed housing pattern. Another building phase, begun in 1984, is expanding the village farther. The availability of new housing in the village means that larger family units have separated into smaller household units.

The division of extended family units into nuclear forms residing in separate domiciles suggests that major changes in family relationships might appear. The expectation is that the frequency of intrafamily contact will decrease and changes in the content of interchange and exchanges would occur. The average density of Native households was proposed as a measure of this process of change in the draft monitoring methodology. The measure is not a perfect one, since the crucial variable in the family structure appears to be the composition of the household rather than the size (Brosted, n.d.; Luton, 1984); however, limitations in time and available resources make a more detailed indicator impractical.

Changes in the average Inupiat household densities are shown in Table 3-1. A dramatic decrease (40%) occurred from 1970 to 1984, going from a high of 6.4 to a low of 4.0. The

TABLE 3-1

Average Density of Native Households, 1944-1984

Year	Household Density	Native Population
1944	5.73	339
1949	5.27	295
1950	4.20	227
1954	5.16	227
1955	5.49	225
1965	6.45	284
1968	5.92	308
1970	6.44	335
1977	5.07	355
1980	4.52	372
1982	4.26	392
1983	4.06	437
1984	4.01	445

In 1984, household density does not change when white households are controlled for.

Sources: Population figures: 1944: school records (cited in Luton 1984); 1949-54: school records (cited in Milan 1964: 27); 1955: (Milan 1964); 1965: Bane (n.d.) (cited in Luton: 1984); 1970: Brosted (n.d.); 1977: Wainwright comprehensive Development Plan . (Alaska Consultants, Inc.); 1980: U.S. census; 1982: Luton (1984) ; 1983 and 1984: N.S.B. census. Number of Native households: 1944-70: Brosted (n.d.: 38); 1977: Wainwright Comprehensive Development Plan census by Alaska Consultants, Inc.; 1980: Alaska Consultants, Inc. (cited in Alaska Consultants, Inc./ Stephen Braund & Associates 1984: 17); 1982: Luton (1984); 1983 and 1984: N.S.B. housing survey.

effects of various housing programs, including ASHA (state) in 1970, ICAS (regional) in 1978-79, and borough (regional) in 1976-82, are evident. However, the historical data indicate that the village approached the current household density in 1950 (4.2), after epidemics, ill health, and the lack of employment had depleted the village population. The pattern of change and fluctuation in household densities through the years suggests that this number does not necessarily indicate a change in family relationships.

Several points should be made regarding the investigation of changes in family relationships on the North Slope. Burch (1975) studied this phenomenon and reported that change toward smaller and simpler household forms has been going on at least since the turn of the century. If the historical pattern of fluctuation in household size in Wainwright is typical of other communities, it suggests that the Inupiat family structure is flexible and resilient (a point supported by Burch and other researchers in Inupiat kinship). Finally, Inupiat households do not fit a specific pattern, but, on the other hand, are notable for their variation in size and structure. Three recent studies of Wainwright have shown this to be the general pattern in that village (Milan, 1964; also in Brosted, n.d.; Luton, 1984). We would add to this list of controlling factors the price of North Slope Borough housing (rent and utilities charged by the borough].

Although Wainwright households are "now smaller than previously and tend to be nuclear in structure, there remains a significant degree of variability in their composition. The

recent trend towards smaller households has been brought about through the increased availability of housing construction programs, fuel oil, transfer payments, and employment. "Whether the trend to single family households, larger houses, and petroleum-based fuel will continue shall be dependent, we suspect, on the price of fuel, the number of jobs, and the amount of transfer payments available to local residents" (Luton, 1984).

There were no indications, either through observations or in conversations with key informants, that traditional patterns of extended family relationships (visiting, sharing, cooperating) have changed significantly in the 1979-83 period. However, several new developments in the community during the recent past may contribute to changes in family interaction in the future.

Cable Television was introduced into Wainwright households in 1982. Built through borough CIP, and operated by the city, Wainwright's cable TV is a popular pastime among many households. In most homes, TV sets are placed in the living room, the common living area for the entire family and the entertaining area for any visitors shopping in. Watching television is a social activity frequently involving all household members; often conversation is made while people watch the television.

Apparently, television has affected the participation of villagers in organized community activities particularly in public meetings. Some people blame TV in part for the decline

in church attendance? for the decline in participation in council meetings, and for the demise of the annual village meeting. Nowadays, Wainwrighters prefer staying at home to appearing at public meetings.

Despite the dispersal of new households, new transportation services provide a means for attending community events, getting to the bingo game, or going to the co-op store. Following the expansion of the village in 1982 through the second main housing project, the city council made a request to the borough to provide bus service. The borough acted and provided the village a bus which operates through the public utilities department. The bus makes a circuit around the village every 25 minutes from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m. during the week, with reduced hours on weekends. In combination with the two taxi services, travel around the village is timely and convenient for people who do not care to walk.

The bus has become in effect a locale for visiting and observing other community members. School children use it regularly, and if a child becomes ill at school, an official will call the parents over the CB to tell them their child will be coming home on the bus. Older adolescents gather on the bus after dinner and ride around town; often they will nearly fill the bus at this time.

The use of telephones and CB's in the community for communications and exchange between households is commonplace in Wainwright. CB'S are also used to send messages to the community-at-large.

The recent emergence of smaller and simpler households has not been accompanied by marked changes in interrelations between households. New facilities have appeared in the community which have been adapted to village patterns of interaction. Although there is some evidence that participation in organized activities has declined as a result, traditional extended family relationships do not appear to have been affected to a measurable degree during the 1979-83 period.

Patterns of Institutional Participation

The political participation of individuals in different institutions did not appear centralized around extended family membership and relationships. The membership of boards and councils of the village formal institutions were examined; evident was some degree of interlocking board membership (i.e., the same individual or close family members serving on several boards and councils). But equally significant was the independence among board members and the lack of overlapping memberships. Often personal abilities were most important, and key positions were filled by individuals judged to have necessary skills. Patterns of friendship and association were also significant factors determining institutional participation.

One area in which family membership appeared to correlate with institutional participation was employment. The practice of hiring family members was particularly evident in the more stable and long-term (borough) enterprise. Employment in some of the borough departments and institutions, such as the school, showed patterns of family relationship. It also ap-

pears that in the morerecent past, friendships have become an important factor.

Examination of Wainwrighters' participation in regional institutions indicates that membership is based on personal abilities and interests more than on centralized, extended family ties or village organizational activities. In the 1979-83 period, the pattern of membership was a shifting one; in only two instances did the same individual serve an institution longer than three years. The usual period of service was one or two years. A villager has been elected to the North Slope Borough School District as long as any other member; he served continuously during the study period. Another villager served continuously on the North Slope Borough Commission on History and Culture, and different villagers have been consistent members of the North Slope Borough Planning Commission, Utility Board, and the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation Board of Directors throughout the study period. Villagers have also served on the North Slope Borough Assembly (one year), Inupiaq Language Commission, Utility Board, Inupiat Health Board, Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope, and AKOUNA-TC (an organization of North Slope village mayors) during this period.

IV. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

History

WAINWRIGHT TRADITIONAL COUNCIL

The earliest form of self-governance in Wainwright was an informal council comprised of the older, leading men in the village. Information on the traditional village council is derived from the memories of living elders who recall the council was first in evidence in about 1915 (see Milan, 1964, pp. 55-6; also Luton, 1984). Members of this informal group were the heads of the most influential and wealthy families, which enhanced their political status in the community. The council exercised powers over community members; the powers included the ability to enforce social norms and to exile individuals whose violations were serious and persistent (such as habitual stealing).

Luton (1984) discusses the contrasts between this form of governance and the earlier aboriginal form, suggesting the operation of the traditional councils, and their powers and punishments, were partially shaped by the early federal government law enforcement practices in the Arctic: "Apparently, malefactor were sometimes punished by holding them onboard U.S. revenue cutters as the ships plied the coasts during the summer. According to Wainwright elders, the village councils often designated who was to be removed from the community in this manner."

Other influences on community governance in this period were the school teachers and missionaries. Brosted (n.d.,

pp. 106-7) concludes that the early traditional governments had been created through the efforts of a school teacher or missionary to introduce democratic forms of leadership in "their" villages and that these governments had concerned themselves with internal problems such as regulating the population's personal/intimate relations, the adults' and especially the children's bedtime (curfew), alcohol prohibition, and health conditions. The formation of the Mothers Club during the 1920's, which set standards for cleanliness in the home and assisted with the enforcement of the curfew, is discussed more fully in section on Voluntary Organizations.

The traditional village council formally organized itself as an IRA council in the 1930's following the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act. A standard "boiler plate" constitution and by-laws were developed by the BIA and with the aid of a school teacher. Approval was voted by a majority of the villagers (Milan, 1964, p. 53). Apparently, the constitution was never formally approved by the federal government, since the council continues to receive BIA funds today as a traditional council. (The BIA is authorized to provide funds to traditional councils in lieu of a recognized IRA government.) In any case, after the village council was organized in the 1930's, modeled after an IRA, it operated formally with an elected council president and vice-president and exercised the powers of self-government attributed to recognized IRA councils.

Village governance and legal codes derived from traditional patterns, show the influence of the church and school. By the mid-1950's, the council had formulated several rules which were posted in the village store and enforced by the imposition of penalties or public discussion with the accused before the council. The rules prohibited liquor, gambling, and instances of vandalism. People who broke the rules were punished by formal exile from the village, by ostracism, and by levy of fines or tasks of work in the village, such as hauling wood and coal to the church or to the old people in the community (Milan, 1964).

In some cases, the council questioned people about their sexual conduct and called in an outside authority to marry individuals. It appeared to one outside observer that the council was "enforcing a Christian morality rather than a legal code. Many of the cases deal with the problem of changing sexual morality [and] rule breaking seems to be considered more as a sin and disturbance of the peace of the community than as a crime per se" (Milan, 1964, pp. 54-5). While the effects of white institutions may have been a factor in this historical period (the influence of Christianity and the village teacher on a key council member at this time was noted), it is also true that the council served traditionally as a conflict-resolving mechanism in the village, and as such sought to preserve harmony in the community and to maintain civil authority. The council continues to fulfill this broader function in the village today, as discussed in the City Government section.

Another characteristic of the village council evident by the mid-1950's was its function as a broker between the community and representatives of the white culture. "The council president frequently plays an ad hoc role for he is a designated go-between, or buffering agent, for the village against White authority and is a specialist in dealing with any aspects of Eskimo culture that are in conflict with White culture. Decision making power in more traditional aspects of the culture still seems to rest in the hands of some of the older and prosperous hunters" (Milan, 1964, p. 54). Several council presidents in this period "were skilled in English, in bookkeeping and in other skills necessary to deal with the increasing complexity of the modern world" (Milan, 1964, p. 54). Wage employment and serving in the U.S. Army and National Guard were other types of experience useful in gaining the necessary skills for this role. In the following decade, some of these skills were made formal requirements for council membership. An ordinance, for instance, was passed requiring that council members have the ability to read and write English.

WAINWRIGHT CITY COUNCIL

The village of Wainwright was incorporated as a fourth class city in 1962. This action followed the incorporation of Barrow by several years, and it probably was taken for the same reason to be organized and recognized as a town under the newly formed state of Alaska government. By incorporating as a city, the village council gained additional sources of revenue (from authority to assess a local sales tax, not to exceed

3 percent, and state revenue sharing). The village also gained access to state programs for capital development.

In the process of incorporating as a city, the village council was reorganized into the municipal form, but the reorganization did not significantly alter the functioning of this body. Council members were elected to one-year terms in village wide elections, as before, and instead of the president and vice-president, the council elected officers with the titles of mayor and vice-mayor. A paid city clerk was added, but the annual village meetings continued as before. After reorganization, the city council received and administered grants from BIA as the traditional council of Wainwright.

One of the mandates of the city council is to seek funds for the construction of facilities of benefit to the village. In 1964, the village wrote to the area director of the BIA requesting permission to use half of the old BIA school for a village recreation center. A small gravel runway was built in 1966 by the state of Alaska, and in the spring of 1970 electric landing lights were installed. A cooperative power station was organized by the city in 1967-68. Prior to this, at least 17 households in the village had their own power generators (Brosted, n.d., p. 30). The electric cooperative bought its fuel oil in barrels shipped directly from Seattle on the North Star, and the city contributed funds for its operation.

In 1973, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the city government began an experimental water treatment process that piped processed water to the homes. The city man-

aged this system and provided some bookkeeping and billing services, which were performed by the city clerk. The city paid the salaries of the workers who operated and maintained the system.

The scope of the powers and decision making of the city council remained as broad and community based as before 1962, and the issues did not change significantly: prohibitions on the importation of liquor, request for a recreation center, dog control (dogs on ice used for water supply, request for rabies vaccinations), opening of coal mine ("all able-bodied men will go") title to natural resources, request to state officials for a pipeline to Barrow gas fields and for an airstrip? requests for state rural development project funds, discussion of a shooting incident in the village, and a letter of credit for \$20.00 to the co-op store in the name of a community member "in appreciation on the part of the city council for his unselfish devotion" (City Council minutes, 1964).

The decisions of the city council in 1970 ranged over topics from the operation of projects and organizations in the village to communication with various governmental agencies. A review of council actions in that year indicates that the council exercised control over the solicitation of funds for village needs and the allocation of funds received among the different projects and organizations in the community. The council decided how the funds should be spent in the community, including the allocation between employment- (operating costs) and capital expenses, and setting rates of pay.

The following discussion summarizes the range of issues and decision making taken by the city council in 1970. The council applied to the state for revenue sharing available to cities, to be used for improvements to the road to the airstrip and for funding the two village policemen. A request for runway lights was sent to the NW Economic Development & Planning Board (state). A request for village roads was sent to the Army Corps of Engineers in response to a letter of inquiry. As the Wainwright traditional council, the council applied to 131A for a renewal of its local services contract under P.L.93-638, to be used for general assistance, emergency child care, rehabilitation services, orientation and training for tribal government operations, and office space and support services. The council also left intact a local sales tax (City Council minutes; Also in Brosted, n.d., pp. 117-120).

Out of funds received, the council allocated among the different village projects as needs were brought to their attention. For example, in a discussion of BIA funding for local services, the council decided to contribute to the salary of the village electrician from BIA funds. A salary amount was set, and the council agreed to pay half with the remainder to be provided by the electricity cooperative. It was also decided that the council would provide funds for the purchase of materials and to employ someone under the BIA general assistance funds, for a construction project of six houses for war veterans.

The council made decisions for and took actions concerning other formal institutions in the village. The council chose

the instructor for the head start program in the BIA school following a discussion with the chairman of the parental advisory committee. In another example, the council decided on a course of corrective action for the post office after listening to complaints that the postmaster WAS not keeping regular office hours.

The city council WAS also a forum for discussion of problems concerning resource harvesting and related issues in the village. Incidents of safety on the walrus hunt, and a report of two missing hunters from Barrow led to a discussion of what safety equipment is necessary for hunters to carry with them on trips. The suggestions were presented to the village as a whole through posting a notice in the co-op store. Another example occurred in the spring, when the village whaling captains, through the mayor, brought up for council discussion a suggestion to have bingo stopped during the whaling season, when it is necessary to have the boats and crews-ready at all times.

Finally, the council WAS the official point of contact between the village and outside agencies, groups and individuals. The council responded to letters of inquiry from the Army Corps of Engineers and contacted state and federal agencies for revenue sources, as described above. As the impending land claims settlement grew closer, the council acted and responded to the issue. received letters concerning a proposed regional organization of villages, it selected and paid expenses for two village representatives to the AFN

meeting in Anchorage, and it sent a letter to Congressman J. Haley expressing the village's opposition to ANCSA.

In the early 1970's, all fourth class cities were converted to second class municipal governments by Alaska statute.

Powers and Authorities

Following the formation of the North Slope Borough in 1972, the borough mayor wrote to the village councils asking them to transfer 15 municipal powers to the borough. He pointed out that the borough's authority was limited to education, taxation, planning and zoning, and he argued that the borough "would be in a much better position to provide police, fire, health, road, airport, and other services" if the villages transferred the powers (McBeath, 1981, p. 18). Wainwright transferred all powers on the list and added police, fire protection, and community centers. Later it was learned that a formal notification and an election were required; the borough held an areawide election in 1974 which approved the transfer of 14 powers and the home rule charter,

As indicated in the discussion of village services given above, Wainwright did not obtain large amounts of federal and state revenues available to the city for local services and projects during the 1960's and early 1970's. Apparently there was agreement in the village that the borough would be in a stronger position than the city to procure and administer any available funds and operate the services.

However, Wainwright affirmed its intention to hold onto several powers, which included setting curfews, controlling dogs, assessing a sales tax, and operating a recreation center. City council minutes from July, 1975, state that "the city council and people of Wainwright decided and wants to keep the five remaining...powers."

McBeath (1981, p. 22) reports that this response is a pattern among the villages with strong city governments (which includes Point Hope and Barrow) and that village leaders in these communities "wish to retain those powers they can exercise with local resources." The response is also indicative of the mixed emotions with which Wainwright handed over the powers. Although Wainwright transferred the powers as requested, council members at the time felt there must have been some other way for the borough to achieve its goals, while permitting the city to keep the powers. There is an awareness that the village contributed to the development of a strong regional government and a weakened village government. By the late 1970's, the borough was viewed by some Wainwrighters as a Barrow-run organization, staffed mainly by Barrow people, and it was (and continues to be) an organization that must be stood up to by villagers before any concessions may be expected. One individual who was on the council in the late 1970's and early 1980's commented that village people probably did not then realize the impacts their actions would hold for the present.

Additional powers were transferred more recently. In 1976, the borough requested transfer of and then received police powers. In 1979, where the city was not able to meet the

payroll for the water utility, the facility was transferred to the borough. Search and Rescue became a department of the borough in 1979, but the Wainwright group continues to act independently (see discussion below). Fire was separated recently from the department of public safety and became established as a corporate organization; a firehouse was constructed in Wainwright in 1983.

In giving over certain municipal powers to the borough, the city lost the direct management and decision-making responsibilities for the delivery of services and programs and for the construction of related facilities. The role of the city council in the administration of the services and projects is to represent community interests and priorities to the appropriate department or directly to the mayor. The city council exercised control over several significant community issues by expressing its concern in strong official terms like resolutions. These areas of village authority are discussed in the following section.

Policy Formation/Decision-Making Processes

The seven city council members are elected for one-year terms by all able-bodied village residents. Until 1983, candidates for the council were nominated during the annual village meeting and elected in formal, villagewide elections held soon afterwards. Now nominations are placed in the city office and the elections occur in November. City ordinance requires council members be able to read and write English.

During the first council meeting following the November elections, members select a mayor and vice-mayor from among the council by secret ballot. Council meetings, scheduled about once a month, are open to the public. Special meetings are called as necessary. Most actions consist of motions and resolutions passed by vote of the council. The city has a number of local ordinances which cover dog control, curfew, offenses against public decency (prostitution, lewdness, obscenity, public intoxication, disturbance of the peace, gambling, etc.), discharge of firearms in the village, importation and sale of alcoholic beverages, speeding in the village, and business licenses and permits (Luton, 1984).

The decision-making process in the council became more formalized during the 1970's. Brosted (n.d., p. 120) reports that, in 1970, decision making consisted of "easy and informal agreements, rarely formal votes. Matters are freely brought up by council members, or by a [city] policeman or magistrate if present. Community members and groups would speak to the mayor or council members to have special issues brought up." In contrast, a council meeting observed by us in 1984 was organized by a written agenda, and issues were decided with formal votes on motions and resolutions. The public is invited to introduce topics under "new business," a specified element in the agenda. Meetings are conducted in English, but discussion may be switched to Inupiaq at any point. When the meeting turns to the next item on the agenda, discussion will change back to English if it has not already done so.

Until recently, the council had only the recreation committee organized under it. Membership on the committee was open to the community, but nominations and elections were the responsibility of the city council. "It is assumed that persons that have been elected to this committee will accept their appointments" (Brosted, n.d., p. 147). The committee members were chosen in the first council meeting after an election. The recreation committee ran community bingo games and contributed proceeds to village activities, organizations and to specified funds maintained by the city. It was not reestablished after 1983. The recreation committee is discussed in greater detail below under Institutional Linkages to Other Organizations.

The Wainwright City Council has been the major instrument for exercising local control over allocation of village resources, and it often represents village interests to outside agencies and individuals. It also serves as the decision-making organization for matters internal to the village, including making judgments in issues of conflict and misbehavior perceived to threaten the community as a whole. In performing these functions? the council serves as a decision maker, policy formulator and, in some instances, adjudicator for the community.

HOUSING

The city council exercises control over the allocation of housing in the village. The selection of names of people to receive housing is a continuing practice of the traditional

government in Wainwright. In 1978, the council received a housing grant of \$146,112 from ICAS, which could be used for new home construction or renovation. In a joint meeting with ICAS, the city council allocated new houses to two individuals and identified five individuals for renovation funding.

To obtain housing, an individual makes a request to the city council, and the council chooses who will receive the housing or renovation assistance when it becomes available. City council minutes from 1978-84 indicate that the council selected and approved housing for many villagers from various sources including the borough CIP and BIA funds. The city also decided who was to receive low income housing from the borough program. In addition, the city has passed motions authorizing housing construction by the borough on city lands that were later transferred to the borough.

Selecting who receives housing in the village is a practice the city has not been willing to give up to the borough. Relations with the borough over assigning housing in the village have not always been mutual. In 1983, the city council formally asserted its authority passing a resolution stating that the village has the right to say who will receive housing locally. At issue was the selection of tenants for rental units owned by the borough. The city has maintained its right to assign housing to borough employees such as the public safety officers, whose residence in the village was supported in council discussions in 1978.

LAND

Control over housing is closely related to another authority exercised by the city, namely control over land within the village townsite. The townsite was surveyed in the late 1960's, and the city gained formal title to all unoccupied village land when the townsite was patented by BLM in 1976. In 1976 or 1977, the city received an additional 1,000 acres for municipal expansion and other purposes under ANCSA 14(c)3 from the Olgoonik Corporation (the village corporation). In a manner similar to the procedure for assigning houses, the city council allocates lots to individuals and organizations in the village. The council has probably exercised both of these powers for years, possibly extending back to the formation of the village council in the 1930's.

As it did in the situation of assigning housing in the village, the council has formally expressed a position on its control over the distribution of lots. In 1978, a special meeting was held about the borough's lawsuit against Barrow over the city's right to sell lots (derived from unoccupied townsite land). The council passed a motion to write the borough assembly in support of Barrow; the council's position was that the power should be left in local hands.

In the recent period, villagers have expressed concern that the borough owns much of their land. The city has provided land to the borough for facilities and housing. All new housing is constructed on city land conveyed to the borough for that purpose. Most housing was built under a HUD program, and in the past, people making payments on the houses would receive

title to the land in 30 years. After 1981, changes in the program regulations required the borough to have clear title to the lots. Lot ownership is an important issue in Wainwright, and under the HUD program changes, as pointed out by Luton, "the title to the land would remain with the Borough. Many people in Wainwright saw this change as yet another attempt by the Barrow government to get power at the city's expense. They also saw the Borough as not behaving properly as a steward; they said it was 'trying to go into business.' In response, the Wainwright village council investigated ways of becoming the owners of this land" (Luton, 1984).

Wainwright has not sold any lots to individuals and organizations; the borough has been the major recipient of village land since the village was surveyed (see Table 4-1). The city has transferred land for the utilities and service buildings provided by the borough, and in 1978, the city entered into a cooperative agreement with the ASRC Housing Authority for transfer of land for housing. In subsequent years, it has transferred additional lots for housing construction. The borough did not provide compensation for conveyances prior to about 1982 or 1983. The borough has agreed to pay for land transfers since that time, but apparently no money has been received by Wainwright as of 1984. In a proposed 14(c)3 agreement drawn up by the borough planning department in 1984, the borough agrees to purchase lands from the city for \$75,391.50 and from OC for \$10,960.50.

The distribution of ownership of lots in Wainwright is provided in Table 4-1. Forty-six lots had been conveyed by the end of 1984 by the city to the borough. Nineteen are held in the name of the borough and 27 are owned in fee simple by the ASRCHA (10 of the latter are in joint ownership with individuals). The 46 lots are subject to property taxes of the borough (and of the city of Wainwright, if it becomes a first class city), as are another 17 lots held under the name of other local, state, and federal organizations. The city owns 30 lots and 3 blocks of land in the towns site; the remainder (75 lots, or about 25 acres) is held in restricted status in the name of individuals who elected to put their lots into trust status when the townsite was patented in 1976.

The changes in authorities over lots and houses are perceived by Wainwrighters as limitations on their freedom to do as they wish. "In the past, you could build a house wherever you wanted to. Now you can't." With planning, zoning, roads, and utilities under the borough, home construction is often subject to the scheduling and budgeting of the borough administration and its regulations. Before a lot becomes available for use, a block must be zoned and platted, and roads and utilities must be constructed. Unless the city is capable of financing the developments, this process involves incorporating local needs within the scheduling of the borough CIP. The entire process can take two to three years if no major problems are encountered.

An individual was confronted with this process when he made a request for a lot to the city council in 1984. He

TABLE 4-1

Wainwright Village Lot Ownership, 1984

Type of Owner	Type of Deed				TOTAL
	Restricted	Townsite Trustee	Quit Claim	Easement	
Individuals	75			6	81
City		30			30
ASRCHA			27		27
NSB		18		1	19
Presbyterian Church		4			4
State		2			2
Assembly of God Church		1			1
Olgoonik Corporation				1	1
Dept. of Navy		1			1
Corps of Engineers/NARL		1			1
TOTAL	75	57	27	8	167

The city owns 3 blocks in addition to the lots included in the table.

ASRCHA holds 10 lots in joint title with individuals, and the NSB holds 1 lot (easement) in joint title with an individual.

Source : North Slope Borough

wished to construct a home for sale in the community, but he needed a lot in order to secure a loan to purchase and ship materials to the village. The council postponed actions on granting his request until such time a city block would be subdivided, probably in about three to four years. In Wainwright, the process cannot begin until the 14(c)3 reconveyances are resolved with OC. The council did not offer him one of a few remaining empty lots in an existing subdivision.

Although this individual was disappointed with the decision, he subsequently expressed the opinion that the city is the appropriate institution to make such decisions since it is not out to make a profit. This is a reference to OC and represents one of the views held by villagers about the proper mode of dispensation of land to villagers. There is a belief that the city, as a government entity, should be able to obtain and provide land to villagers, for housing and other purposes. In this view, the village corporation should not have the function because it, unlike the city, would not be motivated to transmit land to the villagers at no cost.

Other villagers believe that another method of land conveyance from the village to the borough could be devised to provide an income to the benefit of Wainwrighters. They do not approve of the past practice of granting land and land-use permits to the borough for no compensation. Some members of OC believe income could be derived from the lands transferred to the borough. They suggest that financial resources obtained in

this manner could be placed into a "permanent fund" for the benefit of all shareholders. This fund would be kept in perpetuity separate from any business operations.

These contrasting perspectives on the proper methods of, and institutional frameworks for, the disposition of village lands have emerged in the 1979-83 period. Luton describes one recent example in which the city appears more interested in gaining a new airport than in retaining village lands:

In order to build a new airport in Wainwright, land had to be conveyed to the State of Alaska [under ANCSA 14(c)1] by the village corporation. Later, the State would convey the airport to the Borough. Despite heavy pressures from the city council and the Borough, the village corporation refused to act. The corporation reasoned that, since they are a profit-making institution, they could not afford to give away their only resource-- land--without getting something in return. What they wanted was the contract to build the airport as well as the lands immediately surrounding it. They felt that whatever money was to be made by airport developments should go to them. (Luton, 1984)

Such actions over land are indicative of differing institutional jurisdictions over village land. These differing authorities and responsibilities have been part of a complex interaction between individuals, the city, the village corporation, and the borough. The interaction has contributed to internal divisions in the community during the recent period. Moreover, the land issue is related to complex changes in concepts of land ownership and the guardianship of resources which, for monitoring purposes, requires careful definition and analysis.

The different perspectives on the disposition of village land has recently (1983) emerged as a disagreement between the city and OC over the 14(c)3 reconveyances. The city received 1,000 acres in 1977 and has since requested the remainder of its entitlement; but OC has suggested renegotiating the initial conveyance prior to making a final agreement. The corporation prepared a new proposal for agreement in late 1984, and it has retained a Consultant on this matter. Because the North Slope Borough is also a landholder for municipal purposes, the borough has taken the position that it should be a party to the agreement; in late 1984 the borough proposed its own tripartite agreement. In a council meeting on November 13, 1984, the mayor proposed a workshop between the city and the OC and their respective attorneys to discuss the matter further.

In contrast to Barrow, which experienced institutional conflict in the past, Wainwright is a community with a relatively long history of highly integrated and cooperative formal organizations. However, the degree of integration has been changing in the recent period. If the institutional conflict between the city and OC develops further, it would possibly lead to changes in the institutions of the village of Wainwright. Also, since the alignment of individuals and families often is reflected in institutional arrangements, such a conflict might indicate signs of factionalism in the community. The role of the borough in this conflict should not be overlooked in any future monitoring.

LOCAL HIRE

Local hire is a policy the city council seeks to affirm on all village projects. For city-managed projects, the council practices this policy. As situations arise regarding projects of other organizations, the city council discusses the issue, encourages the practice, and seeks maximum compliance with any local hire agreements. For example, when the city was not able to meet the payroll for the water utility in late 1979, the council made the decision to turn the utility over to the borough. Later in the month, a special council meeting was held to discuss the agreement with the borough and ensure that local hire was affirmed.

During the 1979-83 period, the issue of the lack of local employment grew in intensity. In a council meeting on August 11, 1982, there was a lengthy discussion on local hire back and forth between the city council and Halvorson Construction (which was engaged in a joint venture with OC to build the elementary school). Representatives of the borough (including the mayor, planning director, and several other staff), OC, Halvorson, some borough consultants, and a number of villagers were present. The city council posed a number of questions about Halvorson's contract provisions for local hire, a training program, and questioned the results of local hiring to date.

Halvorson reported that 12 local people had been hired, and of the 176 man-days spent on the project thus far, 123 were done by local hire. On the other hand, Halvorson had arranged for 40 camp spaces in the village for sub-contractors and had

plans to build a hangar for a company plane, this indicating that a large number of outsiders was going to work on the project. According to one observer, animosity built up between the city and Halvorson to the extent that the borough mayor intervened and suggested that all groups (Halvorson, OC, and the city) meet to resolve their problems.

'The shortage of jobs in the village was discussed by many villagers during our fieldwork in November, 1984, despite the fact that the field work occurred during a period of peak local employment (a housing construction project).

ALCOHOL

In all the council records we have examined, including both published and unpublished sources, there are references to the council's actions and discussions against alcohol importation and consumption. Milan (1964, p. 54) reports that in 1955, the prohibition on alcohol importation was one of the village rules posted in the co-op store. 'The council has taken a similar position consistently throughout the years to the present. time. In the recent (1979-83) period, council records indicate that the village as a whole has been involved directly in the council actions and deliberations, and the council has taken the issue to the community at least twice.

A special council meeting on the alcohol issue was held on August 2, 1979, there were 117 villagers present. A motion was passed for a petition to be initiated in the community; the objective was to direct an air carrier not to transport cases of liquor to the village. In the November council meeting, a

motion was carried to take deliberation of village wet/dry status to the next annual community meeting.

The alcohol issue was raised again in the annual village meeting in 1982; about 150 people were in attendance. In the previous year, the state had passed a "local option" law giving communities the opportunity to choose among four options on restrictions of sale and importation of alcoholic beverages. "At this time there was much public outcry about the alcohol in the village as well as support for a ban on its use. A vote was taken and passed by a large majority to instruct the city council to Circulate a petition for local option four, the total ban on the possession and distribution of alcohol" (Luton, 1984). This option is the most restrictive (and popular) of the four possibilities under the law; it forbids both the sale and importation of alcohol.

Following the requirements of the law, a petition was circulated and later certified by the council and the city clerk prior to the village election. (A further regulation requires that the city have an ordinance authorizing the conduct of local elections.) "The ban was a general principle, to be enforced by Public Safety Officers, and it stressed bootlegging as an outside threat. A vote in favor of the ban occurred in July, 1982" (Luton, 1984). Since that time, public safety officers often drive to the airstrip to meet incoming planes and to conduct searches of the baggage of incoming passengers. When bottles are discovered, they are confiscated

and the violators of the ban are booked for subsequent trial in Barrow.

THE BLUE TICKET

When an individual represents a persistent disruption in the village or is otherwise seen as a threat to the community, the city council may take formal action by purchasing a plane ticket for the person and instructing him to leave the village and not return without written permission of the council. In the 1979-83 period, the council issued "blue tickets" on at least two occasions and another individual left the community under threat of such action.

When it banishes an individual, the council acts to protect the community. It has exercised this authority since the days of the traditional council (see History above), when the council had judicial as well as legislative functions. In certain areas, such as this one, the council continues to act as an adjudicator in the community. Moreover, it does so with the active participation of the public safety officers, who, as representatives of the state legal system, are expected to enforce not only local ordinances and actions but borough and state laws also. When the council decides to banish an individual, a letter is provided to the individual to that effect and copies are sent to the local public safety officers, the department of public safety in Barrow, the magistrate's and district attorney's offices in Barrow or Fairbanks. (For more description of this institution of banishment, including ex-

cerptsof a letterof riot.ifica%ion of the action, SEE Luton (1984).)

Management/Control Structures

In addition to the seven-member city council, Wainwright has a full-time city clerk. The mayor, a strong one within this form of government, sets the agenda and chairs the council meetings. The city clerk acts as recording secretary for the council meetings. The clerk is responsible for maintaining city records, bookkeeping, billing for services provided by the city (such as cable TV), and other administrative tasks. These functions have not changed during the 1979-83 period.

In some years, the council employs an animal control officer, whose duties are to control loose dogs in the village. From time to time there is a rabies alarm, since occasionally the disease is communicated to village dogs from foxes. In the late 1970's the city hired an information officer.

Until a few years ago, the Presbyterian church bell was rung at 9 p.m. for curfew. When the new church was constructed, it did not contain a bell. The community member who usually rang the bell moved to Anaktuvuk Pass, and the practice ceased. For a short period, the council was considering installing a siren on the high school roof.

All council members, during the 1979-83 period, were Inupiat Wainwright residents and there is no indication in the literature that the membership had a different composition in prior years. Evidently, there has been only Inupiat membership

on the council. occasionally, a local white person will provide assistance to the council. For at least a six-month period in 1982, the city's acting clerk was an ex-public safety officer who had lived in the village for several years (Luton, 1984). He has since moved out of the village. In 1984, a Caucasian from Barrow was retained to assist the city with grant writing and. reporting.

Sources of Revenues and Expenditures

The city of Wainwright receives regular funding from local, state, and federal sources. It utilizes these revenues for operating expenses and contributions to local organizations and community activities. In addition, special funds are received for specified projects at different times.

The city council also receives and allocates funds from the BIA for traditional government. operations and various assistance programs when these are available. Apparently these funds are often used for the administrative and office expenses of the city. From 1980-82, the Wainwright traditional council applied for three grants under the Indian Self-Determination Act (104a program) for projects to assist tribal governments. In 1980, the project was to establish a grants office and acquire office equipment. The 1981 project was a continuation of this activity, with funding designated for a project administrator and office expenses (fuel utilities and equipment). In 1982, the project was for the purchase of a building owned by the state of Alaska. This most recent project was closed out with no funds expended.

The city government has never had large amounts of funding (over \$100,000). For many years, according to a former mayor, the city did not have funds and did not know how to go about getting them. The city was "poor" and had to write "all over" for funding as recently as 1980 or 1981. At that time, Al Adams and Frank Ferguson, candidates for state office, made campaign trips through the community and informed the city of state programs for municipalities. In 1982, the state Municipal Assistance Program was initiated to provide grants to city governments for programs and operations; Wainwright received grants in 1982 and 1983 (the 1983 grant was for a city attorney, senior's van, and fuel storage). Also, legislative grants for special capital projects over \$200,000 have been allocated yearly to the city since 1982. In that year, the city received a grant for \$260,000 for a new community center; a subsequent grant has been designated for a senior center.

The city's first audit was conducted in 1983. The financial statements indicate the general pattern of revenues and expenditures evident throughout the 1979-83 period, according to discussions with key community members. The only exceptions were the municipal assistance and legislative grants in 1982 and 1983, which apparently were not included in the audit. The pattern of revenue and expenditures in 1983 was reported as follows:

1983 Revenue Sources:

Sales tax, collected from the co-op store, OC, P & J store, Shooter's Supply (store), Polar Cab, Kavik Taxi, Olgoonik Hotel, Mona-Marie Arcade, North Slope Borough

Alaska Municipal Grant

Federal Revenue "Sharing"

1983 Expenditures:

OC, for gas/fuel -- contributions to Search and Rescue, and for heating Community Center

Co-op and P & J stores -- contributions to village feasts on Thanksgiving and Christmas

Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission -- contribution

Mid-wife services -- delivery of babies in village

Wainwright Dancers -- contribution

Olgoonik Health Board -- contribution

City Summer Clean-up Project

Honoraria -- council meetings

Airplane Tickets -- blue ticket, two individuals

Telephone and electricity for Community Center

The city has also contributed to the Eskimo games taking place right after Christmas and on the 4th of July.

The wages for the mayor and city clerk did not appear on the statements. In previous years, the council obtained funds from BIA (Assistance to Tribal Governments) which were used for city operations (probably including these positions). BIA funding continued for part of the 1979-83 period, but funding sources were used when the 131A program was discontinued in 1982 are uncertain.

Employment

The city of Wainwright directly employs only a few individuals. The mayor is a halftime position; the city clerk is full-time. Council members do not receive salaries, but occasionally they may obtain honoraria and other supplements.

When the city was responsible for municipal services, it had a few specialized employees. Two local people were hired as electricians to maintain and hook up houses to the electricity cooperative. Four men worked on the water utility through 1979. The city hired two policemen who worked only on-call and as needed. During council meetings, they would act as messengers if anyone was to be summoned to attend the meeting. Since 1976-79 (depending on the service), such positions were under the borough.

From time to time, the city hired a dog control officer to eliminate loose dogs in the community. Since about 1981, the borough public safety officer has assumed this duty. In the late 1970's, an individual served as information officer for the city.

In the summer, school-age youth are hired in a village clean-up project. This project, and the positions of the mayor and city clerk, constituted the basic employment pattern of the city council during the 1979-83 period.

Institutional Linkages to Other Organizations

NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH

The city has transferred nearly all municipal powers to the North Slope Borough, including operation of all basic services and facilities. Although the city does not have a direct role in the provision of these services, the council monitors the borough programs and represents community concerns to the borough when the services do not adequately meet local needs. In addition, the council ensures that employment in service positions go to local residents.

When the borough needs to acquire land for facilities or housing, the transfers are approved by the city council. In some instances, the city has requested proposed sites be changed, but on occasion the borough has not been particularly responsive. One case involved the location of a clinic, which was initially proposed for a site containing several ice cellars (Luton, 1984). The city had to press its position strongly before the borough agreed to the change.

The city selects individuals to receive North Slope Borough housing. The council traditionally carried out this function in the community, as described above, but the current issue arose as the borough built housing in the village during the early 1980's. At one point, the council, asserting its control over this matter to the borough, passed a resolution in 1983 making its position clear.

The borough required land for the facilities and houses built under the CIP program, and the necessary lots were trans-

ferred by city council action. Through 1984, the city has transferred 38 lots to the borough and its housing authority. The issue of land transfers involves both the borough and the village corporation with the city, since a portion of the transferred land was derived from the obligator reconveyance of land from the village corporation to the city. In 1976, the city received 1,000 acres from the village corporation under ANCSA section 14 (c) 3. Since about 1983, the city has requested compensation for lands transferred to the borough, but the earlier transactions involved no payments. As described above and in the OC chapter, the past practice of not requiring compensation for land transfers has contributed to the present conflict between the city and OC over ANCSA 14(c)3 reconveyances.

Although the corporation reconveyed land to the city in 1976, the city and the borough do not regard the agreement as final because under the ANCSA a total acreage of 1280 is required. Because the borough is involved in providing municipal services, it maintains it is entitled to an appropriate portion of the reconveyances. Thus, the borough is an interested third party in the 14(c)3 reconveyance issue between the city and the corporation. In 1984, the borough drafted a proposed tripartite agreement on this issue, to be signed by representatives of the city council, the corporation, and the borough. However, this draft agreement had not been acted upon by the end of 1984, and it probably will not be until the city and the corporation work out their disagreements.

Another linkage between the borough and the city exists through the method of establishing village priorities for development projects. Members of the borough staff often visit Wainwright to ask the council for its priorities on village needs. The council provides borough staff with its list. Often it is very repetitious to council members, who feel the list has not changed greatly over the years, and who answer the same questions from members of different departments several times a year.

OLGOONIK CORPORATION

The major areas of linkage between the city and Olgoonik Corporation are land and tax assessment. OC holds title in the form of an easement to the lot upon which the corporation office and store stand. The fact that title is in the form of an easement indicates that, after passage of a certain length of time, title may revert to another party. The corporation hotel and restaurant as built on a lot owned by the city. Since the acquisition of additional land within the city limits requires a decision of the city council, OC must petition the city to obtain lots in the central village area.

The city controls unoccupied land within the patented townsite and the 1,000 acre parcel which OC conveyed to the city in 1976 under ANCSA 14(c)3. In the early 1980's, the city requested OC to convey an additional 280 acres to which it believed it is entitled under ANCSA. The corporation has not done so because it felt to do so goes beyond the original agreement and also because it disapproves of transferring land

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to the borough without receiving some degree of compensation or income from it. The city and OC have openly disagreed on this issue since 1983. Additional lands cannot be zoned and platted for development until the city and the corporation settle on the land's ownership.

The second area of institutional linkage with the corporation is taxation. The city collects a sales tax from OC for its store and fuel operation.

COMMUNITY OF WAINWRIGHT

The Wainwright City Council makes regular contributions to village organizations and events. In 1983, the city donated funds in support of the Wainwright Dancers and the Olgoonik Health Board. It also provided for the delivery of two babies in the village through support of the services of a midwife. It contributed fuel to Search and Rescue, and bought goods from two local stores for donations to the village feasts at Thanksgiving and Christmas. Expenditures for this year were typical and representative of linkages to community organizations and groups.

BINGO AND THE RECREATION COMMITTEE

The recreation committee of the city was started in the 1960's. Luton reports that it "was organized originally by one of the village mayors as a way of dealing with Wainwright's extremely limited tax base. The idea was to raise money through bingo that could be used as matching funds for various state and federal projects" (1984). The recreation committee

regularly sponsored bingo games several nights a week; the games were popular among many Wainwright households.

In 1970, the proceeds were distributed in the following proportions:

- 70 percent to recreation committee
- 15 percent to city taxes
- 15 percent to village house fund

Committee members received \$2.00 per hour for their work during bingo games. Money left over at the end of the year was deposited into the village building fund, to preserve the nonprofit status of the committee (Brosted (n.d.: 147-8).

The committee's share of the money was spent on activities connected to the village's ceremonial calendar. The recreation committee regularly contributed to the village feasts at Thanksgiving and Christmas, and it arranged the Eskimo games and competitions that are an annual community event between Christmas and New Year. In these events, the village divides into two teams which compete against each other at the community center and in races like footraces for children and snowmachine races and dogsled races for adults. (Cash prizes are given to the winners.)

The money was also used for other purposes. Brosted recounts the story of a Barrow hunter who became lost while searching for a meat cache between Barrow and Wainwright in December 1970 "when he had not returned after a couple of days a search was started from both cities. The gasoline used was in [Wainwright] paid for by the Recreation Committee, the council, and VFW, as well as by persons who had participated in the search" (n. d., p. 148). As can be seen in this dis-

cussion, the recreation committee redistributed the money it made from village bingo games back to the community, and it is important to note the variety of activities and organizations which were included.

In the early 1970's, the recreation committee and one other organization (VFW) sponsored bingo games. During the 1970's and early 1980's, new village clubs which also began to host bingo games were formed. In 1978, three clubs held bingo games in the community center, furnishing fuel and contributing towards electricity to the 'benefit of the city which operated the building (city council minutes, May 5, 1978). During 1982, bingo games were sponsored by the Motor Musers, Search and Rescue, and the recreation committee (Luton, 1984). By 1984, four organizations (Motor Musers, Mothers Club, Wainwright Dancers, and Search and Rescue) held bingo games at least one night each week.

In the recent (1979-83) period, bingo continued to be a popular evening pastime among many Wainwright families. Our observations in 1984 indicated that often there were games on six nights during the week. But the institutional structure of this activity changed. New organizations have developed in the village, the recreation committee no longer functions, and bingo is sponsored separately by the different voluntary organizations. The city council authorizes new bingo permit applications, but it made the decision not to reorganize the recreation committee at the start of 1984. At the time, there was a certain degree of interlocking membership between the

council and the leadership of the newer clubs. Perhaps the recreation committee was viewed as being unduly competitive with the newer clubs. At any rate, increased income was flowing to the city and responsibility for development and operation of community facilities had been transferred to the borough.

THE ALASKA ESKIMO WHALING COMMISSION

The city council contributed funds to this organization in 1983 as it had done in prior years. In 1984, the city passed a resolution in support of the admission of the village of Little Diomed to AEWC. In adopting this position, the city affirms the inclusion of this village within the limited IWC quota for the taking of bowhead whales. Although the AEWC commissioner is the formal representative of the village on the commission, the city council expresses the will and desires of the community directly to this organization.

Internal/External Relationships

PRIORITIZING VILLAGE NEEDS

The city council serves as the formulator and communicator of village priorities regarding village needs and requests for capital projects. Several times a year, the council is host to representatives of the borough, state, and federal governments requesting a list of priorities for funding. During the 1979-83 period, attendance at council meetings declined; by 1983-84, it was largely left up to the council to offer the list of funding priorities.

In the late 1970's and early 1980's, the council experienced pressure from the borough over its priorities. At least one community member (a former mayor) felt that the borough used its CIP to "control" the village council and make its own determination of village projects. A similar experience, reported about the planning commission, was seen as its attempt to set its own priorities rather than follow the suggestions of Wainwrighters. Towards the end of the recent period, the council was taking a stronger position with the borough in regard to village projects.

In late 1984, the city council made applications to the state legislature for 1985 capital projects. They included a day-care center and a senior citizens center (which were suggestions made by the mayor on request of community residents). Such community facility development suggests a certain level of growth and development in village economy and institutions. It may also be an indicator of change in family relationships and in the child/elder caring roles of extended family members.

The significance of facilities of this sort in the village should be investigated in future monitoring studies as a potential indicator. A presence/absence measure may be useful for monitoring purposes, if the meaning of the indicator is adequately assessed.

NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH

The North Slope Borough is seen by many Wainwrighters as an external agency, run by (and sometimes for) Barrow residents. Although Wainwright granted many of its municipal

powers to the borough, it has exercised its authority over local resources and issues. The city serves notice to the borough when local services are not provided as expected or when local needs are not met adequately. In 1984, for example, the mayor circulated a newsletter throughout the community, asking villagers to express their expectation to the (borough) that public safety officers should enforce local ordinances (dog control, curfew) as well as borough and state codes. As described above, the city council has asserted its control over the allocation of housing and land within the townsite. Recently, it has insisted on receiving payment for lots and leases which previously were transferred to the borough without compensation. It has advocated for local hire on borough projects within the village.

OCS DEVELOPMENT

The city council has passed resolutions expressing the community's opposition to Outer Continental Shelf development in the Beaufort and Chukchi Seas. In August, 1979, the council passed resolution 79-8 opposing offshore lease sales in the Beaufort and Chukchi regions. This action was directed towards the first Beaufort sale (Joint Federal-State Lease Sale) scheduled for December, 1979. A member of Alaska Legal Services attended and recommended the resolution be passed. At this meeting, the council appointed two individuals to attend the forthcoming ocs hearing to represent the village. In

December of the same year, the council passed another resolution in reference to the lease sale, supporting the village of Kaktovik in its lawsuit opposing the sale.

Similar opposition was expressed to more recent sales. In a meeting on April 4, 1980, an individual was designated to attend OCS hearings (Sale 71 scoping meeting). In 1983, a resolution - passed opposing the Diaper lease sale.

Growth and Development, 1979-83

By the end of 1980, the city had completed transfer of the utilities and services to the borough. The number of city employees, and the city's direct administrative responsibilities were reduced accordingly. For the duration of the 1979-83 period, the city employment level remained at a constant level. There WAS one full-time position (city clerk), one halftime position (mayor), and an occasional dog control officer or information officer. The level of operating revenues and expenses did not change significantly in this period, with the exception of the receipt of a sizable Alaska municipal assistance program grant in 1982 (which had not been expended by the end of 1983).

Although the level of city operations remained about the same, there were several structural changes in local government during this period. New clubs were organized and joined others in sponsoring bingo games in the community center. By the end of the period, four clubs were regularly holding games, and it WAS not unusual to have games on SIX nights per week. The city recreation committee, which WAS normally re-formed each year by

the city council, was not reorganized after 1983. In the past, this committee had hosted several games a week and redistributed the winnings into village funds and ceremonial events.

The annual village meeting was discontinued during this period. Once a year, the village would come together, with each organization and group (including the city council, Olgoonik Health Board, Motor Mushers, Search and Rescue, the whalers, etc. would giving a report of its activities for the year. It provided each organization an opportunity to report to the village. Village problems were discussed at this meeting, and nominations for the village council were made. The last village meeting occurred in 1982.

Another occurrence was the development of a conflict between the city and OC in 1983 over the 14(c)3 reconveyances. The corporation in existence for about a decade had not had conflicts with organizations until this issue arose." Village land has been divided between two different institutions, and the conflict may persist to divide the community more intensely. It may also serve to strengthen the city and the corporation as independent organizations. In any case, this situation is a departure from past institutional relationships.

Some members of the community perceive a recent and significant change in the degree of institutional integration in the village. The perception is of emerging divisions in the village which is in contrast with past patterns. 'Village groups used to work together, but now each group is acting independently." Although there may be some idealization of the

past in this perception, the evidence of recent structural changes in local governance demonstrates that integrative institutions (recreation committee, annual village meeting) have declined and separate voluntary organizations (new village clubs) have arisen in the recent period. The conflict between the city and OC also indicates that change is occurring in the institutional arrangement of the community.

V. OLGOONIK CORPORATION

History

The Olgoonik Corporation is the village corporation in Wainwright created by the ANCSA legislation in December, 1971. The regional corporation on the North Slope, the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, had a large role in the establishment of OC. As required by the enabling legislation, ASRC provided management assistance in setting up OC, and it was the major organization helping OC with the selection of its lands. Finally, the regional corporation was the source of OC'S start-up capital. (The regionals were the vehicle for the distribution of the first half of the cash settlement from the Alaska Native Fund set up by the Act.)

OC made its first business venture in 1974-75. Using capital received from the Alaska Native Fund, OC purchased the fuel storage tanks owned by the co-op store. At the time, the 18 new houses and the recently constructed elementary school needed a source of fuel. With future buildings on the way (through the borough's CIP), the fuel operation appeared to be a good investment. The co-op store did not have the surplus capital to purchase and maintain a supply adequate for the new buildings. OC's initial order was for 32,000 gallons, but by 1982 the annual shipment was 800,000. The corporation opened a small store, through which it sold the fuel locally.

At about the same time, OC was making its land selections with the help of ASRC. OC received interim conveyances for most of its lands in 1976. In that year, the corporation conveyed

1,000 acres of land bordering the Native townsite to the city; the land was needed to provide lots for borough CIP's for housing and service facilities.

By 1977, major CIP's were underway in the village, and the corporation began to take action to participate. It bought heavy construction equipment (tractors, loaders, etc.) for lease to the contractor building village roads. A mechanic was hired and, later, a garage was built to maintain the machinery. Later, OC negotiated with the borough to form joint ventures in the housing project. In this arrangement, the borough contractor agreed to contract with OC to provide labor for part of the construction. OC has worked on several major CIP's with this type of arrangement throughout the recent period. These joint ventures have provided the bulk of the income for the corporation since its establishment.

Land Entitlements

ASRC worked closely with OC while the village corporation's lands were selected in the early 1970's. OC selected tracts of land surrounding the village townsite; the area--159,825 acres--was chosen primarily for its subsistence value to the village. In 1976, BLM granted interim conveyance (I.C.) of 149,042 acres and of an additional 4,984 acres in 1978, for a total I.C. of 154,026. The corporation has a remaining entitlement of 5,799 acres, but there is currently an overselection of 9,275 acres. No corporation land has been patented yet (BLM records, 1984).

In 1976, OC conveyed 1,000 acres of land immediately adjacent to the townsite to the city of Wainwright. The conveyance was made under 14(c)3 of ANCSA, which requires village corporations to reconvey over 1,200 acres to municipal government for future expansion. Officers of the corporation believed this transfer "was supposed to take care of everything," but the city has recently asked for the remaining 285 acres under its entitlement. The city and the OC have been in disagreement over this issue since 1983.

The North Slope Borough has been a party to this conflict. Prior to 1983, it succeeded in obtaining from the city free transfers of land used in CIP's (facilities and housing). Nearly 50 lots in the village were secured in this manner (see Local Government section). Some OC officials viewed this as a usurpation of local control by the borough. They felt that "the borough wants to control everything; they use CIP to control us." They maintained that, in the village council meetings, "the borough people were telling village people what to do instead of letting them tell the borough what to do." Like the borough, the planning commission seemed equally interested in setting its own priorities.

A previous president of OC related how he began to push back against the borough in 1980-81. When he visited Barrow, he would see the mayor, and "bug" the planning commission and public works department to follow the village suggestions to provide greater opportunities for villagers to benefit through of economic (business) participation in the borough CIP. The benefits which OC sought to derive from CIP will be discussed below; the point to

be made here is that OC adopted a defensive posture towards the borough and pushed aggressively to protect its interests and business-making abilities.

One of its interests is in the land surrounding Wainwright. OC has granted a free-use permit to the borough for utilizing gravel beds (for road and airport construction) on corporation land. But OC did take a stand against the borough when it sought to acquire land near the village for a new airstrip. Apparently the borough had obtained funding from the state to build a new airstrip, and it approached the city to receive land before proceeding. The city was in favor of the project, but since the proposed site was on OC land, it could not proceed with the transfer. OC was unwilling to give the land up without a fight because the borough was seeking to receive transfer of the old airstrip directly from the state and planned to award the construction contract to an outside firm. OC held onto the land to maintain its bargaining position, and eventually filed suit against the borough to receive the old airport land and the construction contract. In the end, the borough relented. The state transferred land from the old site to the corporation and OC was awarded the contract in a joint venture.

OC does not hold that the borough should be able to obtain land freely. Instead there should be an arrangement through which land provided to the borough generates some benefit (income) to the villagers. Providing employment, for instance, to villagers on CIP's is one way to accomplish this goal, while another is to require the borough to pay for or lease the land.

OC has had some success in developing joint ventures which employ local labor in CIP's. Since about 1983, the borough has agreed to pay a fee for the land it requires. Some officers have suggested that such funds could be placed in a kind of permanent fund to be distributed to OC shareholders as a means of providing benefits to villagers for use of their lands. This fund would be maintained separately from any funds invested in risk ventures.

During the 1979-83 period, OC has asserted itself over issues of control of its land base and took steps to protect its land from appropriation by other institutions. It stood directly against the borough and the city during negotiations over land for the airstrip, and it refused to reconvey more land to the city under (14(c)3. OC has also protected its economic interests in land beyond the village site" by initiating a procedure to assess fees for oil companies crossing corporation land (all of which lies within NPR-A). For a time, the corporation was interested in developing a site for support bases for oil development (a place to unload barges now prevented by ice from completing passage to Prudhoe Bay and a site for a staging area for OCS development) and in promoting the development of coal mining. With the exception of occasional consideration of a few site-specific projects such as these, the primary use of OC land surrounding the village continues to be for subsistence.

Policy Formation

OC policy is developed by the board of directors. If the president is strong and influential, he may play an active role

in policy formation, as was the situation throughout most of the 1979-83 period.

We have already described the land policy of the corporation in the preceding discussion on land entitlement and in the Local Government section. The basic policy followed by OC is that the economic value of corporation land should be protected and preserved for the benefit of the shareholders. Any organization seeking to use or acquire corporation land should pay an appropriate amount. The reason for selecting most of the land was to ensure the villagers were free to use corporation lands for subsistence purposes.

The other major policy pursued by OC in the study period was to press the borough to extend the benefits of its CIP to the village through local contracting. The effort resulted in the formation of several joint ventures between OC and external construction firms, through which OC provided jobs for local laborers. OC also sought to develop businesses to supply external contractors? but, because the contractors tended to bring their own supplies, these enterprises usually did not succeed. Through these practices, OC sought to provide local sources of employment.

While OC practices local hire whenever possible, it is not a formal policy because of antidiscrimination laws. Village residents, including those few who have married into the community from other villages, can expect to be hired. When there are larger scale, seasonal CIP's, shareholders may return from other locations and seek jobs. In such cases, OC practices shareholder hire, since the corporate responsibility is towards all share-

holders. Occasionally, this practice is disapproved of by village residents.

OC has a liberal subsistence leave policy that is part of its labor agreements with joint venturers. Employees may take unpaid leave when they wish for subsistence purposes. Salaried employees get leave without pay, provided they ask about a week ahead of time. During whaling season, leave is granted whenever the lead opens, starting usually in the last week in April.

Management

OC has a seven-member board of directors elected to one-year terms, not staggered. The board is responsible for setting policy and making major decisions regarding business operations.

There are four corporate officers, three of which are full-time salaried positions. The president oversees all business ventures and activities. The vice-president who serves as the president's replacement when the president is out of town is unpaid. The treasurer oversees the financial, accounting, and payroll functions. The corporate secretary handles much of the day-tie-day business, including processing mail, filing, recording minutes of meetings, etc.

The only other salaried position is the hotel manager; the remaining employees are hourly workers. Two women work as book-keepers and accountants. The other workers are divided among the several business operations of the corporation.

Following some large losses in 1982, management was restructured for a period of about one year. A non-Inupiat general

manager was hired to run the corporation and develop plans to reduce the debts and make profits. In addition a non-Inupiat accountant was hired to organize the bookkeeping. However, these individuals were no longer present in 1984. Current management plans are to reduce the debt, begin making a profit, and provide dividends to shareholders.

Business Investments

In the 1979-83 period, there were five areas of operation and investment in which OC was involved: fuel supply, the corporation store, a garage, a construction company, and the hotel and restaurant.

As described above, the fuel business was developed when OC bought fuel storage tanks from the co-op store in the mid-1970's. The goal was to be the major supplier of fuel oil and gasoline to the new buildings which were going to be developed through the borough CIP and to area vehicles. The operation grew swiftly from a purchase of 32,000 gallons in the mid-1970's to 800,000 gallons in 1982 and to over 1 million gallons in 1984. However, the improvements developed faster than the corporation's capabilities, and in the late 1970's, OC went to Eskimos, Inc. (a fuel supplier, subsidiary of UIC), for financial assistance in the form of cash advances for purchases. This relationship continued throughout the 1979-83 period, and the indebtedness to Eskimos, Inc., increased substantially. The business relationship was re-formed in 1984, when the two companies developed a fuel joint venture (OC/Eskimos, Inc.).

Although the fuel operation has grown significantly, some dissatisfaction exists in OC that the borough did not utilize the fuel supply source as extensively as it could have. The borough built another tank farm and through Eskimos, Inc. supplies fuel to its own facilities, plants, and dredge operation. It also permitted its contractors to supply their own fuel instead of utilizing local sources. These examples are cited by corporate officials as further evidence that the borough is more interested in its own operations and outside contractors than in assisting the village to gain from borough expenditures for services and CIP's.

The corporation store was started at about the same time as the fuel business. Gas and fuel oil are available to villagers through the store, which also sells groceries and clothing. In 1982, Luton (1984) reported "while the store's grocery is smaller than the co-op's, it did a good business because it was considered to have a better variety of fresh foods and meats." This situation was reversed by 1984, when the co-op store came under new management (see Chapter VI). Observations in 1984 indicate the store does a steady, though not large, business serving nearby residents who find it more convenient than the co-op store.

The OC garage was established prior to the 1979-83 period when the corporation purchased heavy equipment to lease to borough CIP contractors engaged in road construction. The first equipment was leased to Bryce Construction. OC soon found it was difficult to make this operation profitable. Equipment maintenance proved to be more costly than the income from the leases.

It was necessary to purchase spare parts and hire a mechanic, for whom housing and high wages were required. In 1982, the mechanic was paid almost \$100,000 per year, well over twice that made by the corporation's president (Luton, 1984). Also, a building was purchased from Blackstock Construction to serve as a garage. The equipment was used on many projects, including OC's construction of the new airstrip. However, it was not profitable, and the business was closed down in October, 1984.

In the early 1980's, corporate leaders began to press the borough leadership to open up the CIP Contracts so there could be local hire through the village corporation. During this period OC formed joint ventures with CIP contractors (Blackstock, Olym-pier UIC (Eskimos, Inc.) and Halvorson Construction) and provided labor for pilings and frames on houses and on other projects such as the new airport (1981-82), the high school (1982), and the fire station (1983). The local men received on-the-job training during these projects; leadmen, company workers in charge of other workers, would show local workers what was to be done. More skilled tasks, such as electrical and plumbing, were subcontracted.

OC Construction was formed for these joint ventures. OC bought out the local Blackstock operation (including equipment and materials) and hired the person who had been in charge to be OC's construction manager (Luton, 1984). In addition to joint ventures, OC Construction took the lead on some jobs, providing most of the services in building the new airport and Undertaking construction of the corporation hotel and restaurant. This lat-

ter project proved to be very costly to the corporation, since the completed building did not meet state code and thus required expensive rehabilitation to bring it up to standard. This episode remains a closed subject in the community, because many villagers knew and liked the construction manager and his family: "They felt sorry for him." No action was ever taken to recover the losses.

The hotel and restaurant was opened in June 1983. It was managed for the first year by Production Services, Inc., but OC canceled the contract with the company and hired a manager in summer, 1984. The restaurant is popular among some villagers, providing an opportunity to make an excursion for a meal out of the home. The hotel provides housing to transient construction workers, reducing the dispersal of outsiders throughout the community.

Linkages to Other Institutions and Corporations

NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH

During the 1979-83 period, OC developed an assertive position towards the borough. One former officer perceived that by the early 1980's the original idea of the borough's CIP, which was to have projects for local hire, was no longer being followed. Outsiders (whites) were seen to have moved into Barrow (and married into local families) and were competing for, and bringing their friends in to bid on, the projects. He felt forced to become aggressive, and, using the mechanism of joint venturing, would visit the mayor and department heads to gain access to portions of the contract for local hire. Also, he felt that

the borough competed with (and restricted) OC's fuel supply business by supplying its own fuel for facilities and the dredge: "They want us to operate everything but they don't want us to make any money." The corporation was able to achieve results by pressuring the borough and on one occasion even took the borough to court to force it to use local hire (construction of the airport). The revenues derived from participation in the CIP's were the major source of earnings for the corporation throughout the recent period.

Another area of significant relationship with the borough is over matters of land. The corporation has taken strong stances to preserve its land base in the vicinity of the village, as discussed above in Land Entitlements, and has developed the position that the borough is not entitled to village lands without providing some compensation to the residents.

CITY OF WAINWRIGHT

Under ANCSA Section 14(c)3, the village corporation is required to reconvey 1,285 acres to the city for any future municipal expansion. In 1976, OC transferred 1,000 acres and considered the matter taken care of. In 1983, however, the city began pressing for the remaining acreage which the corporation has been unwilling to hand over. The city, with some support from the borough, has persisted in its request to renegotiate the 1976 agreement. In 1984, the corporation had its attorney draft a new agreement and retained a consultant to advise it on this issue. The dimensions of the conflict are discussed in detail above under Land Entitlement and in Chapter IV. As of 1984,

plans for further subdivisions and housing projects in the village are stalled and will remain so until the boundaries of city and corporation land are agreed upon.

The building which contains the OC office and store is located on a lot which OC holds as an easement. Depending on the terms of such an easement, ownership of the lot may revert to the previous title holder after a specific number of years. The OC hotel and restaurant stands on a lot owned by the city. In another relationship, OC pays a local sales tax to the city.

In late 1984, the city awarded a contract to the OC/Halvorson joint venture for renovating the community center.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Halvorson Construction

Starting in the early 1980's, OC formed several joint ventures which provided an opportunity for local employment and job training for Wainwrighters. All of the projects in the village in the 1979-83 period were borough CIP's. The relationship with Halvorson Construction has been the most stable and long-lasting (1982 -present).

The first joint-venture with Halvorson was the high school construction in 1982. Halvorson provided for the bidding, the bonding, administration (payroll, etc.), construction management, and subcontracts for skilled labor not available in the village. OC provided local labor. As noted in the Local Government section, the city council questioned Halvorson quite closely on the extent of local hiring and job training it would provide to OC.

Evidently, the relationship with OC was good because the joint venture has continued into the present (early 1985).

In more recent jobs (such as the housing project in 1984-85), Halvorson has provided only a job supervisor, with all the labor performed by villagers. The materials for the seven houses under construction in 1984 were left over from Blackstock (four years old). OC has negotiated two basic agreements with Halvorson, depending upon the location of the job. The agreements divide the revenues between the two companies:

Jobs within the village:	85 percent of revenue to OC
	15 percent of revenue to Halvorson
Jobs outside the village:	51 percent of revenue to OC
	49 percent of revenue to Halvorson

In the 1982-84 period, the joint venture has competed successfully for jobs in Wainwright, Prudhoe Bay, and the Kuparuk Industrial Center.

Eskimos, Inc. (subsidiary of UIC).

In the late 1970's, Eskimos, Inc., began to advance cash to OC to assist with bulk purchases of fuel oil. The amount contributed by Eskimos, Inc., increased throughout the early 1980's until the debt became significant. In 1984, OC formally merged its fuel operation with Eskimos, Inc., in a fuel joint venture.

When OC was seeking the contract to construct the new airport (described above), a partner was needed to provide bonding for the job. Eskimos, Inc., and OC formed a joint venture for the job.

Pingo.

OC has been a member of Pingo since its inception about 1980. Young men from the village have worked for Pingo in Prudhoe Bay, but the work experiences were considered a failure. Apparently the considerable drinking after work interfered with the job program. "The Wainwrighters didn't like it." A different experience is reported for more recent Pingo jobs at the Kuparuk Industrial Center. These jobs are one-year training positions, after which (if successfully completed) the trainee becomes a permanent ARCO employee. The training jobs start with maintenance work, but as the participants progress they advance to lower skilled positions with career advancement potential. One participant said he has been in the program for nine months; six months as maintenance, three months as general maintenance, and he had just started as an electrician's helper.

There are several components to the program that indicate it may be successful. First, it is an all-Native program; there are 10 participants that comprise two rotating crews of 5. At the end of 1984, the crew members were from the following villages:

Wainwright (2), Barrow (4), Anaktuvuk Pass (3), Nuiqsut (1).

Second, there is a defined progression, a career-ladder structure. Third, graduates are guaranteed a (semi-skilled) job at the end of the program, with the potential of further advancement. These jobs carry a certain amount of prestige because they are steady positions, they involve a degree of skill, and they carry potential for advancement. Fourth, with jobs for young men not available in the village, the opportunity is attractive and also prestigious.

Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (ASRC).

The regional corporation had a major role in the establishment of OC and in the selection of its lands. In the 1979-83 period, the president of OC served on the ASRC Board, and thus formed an interlocking membership that may become a continuing pattern.

Regarding the subsurface estate of OC lands, ANILCA provides for the future exchange of subsurface land selected elsewhere by ASRC for subsurface rights to OC land in NPR-A "when public lands in the reserve within 75 miles of lands selected by a village corporation are opened for purposes of commercial development rather than exploration of oil or gas. No regional corporation selections have yet been available to the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation in the Wainwright area, but all lands selected by the Olgoonik Corporation are within the National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska" (Alaska Consultants, Inc., 1984).

VI * WAINWRIGHT COOPERATIVE STORE .

The largest store in the village is the Wainwright Cooperative Store. In 1984, the store manager estimated that 85 percent of the shopping in the village occurred in this store. A full range of goods is carried in the moderately sized store, including groceries? clothing, hardware, and gasoline (in drums). The store is owned and operated by the Wainwright Cooperative Store Association, a stockholder cooperative organization with a seven-member board of directors elected at the annual meeting of shareholders.

According to one of the directors, the store was -started by trappers. This account is confirmed by earlier research in the community. Milan reports that "The Wainwright Native Store was started about 1918 when a group of villagers pooled a sum of money earned through fox trapping in order to purchase a supply of goods " (1964, p. 46).

In the next decade, the federal government formed a reindeer herders association in the community, which is also described by Milan: "About 1926 the Bureau of Education introduced a new system of reindeer ownership, for Native Stock Companies were organized in each village and a native owner received one share of stock for each reindeer. In Wainwright this was called the Wainwright Reindeer and Trading Company. The resident teacher supervised the operation of the company and herders were hired, and paid, by the company" (1964, pp. 21-2).

The operation of reindeer stock companies is briefly described by Olson (1969, pp. 57-61). Membership in the company was

open to reindeer owners, and regular meetings were held to elect a board of directors. The board was responsible for the conduct of company business, which included overseeing the herding operation, negotiating payment to the hired herders, assessing the owners' rate of payment to cover the expenses of the herding operation, selecting the owners' payment from the annual percentage increase (or decrease) based on the growth (or decline) of the herd, and presiding over the sale of deer out of association "treasury stock" used to acquire groceries and materials necessary to support the operation.

The medium for exchange in most of these transactions was shares in the company. Herders were paid in shares, but owners were assessed fees as a percentage of shares owned. Annual revenues were also figured as a selected percentage increase in shares owned to reflect spring increases in the herd. Upon joining the association, each herder received one share for each reindeer in his herd. "There were no stock certificates as such, simply a journal entry under the owner's name corresponding to the number of shares owned" (Olson, 1969, p. 59).

The native store in Wainwright predated the formation of the reindeer stock company, as mentioned above. The formal organization of the stock company provided a model for the operation of a trading store; the store and the company were effectively combined into the Wainwright Reindeer and Trading Company by the late 1920's. Unlike stock companies in other communities, the WR&TC was a joint operation (both a reindeer herding company and a community trading store), and the store was a major component of this new company. It was organized and controlled by an

elected board of directors, but its operation and membership were not confined to reindeer herding but encompassed the entire community.

In Wainwright, trappers and other individuals had the opportunity to join the company by buying shares. Payment was either in cash or in furs. The company was fully owned by the shareholders, and shares were available to Native residents at \$10.00 per share. Members were required to buy one share, but "you can buy more shares if you get lots of foxes." Since shares could be purchased with cash or furs, trappers had the opportunity to acquire large numbers of shares (an opportunity that owners of the larger reindeer herds had when the stock company was formed).

By the mid-1950's, a large proportion of shares were owned by a few individuals, and the pattern has persisted 'into the present. Milan (1964, p. 46) states that six people owned more than half of the entire stock in 1955. In 1970, the pattern was unchanged; a few people were large stockholders (Brosted, n.d., p. 155). In 1984, the pattern was the still the same. The potential influence of this small group of shareholders on the store operation is reduced by the practice of permitting only one vote per shareholder in the annual meeting.

The company continued to operate as a store and trading company following the decline of reindeer herding. In the early 1950's, the company was formed into a cooperative association, with articles of association and bylaws approved by a vote of the shareholders. The newly formed cooperative continued the practice of accepting goods in trade into the recent period. In the

1960's, the store was accepting goods in trade for groceries; individuals were trading coal for groceries and were deriving income from the sale of fox pelts.

In 1970, the cooperative owned a new store building, a warehouse, a nice cellar and a garage (Brosted, n.d., p. 31). During the early 1970's, the store instituted several 'measures to conserve its cash flow. The cooperative joined ANICA when it could not afford to pay the single lump sum necessary for purchasing the annual shipment of goods for the year. ANICA is a wholesaler which purchases and ships goods aboard the annual BIA freighter from its center in Seattle. The benefit of membership is that ANICA provides the capital for the large, single lump sum necessary for purchasing the annual shipment of goods. The Wainwright imperative store pays off the cash advance throughout the year, plus 10 percent of the profits, in time to repeat the procedure the following year.

The store sold its fuel tank to OC in 1974-5 to improve its cash flow situation and expand the capacity of its retail operation. Rather than keeping a significant amount of capital tied up with the fuel oil operation (since the fuel reserves must be paid for in advance), the decision was made to convert this asset to cash for use in keeping the store stocked with faster selling items. The store continues to sell gasoline in 55-gallon drums.

Store profits increased considerably in 1976-77 as the community experienced the economic (employment) benefits of the NSB Capital Improvements Program. In the late 1970's, the cooperative borrowed from Farmers Home Loan to build a new warehouse. This building was converted to the present store in 1981 to

provide a larger floorspace. Gross revenues and profits declined from about 1978 to 1983, however, and no dividends were paid to shareholders. The store changed management in 1983, and revenues and profits have been on the increase, and dividends were resumed. According to a board member, it is today the most successful of the ANICA stores.

For many years, the co-op store required an individual to live in the community for a year prior to becoming eligible to purchase shares. In the late 1970's, this policy was changed; the required period of residence was reduced to 30 days. Apparently the practice was modified to accommodate the return of previous residents and the influx of new residents.

The store pays two forms of dividends to shareholders. One is a percentage of gross revenues based on the number of shares held by an individual. In 1983, the dividend was \$40.00 per share. Initially, all of the profit went to the shareholders in this form. As more shareholders moved away from Wainwright, a ceiling (8 percent of total proceeds) was placed on this dividend and a second type of dividend was introduced. The second type is a patronage dividend; the amount paid to individuals is a percentage of their purchases in the store. These changes provide a means of keeping the profits in the village and in the hands of those who are responsible for producing the profit.

In the 1970's, when it became possible to ship food items through the mail, the store began to order that a portion of its supplies to be delivered by airplane. This process, which has been improved considerably in the recent past by the removal of

external institutional barriers to the transport of such goods, has contributed to the most significant recent change in the retail service at the store. Whereas former managers sometimes had empty shelves because orders were not placed frequently, the present management has instituted weekly ordering of food and other items, thus ensuring both the availability of goods and supplies and an improved selection of shelf items.

The Wainwright cooperative Store has always been more than just a retail operation in the community. As mentioned above, it was a trading center for trappers, providing a means of exchanging skins for groceries and other goods. Coal and subsistence items, such as caribou and seal meat, have also been traded to the store throughout the years. The seal meat was sold for dog food. Until a few years ago, the store maintained an ice cellar for preserving subsistence food items. Today, such food items are bought from other villages as well; in November, for instance, there may be whitefish from Nuiqsut in the store freezer. Also, the store is the only check-cashing institution in town today, and its bulletin board continues to serve as the village council's medium of formal communication with community residents.

The store provides contributions to other formal organizations and events in the community. In the past, for example, the store sponsored a whaling crew. Milan reports that "the Native store outfitted 1 crew in 1955; the captain was the store manager" (1964, p. 33). In earlier years, people in the community would contribute coal to heat the churches. Coal would be donated weekly on a volunteer basis. After the store sold heat-

ing fuel, it contributed fuel to the churches after new church structures, with oil heating systems, were built. Presently, 10 percent of the store profits are divided between the two churches each year, to assist with their fuel and other operating expenses. In addition, regular contributions are made by the store to the community feasts at Thanksgiving and Christmas; separate lots of food are donated to the feasts that are held in each of the two churches.

For many years, the store has bought its entire annual inventory at one time, receiving the goods in a single shipment during the summer months. This is a major community event, and it is described in Brosted (n.d., pp. 28-30) and Luton (1984). The store hires village residents to unload the supply ship and transport the goods to the store warehouse.

Employment in the store has never significantly affected community employment: In the 1979-83 period, the employment level remained constant at five to six individuals, consisting of a store manager, assistant manager, and three to four clerks. Staff was reorganized under the new management in 1983, but the employment level did not change significantly. Total staff positions were increased to 10, but there were never more than five to six working at one time and the others were held in reserve. The present staff consists of a manager, plant manager, bookkeeper (who is also responsible for ordering inventory on a weekly basis), and seven clerks and stockers. Store wages have been low and continue to beat the lower end of the available wages in the community (Brosted, n.d., p. 156; Luton, 1984).

Although the level of employment in the store has never been high, it was restricted, for many years, to Inupiat shareholders. This practice was in accord with the informal village policy of local hire (see Local Government). When national anti-discrimination legislation was passed, the hiring restrictions were discontinued. But the sense that such jobs should only be available to local shareholders persists.

Since its inception in the 1920's, the board of directors has served as an important model of self-governance in the village, and in 1970 it was reelected to be one of the two most important councils in the village (Brosted, n.d., p. 126). The board is responsible for key decisions in the operation of the store, such as setting the level of revenues to be distributed to shareholders and the proportion that is donated to village organizations and activities. Brosted (n.d., p. 121) describes the decision-making process by which the store's board of directors would decide what price to give for fox or bear skins in 1970. The procedure was to have a secret ballot to choose between several possible prices. The secret ballot process is similar to the decision-making process reported for the village council in the same period.

There is a degree of interlocking membership among the board, the village council, the governing bodies of the two churches in the community, and the small group of shareholders who possess the largest proportion of shares. This pattern has existed for the past 15-20 years (Brosted, n.d., p. 155) and probably earlier. This overlap in group membership did not appear to have an influence on the local political processes in

1970, and no evidence discovered in our fieldwork suggests the situation had changed in 1984. However, the overlap may explain the practice of the store to donate food and expenses to the churches in the community.

VII. WHALING COMPLEX

Introduction

This chapter will focus on changes in whaling institutions in the 1978-84 period. The anthropology of whaling activities has been adequately described in a number of already published sources. The most recent study of Wainwright (Luton, 1984) reemphasizes the social and religious significance of the bowhead whale to the people of Wainwright, as well as describing responses to the imposition of the quota and the composition of whaling crews in 1982. The beliefs and practices demonstrating the social, ceremonial, and religious significance of whaling in the community have not changed measurably in the recent period. Events in the annual ceremonial calendar of the community remain popular and centered around the whaling activities.

Spring whaling ceremonies are performed by captains before going out on the ice, and include cleaning out their ice cellars to distribute the surplus to community members, giving candy bars and chewing gum to children, and having potluck lunches for older people and/or other villagers. In addition, certain prohibitions are observed during whaling. Families of whaling captains should not hide any food, or put it away and out of sight (such as under the stove. If a family violates the prohibition, the whale, when struck, will go under the ice and be lost. Surplus food should be given away by the captain; similarly, if an animal is killed while the crews are on the ice, any meat not immediately consumed

must be sent back to the village to be given away. One young man recently gave a polar bear hide away for this reason.

Wainwright Whaling Captains Association

Many of the recent changes in the social organization of bowhead whale hunting are derived from the quota restrictions on the taking of bowheads placed by the International Whaling Commission in 1977. The development of the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission in response to the IWC action is described elsewhere in this study. In Wainwright, the first institutional response occurred when the AEWC held its first meeting in the village in 1978. During that meeting, or shortly thereafter, the Wainwright Whaling Captains Association was formally organized. The rationale for this formation was that, as an organized group, the captains would have greater effectiveness responding to externally supported sanctions. "We wanted to be called a group, instead of individual captains, in case they tried to knock us off like the commercial whalers."

The closed meetings of the whaling captains have served to unify the captains and reintegrate and revitalize the village-wide whaling institution. This has occurred in several ways. Since the early meetings, the captains reemphasized that they would work together as a team in order to maximize their chances for landing every struck whale. In doing so, they discourage individual actions that might jeopardize the success of the hunt and assert the village unity inherent in the whale hunt: "We are a village." In their meetings, the captains discuss strategies and methods to strike and kill and thereby minimize struck and lost

whales. The captains try to get more information from each other and invite older captains to share their knowledge and experience with the active younger captains. The elders' comments are not limited to hunting techniques but also encompass spiritual and social (dividing and sharing) behaviors. The role of elders has thus been enhanced in the recent period.

The composition of crews is another subject brought up at these meetings. According to Luton "There is some discussion of, and decisions about the make up of the actual whaling crews. An attempt is made to make sure that every crew has experienced members and that inexperienced whalers are spread among the crews to some degree" (1984). One of the young captains interviewed during our fieldwork described how, before he became a captain in 1984, he served on several crews in different capacities. Apparently, he developed a variety of experience through this "training" pattern that qualified him to be a captain, possibly sooner than if he had served steadily on a more limited number of crews. The shifting of members among different crews serves both to maximize levels of experience among the crews and to accelerate the training of new captains.

In addition to seeking to improve their hunting methods and taking a more active and concerted role in the composition of crews, the Wainwright captains actively encourage the formation of new crews. With more crews out on the ice, chances for recovering struck whales are improved. 'There is a recent trend in the larger whaling villages (Gambell, Pt. Hope, and Barrow) towards a decrease in the age of whaling captains (Alaska Consultants et

al., 1984, p. 94) as may also be occurring in Wainwright. One of the captains interviewed said that the crews had remained about the same size (average equals seven), but they are younger and there are more of them. Table 7-1 provides the number of whaling crews in Wainwright from 1970-1984. The greatest changes occurred in the 1980's; the number of crews doubled between 1980 and 1984.

TABLE 7-1
Number of Whaling Crews in Wainwright, 1970-84

Year	Number of Crews
1970	3
1971	3
1972	3
1973	6
1974	2
1975	5
1976	8
1977	8
1978	5
1979	7
1980	7
1981	10
1982	13
1983	12
1984	14

Sources: 1970-82: Alaska Consultants, Inc. et al., 1984;
1983-84: Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission.

The rising costs of whaling all but require captains to have regular employment. A rough estimate of the annual costs to "put a crew out on the ice" is at least \$10,000, split about equally between equipment (snow machines, aluminum skiff with outboard,

whale guns, gasoline, darts and bombs, etc.) and food for the crew. To join a whaling captains association, the new captain must purchase about \$5,000 worth of equipment (darting and shoulder guns, lances, floats, bombs, ropes, etc.) A shoulder gun costs over \$1,000 and the darting gun is \$300-400. In some cases captains' wives assist with the purchase of necessary equipment, and they do much of the cooking for the crew while on the ice.

In addition to partnerships between a captain and his wife (who contributes to the purchase of equipment), there are at least two instances of partners, or co-captains, in Wainwright. These individuals cannot afford the large financial outlay by themselves, so they cooperate and pool their resources and skills in the support of a crew. In one case, the co-captain" lives and works in Barrow, but returns to Wainwright (where he was born and raised) for whaling. If he cannot get away from his job, his partner fills in for him in the whaling camp. In his description of crew membership in 1982, Luton (1984) noted that several crews contained out-of-town members, and more nonrelations are on crews than in the past.

Besides instituting discussions on strategy among themselves and with the elders and encouraging the development of new and improved crews, the Wainwright whaling captains have introduced practices which have improved the degree of cooperation in and the efficacy of hunting procedures. Whaling captains have adopted the general strategy of hunting more in a group than they did previously, so that other crews can "help out" more quickly when a whale has been struck. Luton (1984) describes an example of this practice in 1982: "a crew spotting a whale near the lead

edge did not attempt to strike it. Instead, they drove their boat between the whale and the ice in a successful attempt to drive the whale into the middle of the lead where it could be struck more safely by another boat. This became the second whale taken by Wainwright whalers."

One of the rules adopted by the Wainwright whaling captains proscribes the crews who are first out on the ice from striking a whale until others are in position to help out. Luton (1984) also reports that "whaling crews have adopted the strategy of only going out when the lead is very wide and not striking whales near the lead edge. This makes it harder for the whales to escape under the ice." Another approved practice is to use the CB to call for assistance after a strike; crews are expected to go help when called in this manner. Nearly all of the captains have adopted use of aluminum skiffs and high-speed outboards so that they can travel quickly when necessary. Captains say these boats are superior to skin boats because they are faster, more reliable, and can go through thin ice (which umiaks cannot). All captains use CB's to call for help or respond to such messages.

The Wainwright Whaling Captains Association passed a number of rules in 1984 concerned with the division and distribution of shares of the whale among whaling crews and villagers. A crew member is required to be out on the ice with his captain in order to be entitled to a crew share. A landed whale is shared not only among the crews that are out on the ice, but also with the villagers who help pull the whale up out of the water. Crews which are not on the ice when a whale is struck must take their

share from the village share; they are not entitled to a separate crew share. Villagers who do not help with pulling the whale up are not entitled to a share from the initial distribution.

Many of the changes described above were conscious efforts to minimize the number of struck and lost whales. In Wainwright, the whalers have been successful; they have landed every whale struck since the imposition of the quota.

Another concern of Wainwright whalers is the size of the quota. Most feel it should be increased to meet village needs. This issue may have played a part in 1984, when ice conditions forced a premature ending to spring whaling (the leads closed). Instead of following the customary practice of transferring the remaining strike to the next-neighboring village in the path of the migrating whales, Wainwright chose to hold onto the strike until the fall, when the return migration occurs. In that year, one captain went out to search for whales, and at least one other also planned to take his crew out (he was prevented by a malfunction in his outboard motor). There are no reports of fall whaling in Wainwright in the literature; this may be a significant development if it persists.

OCS Development

In the 1979-83 period, the city council was the organization that expressed the community position regarding ocs development, and it also contributed to the AEWG (see Chapter IV). Apparently, the city council represented the whaling captains to external groups during this period. More recent observations suggest that AEWG may be taking a more active role in advocating

forprotecting the bowhead whales from the effects of OCS activity. In Wainwright, the president of the Whaling Captains Association is also the AEWC Commissioner. It may be that, in the future development of the Chukchi Sea, the Wainwright whalers will assume a more direct role in the formulation and pursuit of their position against OCS development.

-1

VIII. VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

Wainwright Dance Group

HISTORY

The Wainwright Dance Group first performed at the World Eskimo/Indian Olympics in about 1973. The group traveled to the University of Alaska in Fairbanks for its first trip outside the village for dancing. Prior to this time, the villagers had danced only at community events and activities, having learned movements and songs in a traditional, informal manner from their families.

When asked when the group was started, most individuals responded by saying it has always been there. People have been dancing in Wainwright for generations, and there has always been a group of dancers made up of many of the villagers. The Wainwright Dance Group refers to a smaller number of individuals who practice regularly and perform on occasion at events around the state. For many years, an elder took a lead role in the organizing and training of this smaller group.

There are three types of Eskimo dance (agqi):

sayug: line dance, men and women dancing in a line or other regular formation moving in unison--"for the experts, the ones who are trained"

uamit: men's freestyle, anybody who knows the song can join in

uyuk: women's freestyle, anyone who knows the song can join in

According to dancers, dancing makes people happy. The local Presbyterian minister thinks it is good for people to feel happy

and to do things to make themselves happy. Shortly after he arrived in Wainwright in 1972, he made a statement in church that David (of the Old Testament) would have been a good dancer. After saying this, people felt better about him. Some people belong to the Assembly of God and still participate in dancing, although the Assembly of God church formally prohibits dancing of any kind.

MEMBERSHIP AND RECRUITMENT PATTERNS

Luton made the following statements regarding the dance group:

The Wainwright Dancers is a particularly popular voluntary organization, perhaps the only one which brings together elders, the middle-aged, and the young on a regular basis. Once a week people join to practice traditional songs and dances. In 1982, these meetings were usually held at the armory to avoid conflict with bingo. Often, counting the babies, as many as 30 or 40 people would be present at one time. Since people tended to circulate through during the evening, the actual number that attended was higher. Regular members of the Wainwright Dancers--those that made up the chorus, the drummers, and dance teams--perform at meetings and ceremonies throughout the State of Alaska (1984).

In 1984, there were 33 members aged from 9 to village elders, encompassing four generations (ASRC Newsletter, June, 1984 p. 2). The group was known as the Wainwright Dancers until ARCO sent them to Los Angeles to perform at the 1984 World Olympics. They decided to name themselves something referring to all of Alaska, and chose Heartbeats of Alaska. The name suggested was the name for the completed contingent of dancers from Alaska. The Wainwright Dancers were just a part of that contingent, but

the Wainwright group has used the name for themselves since their return.

One elder commented that the younger people are not learning correctly: their movements are not stiff; there is too much swinging and swaying from the hips. Observation of the dancing at Thanksgiving, 1984 indicates that the elders are not participating in as large numbers as suggested by Luton (see above).

^o This may or may not be a temporary occurrence; the level of community participation, indicated by the presence of all age groups, should be monitored.

Although anyone interested can volunteer and become a member of the group, younger members are also recruited by members who may be older relatives (a grandparent, for example) or close friends. A person may be asked to join on the basis of his or her skill as well. Some of the young members did not know how to perform the movements prior to joining the group and participating in practice sessions.

A young high school student said her grandmother talked to her about joining. She did not know how to dance before; she learned the proper movements in the practice sessions. One young man, a recent, high school graduate, said his best friend (his "brother") told him he should join. He knew some dances already, but learned from watching and participating in the community dances during Nulakataq, Thanksgiving? Christmas and New Year. The drummers taught him more dances; they "make. them up" and show them the motions which are then practiced. Before the dancers go on a trip, they practice intensively for 1 1/2 to 2 weeks, "almost every night." He also said that the school picks out 10

students who have good grades from elementary and high school to be prospective members. They practice, then the drummers and a few of the women pick the best ones to be members.

INTERNAL/EXTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS

The travel expenses of the dance group are usually provided by other organizations in the village and the region. In the 1979-83 period, the Wainwright Dancers received Contributions from the North Slope Borough, ASRC, City of Wainwright, and OC. Occasionally the group receives travel funds from oil industry sponsors, as did the 1984 Heartbeats of Alaska for the trip to LOS Angeles described above. In 1983, the group received permission from the city to sponsor bingo games in the community center, thus providing the dancers an additional source of expense money.

Wainwright Search and Rescue

HI STORY

For many years, Wainwright men participated in search and rescue activities on an informal basis. If an individual did not return from a trip, then his close male relatives would go out and backtrack him. If unsuccessful, more volunteers would join in the search, and occasionally the National Guard was called out. Units from Wainwright, Barrow, and sometimes airborne units from Kotzebue and Anchorage might participate.

One elder suggested that the search and rescue activities started on a more regular basis following the introduction of snow machines during the 1960's. "In the old days we never went

out looking for people--we always had food and clothing. Snow machines are not dependable, mechanically, and clothing from the store is not as good as skin clothing--when they get wet, they freeze." Also, it is not usually known if the travelers have sufficient food to last more than a day.

Members of Wainwright Search and Rescue say that the search activities have always been practiced in the village. Individuals and community organizations (including the city, the former recreation committee, the co-op store, and VFW) contributed spare parts, gas, and supplies to the searchers. Some individuals keep gas in ready form (i.e., premixed) and their equipment is also kept ready. Wainwright men have coordinated searches with people from Barrow and other villages, including air searches from as far away as Anchorage, since at least the 1960's.

The Wainwright Search and Rescue was organized formally as a nonprofit association in 1974 in order to raise funds for itself through bingo games and other activities. In 1979, the borough's Search and Rescue was organized and the Wainwright organization came under the new department. The borough has provided equipment to the Wainwright group, including two boats (one for up-river and one for the ocean) and snow machines. The borough has two search helicopters and a plane based in Barrow. The use of CB's has helped in the searches, and the borough provides gas for the searchers. When a search is reported to Barrow, they authorize purchase of gas at the store and the coordinator signs and sends the bill to the borough office.

Luton provides. the following description of the organization's activities: "During each rescue Undertaking, the club's membership volunteer their time as well as their personal snow machines and motorboats. When possible, the organization reimburses its members for the costs of the search, i.e., money spent on gas and the like. The organization also maintains several search and rescue houses both upriver and up and down the coast. These are small shelters for lost and stranded travelers. Search and Rescue attempts to keep these stocked with matches, fuel oil and coal, small amounts of tea, coffee, sugar, crackers, and canned food. People are expected to let the organization know if they had to use the supplies so the building can be restocked (1984) .

Villagers are proud of the local search and rescue organization and point out that the borough representatives came down to learn how they organize and carry out search activity when the borough was forming its search and rescue department. When someone is reported lost, individuals who decide to enter the search report into a board member and inform him of the direction in which they will be searching. Sometimes three to four searchers go out as a team, spreading out 1/4 to 1/2 mile apart. The men may get together and discuss the search before dispersing, or the activity may be more individualized. In any case, participation is always voluntary; board members do not assign search areas or tasks to individuals involved.

The goals of Search and Rescue are similar with the primary responsibilities of a whaling captain, which include the immediate concerns of safety of his crew while out in the hazardous

ice and ocean waters , as well as the sustenance of all the community. "The goals of the Search and Rescue organization exemplify the Inupiat ideal of the male's relationship to his society--hard work and self-sacrifice for the community. Accepting the costs and dangers with equanimity is a part of this ideal. Over and over, people of Wainwright as well as members of the organization mention that these men 'use their own snow machines' and that 'they put themselves in danger for others.'" (Luton, 1984) .

MEMBERSHIP AND RECRUITMENT PATTERNS

All able-bodied men are members of the organization, since anyone can volunteer his assistance. There is an annual members' meeting open to the men in the village. The seven board members and officers are selected at this time. In 1982, Luton found that 'Search and Rescue is probably the most prestigious male association in Wainwright today. In 1982, four of the men on City Council were active members, one was its president. Search and Rescue's membership includes most of the young males who serve in some capacity representing the North Slope Borough or the City of Wainwright and most, if not all, of the whaling captains" (1984).

INTERNAL/EXTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS

The major source of revenue for this organization is bingo games held in the community center. If money is available, it is provided as reimbursement to members for gasoline and contributions to village events. Additional resources are provided to

this organization through the North Slope Borough Search and Rescue.

Although Wainwrighters have been active in searches for many years, the Search and Rescue Club became a formal organization in the 1970's. Participation in the club was widespread among the men of the community between 1979-83. Search activities formerly assumed by members of the VFW and National Guard are now performed through this organization. The infusion of equipment and supplies from the borough Search and Rescue formed five years after the Wainwright group was organized formally, contributed to its growth. The activities of the club, and the use of CB's in particular, have improved communications among the men of the village and the organization is a source of pride in the community as an expression of its traditions of mutual help. In relations with the borough, the club has expressed its independence and goal to remain primarily a local organization. It continues to make contributions to village activities and events in the annual ceremonial cycle; in 1984, the Search and Rescue Club contributed to the village games held after Christmas and on July 4th.

Wainwright Search and Rescue has operated under the borough, but it has remained resistant to operational changes suggested by the borough. Wainwright has suggested its own changes, which were not acted upon. In 1982, there was a coordinator under the borough who served as a liaison between the two organizations when there was a search to be activated from Wainwright. This position was discontinued and Wainwright proposed that it be renewed, but the suggestion was not accepted by the borough. In

1983, the borough joined Wainwright Search and Rescue with the new fire station, but the villagers wanted a separate building that was not kept locked and where they had room to gather and repair vehicles and motors, and which could be used as a communication center during searches. By 1983-84, the Wainwright Search and Rescue expressed a preference to be independent of the borough and to be organized under the City of Wainwright, but this remains unresolved as it would preclude the borough from providing equipment and other direct support under its bonding authority.

Olgoonik Motor Mushers Club

HISTORY

* The Olgoonik Motor Mushers Club has sponsored snow machine races since about 1973. The first races were organized by two individuals, but the club was established as a nonprofit soon hereafter. The club has about 30 members and 4 elected officers. The membership is "mostly the Search and Rescue group," and the officers of the two organizations likewise overlap.

MEMBERSHIP, RECRUITMENT AND INTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS

The membership and activities of the club remained unchanged in the 1979-83 period. It sponsored races in October, November, and December of each year. Its operating funds are raised from bingo games and raffles. With the new bingo groups in town, revenues declined in 1984 and the club planned to sponsor just one race a year in December.

Wainwright Womens Club

H I STORY

The Wainwright Womens Club WAS originally started by a teacher to encourage clean babies and houses in the village. It began in the 1920's under the influence of the Presbyterian minister from Barrow, who formed a mothers club in that community and founded the church in Wainwright. Wainwright mothers would go around and check houses for cleanliness; clean ones would get a blue mark and unclean ones a red mark. It WAS active in promoting health and proper child rearing, which included having a curfew for children in the village. Although the mothers club became inactive in the 1950's, the curfew continued to be in effect until a few years ago.

After attending a meeting in Barrow in 1982, a group of Wainwright women decided to restart the club in Wainwright. It was called a womens club so that women who were not mothers would feel welcome. An officer of the newly reconstituted Barrow Womens Club was invited to Wainwright to discuss the activities of the club, help them organize and elect officers, and instruct them on the conduct of meetings.

MEMBERSHIP, RECRUITMENT AND INTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS

The Wainwright Womens Club usually has six to seven members, from which four are elected officers. Their role is to provide assistance to families who experience misfortune, such as a fire or a death in the family. They give food and clothing to the families in need. The club has a bingo permit and derives most of its operating expenses from bingo games (in 1984, their games

were scheduled twice a week). The women also raise money from
bake sales and cake walks.

SECTION II: KAKTOVIK INSTITUTIONS

IX. HISTORY

"We a group of Eskimos of Kaktovik, State of Alaska, having a common body of residence, in order to promote our welfare through the development- of governmental and economic enterprise, do establish this Constitution and Bylaws."

With this preamble, the Inupiat Eskimo who were traditionally nomadic and who had identified themselves as inhabitants of a territorial region declared their intentions to adopt new and formal institutions. They declared that they would be known as residents of a permanently fixed community. They acknowledged a political relationship to external governmental systems. They proclaimed their intent to establish a democratic form of government. They announced their acceptance of an economic system based on cash.

Kaktovik was an ancient site which had been used on a seasonal basis-by the Inupiat who were known as the Kaktivigmiut Inupiat. They would gather to fish, to meet, and to trade with Inupiat from Barrow and Canada. Kaktovik had its beginnings as a permanent community in 1923 when a few Inupiat families began to settle around a trading post newly established at the site. It was not until the period between 1950 and 1960 that the village became firmly established. The U.S. Bureau of the Census indicates that population jumped from 46 in 1950 to 120 in 1960. It was during this period that the U.S. Air Force established the Distant Early Warning (DEW-Line) radar network station.

The actions of the Air Force also served as an impetus for the Kaktivigmiut to organize a council formally. Upon its arrival, the Air Force informed the residents that they would have to move their village immediately. According to Nielson (1977), the villagers had no choice and could do little to protest. Very few spoke English and many of the children, even some as old as 14, had never seen a white man before the arrival of the military. Nielson reports one villager's recollection of the event:

No one knew what this WAS about, or why.
We were just told to move....If I had known
English then, as I do now, I would have
fought to keep the village....We got nothing
for having to move.

The move WAS the first in a series of three forced relocations by the Air Force and the beginning of the village's interactions with external institutional agencies. However, it wasn't until the final move of the village that the residents had formed a governing IRA council and were involved in the decision-making process. Nielson reports that Herman Rexford, president of the village council discussed the relocation with the Air Force, the Bureau of Land Management, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the U.S. Public Health Service, and the Alaska State Division of Lands in 1962.

In 1964, the village WAS again uprooted for the third time in less than 20 years and moved to its new site overlooking the lagoon. The official name of Kaktovik was adopted and placed on the new United States Post Office trailer at the new site (Nielson , 1977).

X. FAMILIES

Households

In 1982, Worl described the Kaktovik Inupiat as being bound by a web of kinship and social, political and economic relationships which collectively served to integrate the community. Inupiat individuals were bound into these multiple relationships by a set of cultural values and ideologies integrating the social unit. Worl noted that they participated in a variety of common activities throughout the year, including subsistence activities and ceremonial feasting. A review of data contained in recent reports, such as the 1983 NSB Census, and our field investigation reveal that these patterns have persisted. Nothing of major consequence appears to have altered the characteristics described by Worl in 1982.

Burch (1975) has classified traditional Inupiat family units as domestic and local families. He described a domestic family as a single family which was comprised of a husband and wife and offspring including adult offspring and spouse. It was also common, he noted, to find grandparents as well as grandchildren in the household. He also described a second type of domestic family which included two or more siblings, their spouses and their children. Local families were described by Burch as large extended families dispersed among several households.

An analysis of the NSB Kaktovik census of July, 1983, reveals that the Kaktovik families are characterized by Burch's first type of domestic families (see Table 10-1). A greater

majority of households are occupied by husband, wife and offspring. The larger households which include approximately 1/4 of the Inupiat households also contain adult children, a surviving grandparent and/or grandchildren. Of the 39 Inupiat households (including the 4 in which an Inupiat female is married or living with a non-Inupiat), 27 are occupied by families of 3 to 9 members. Only 7 households contain one individual and 3 of them are from the same family.

TABLE 10-1

Kaktovik Household Composition, 1983

6 households with single males
1 household with single female
4 households with male/female couple
1 household with 2 related males
6 households with 3 family members
7 households with 4 family members
4 households with 5 family members "
2 households with 6 family members
3 households with 7 family members
2 households with 8 family members
3 households with 9 family members

Source: North Slope Borough

The construction of houses and the economic opportunities in Kaktovik have increased the ability of family members to disperse through several households. However, there is also an indication that a number of adult offspring prefer to remain in their parents' households. The need or value that non-Inupiat place on adults to maintain their own households does not appear to be

prevalent in Kaktovik. A NSB housing survey conducted by Alaska Consultants (1983) indicates that there are five standard and seven substandard vacant houses which would presumably be available for occupation if individuals desired to establish their own households. Employment opportunities in the community were also noted to be readily available and should not have been a factor in constraining adult offspring to move into their own house.

A phenomenon noted in the Kaktovik population is the sex differential between males and females which undoubtedly has affected the social organization of the community. The 1980 census indicates that males outnumbered females 54.5 percent to 45.5 percent. According to the 1980 census, there are 20 females and 30 males between the ages of 16 to 29. The greatest differential exists from ages 25 to 44 years. This age group represents the population which were sent to boarding schools in Southeast Alaska and in the Lower 48. Based on the educational history and age group distribution of females, Worl (1982) suggested that this differential maybe due in part to the females not returning to the community at the same rate as males after attending school outside of the region. A study by Bloom (1972) suggests that an outmigration of women from the villages can be attributed to an increasing number of marriages to non-Natives. It is of interest to note that the two single women households represent individuals who had married non-Inupiat and who returned home after a divorce. The household composition also reflects the disparity in the number of males and females. Six of

the seven households are single males and one household has two related males.

Another emerging phenomenon among Alaska Native women which was first noted in Worl's and Smythe's field study of the economic status of Native women (1983) was the appearance of single parent households headed by females. No stigma has been attached to single Inupiat females having children. Adoptions have been a common practice among the Inupiat or children are cared for by their grandparents. These are continuing practices among the Kaktovik Inupiat, but the suggestion of a new pattern is also evident. Single female parents are keeping their children and are maintaining their membership in their parents' households. More unusual is the appearance of households headed by single women which numbered three in the 1983 household census.

The movement of nuclear families into single-family dwellings accelerated during the 1979 to 1983 period with the further construction of the NSB housing and the income opportunities provided by the borough's CIP (which constructed most all the new houses in Kaktovik). The borough's housing program was designed to provide separate housing for all nuclear families. The NSB housing surveys also indicate that administrators assumed that adults should have a separate household apart from their parents. The data suggest that adult offspring, grandparents, and grandchildren remained part of larger households. The field research also reaffirmed earlier studies by Worl that domestic families are interrelated and interact with members of a larger extended or local family.

Extended Families

Jacobson's and Wentworth's genealogical study (1982) of Kaktovik indicated that the community is largely comprised of three interrelated families. The maintenance of the extended family has been repeatedly suggested as a basis for the persistence of the Inupiat culture. The recent studies by Jacobson and Wentworth, Libbey (1983) and Worl (1982) all give evidence of the persistence of a social unit variously called the extended family or local family. Kaktovik Inupiat continue to recognize kinship through at least three generations on both the mother's and father's side of the family. Names also reinforce kin ties or extend kin relationships to individuals who may in fact be non-related individuals. The compilation of the NSB Traditional Land Use Inventory (TLUI), which identified sites used historically by the Kaktovik Inupiat, also provided remarkable evidence of the extended kinship systems. The Inupiat resource persons who contributed to the TLUI provided considerable information about the extent and significance to which Inupiat recognize kin members.

No specific study has been conducted on the integration of extended family members; however, evidence in the economic, political and cultural institutions of the Kaktovik Inupiat attest to the presence of a unit known as the extended family. While members are united through a variety of mechanisms, the most prominent is associated with subsistence activities, in which cooperative efforts are initiated and in which communal undertaken and distribution of resources are the norm (Worl, 1979).

Communal subsistence activities continue to be significant in the lives of the Kaktovik Inupiat. The community as a whole continues to whale and return to the mountains in different seasons during the year.

XI. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Traditional and IRA Council

The literature indicates that the village council began to function as a formal institution during the 1950's. While they previously lacked a formally centralized governmental structure, the Inupiat did possess a traditional political system which governed their members and controlled individual behavior. Chance's (1966) research in Kaktovik in the 1950's and 1960's suggests that the traditional leadership was able to coalesce itself to establish a formally organized council. The federal government has recognized traditional forms of Alaska Native governments as having inherent governmental authority. Case, Alaska's leading scholar on Alaska Native Indian Law, cited the Indian legal theorist Felix Cohen on traditional Native governments. He states in his review of Alaska Native governments :

Perhaps the most basic principle of all Indian law, supported by a host of decisions herein-after analyzed, is the principle, that those powers which are lawfully vested in an Indian tribe are not, in general, delegated powers granted by express or implied consent of a limited sovereignty which has never been extinguished. Each Indian tribe begins its relationship with the Federal Government as a sovereign power, recognized as such in treaty and legislation (1984, p. 13).

ORGANIZATION

It was not until September 13, 1965, that the community formally elected to adopt a constitution and bylaws. The residents established themselves as the Native Village of Kaktovik under the authority of the federal Indian Reorganization Act of 1934,

as amended in 1936 to extend to Alaska. The Certification of Adoption indicates that 24 residents cast their ballot in favor of the constitution and one opposed its adoption. The IRA village council continued to function much like the traditional council. However, its constitution formally established the organization of the council, established the membership of the community, and outlined its basic powers.

The constitution provided for the election of a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer by adult members of the village. The constitution also limited membership in the community to those residents whose names appeared on a census roll. Children of resident members were also considered to be members in the village. New residents could become members if they were "adopted by the Council by a majority vote in its regularly called meeting." The council's powers included the right to deal with both the federal and state governments and their agencies or any person, firm, corporation and municipality on behalf of the village. The constitution also allowed the council, through resolutions, to levy dues, fees and assessments on village members for community purposes.

In the formative years, the council's activities were largely limited to domestic affairs. Chance (1966), noted that the council acted on common problems, such as the operation of the cooperative store, spring clean-up campaigns and civic improvements. He also noted a weakening of traditional methods of social control. He associated this with the weakening of extended family ties which was facilitated by greater economic independence and conflict in value orientation. The traditional politi-

cal processes associated with social sanctions, customary laws and norms were also operating a new . social context. A larger number of extended families were now permanently interacting and residing in one settlement rather than the former gathering of smaller numbers for limited periods at seasonal hunting, gathering, and trading sites. The residents of the community appear to have adopted the new form of organization and its functions with apparent success. However, the expectation that community members would comply with the new forms of social behavior (which had been defined by the council's regulations) was not as readily met. Chance (1966) reports that the council encountered its greatest dilemma in the area of law enforcement. The council had adopted regulations prohibiting the importation of alcohol, prohibiting gambling, mandating curfews and requiring the confinement of dogs, but was not always successful in enforcing them. The council lacked the revenues to hire a law enforcement officer. Faced with serious infractions, the council would call in the territorial police.

The council acted both as a legislative and judicial body. It enacted regulations and would, on occasion, bring offenders before it. Chance (1966) reports that the president or a council member would approach an individual who had disregarded a local regulation and remind him of the ruling and request his compliance. If the offender should persist in violating the regulation, he would be brought before the council and asked to account for his behavior. Punitive action was sometimes initiated, and if an offender continued his actions he would be

denied membership in the village and forced to leave the community.

As previously noted, the federal government had held that Alaska Native communities have inherent internal sovereignty (Case, 1984). The case in Kaktovik was less than that of a sovereign-to-sovereign relationship. In the early years of its presence, the Air Force dominated the lives of the Kaktivigmiut. It assumed jurisdiction over Inupiat land even before specific authorizing legislation was enacted and even though it officially recognized the possessor rights of the Inupiat (Nielson, 1977). The Air Force moved the village twice without the consent of the villagers. In the third relocation, the village council was allowed to participate, but it was made quite clear to the council that any decisions it made were subject to the approval of the Air Force. John R. Chambers, missionary of the Utkeagvik Presbyterian Church of Barrow, protested the domination of the Air Force in a letter to Colonel Richard Brennan, commander of the 4601 Support Wing at Kaktovik. He accused the Air Force of manipulating the local people: "You will note that the people have very little freedom concerning what they can and cannot do in their new village site." The Reverend Chambers was particularly concerned about the Air Force's apparent opposition to the construction of a new church building: "This is only one example of how the Air Force plans to limit what the people can do in the new village. As long as the village site remains Air Force property, the Air Force will continue to interfere in the life and freedom of our Eskimo friends" (Nielson, 1977).

INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGES TO OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

The council's contacts with outside institutions were primarily limited to federal institutions. Contact was generally in the form of the occasional visits by representatives of the external agencies to Kaktovik. Most often it meant that individuals would have to leave Kaktovik to participate in or obtain the services of these different institutions. The council had actively pursued the establishment of a school and had even constructed its own facility in anticipation of the arrival of a teacher. It wasn't until 1951 that the Bureau of Indian Affairs provided a teacher for the elementary grades. At that time it became one of the more important institutions actually present and operating in the community. Adults who were also anxious to learn English accompanied their children to school (Chanter 1966, p. 83). After completion of the elementary grades, students, in order to obtain a high school education, were required to leave the community to attend the BIA boarding school at Mt. Edgecumbe in Sitka in Southeastern Alaska.

The Alaska Native Service was responsible for providing health services. While a health facility was not actually established in Kaktovik in these early years, its residents became quite familiar with institutions providing health care. Tuberculosis was rampant among Alaska Natives. Chance (1966) reports that approximately 25 percent of the population were hospitalized for periods of up to two years. Of these, 6 percent were parents and more than 12 of the 50 Kaktovik adolescents had spent between nine months and two years in sanitariums in Alaska and in the state of Washington. He also indicates that by 1958 over 90

percent of the adult 'villagers had had at least one contact with a physician each year and many had been to the public health service hospital at Barrow for various medical reasons.

As previously noted, the village council established formal relationships with the locally based Air Force administration to discuss issues of mutual concern after 1965. Direct participation by the villagers in the Dew-Line station activities was, however, limited to employment. Other contact with the military also included the National Guard. The National Guard was a significant institution in the Arctic and western regions of Alaska. It provided a source of cash and an opportunity for the men to attend training camps outside of the village. An Inupiat who had risen through the ranks of the National Guard described its significance as he saw it to the researcher. He felt that there had been a decline in the men's traditional leadership roles which he attributed to the disappearance of the men's ceremonial houses. He noted that the men had no place to meet until the National Guard was established. He felt that the men regained their effectiveness as leaders when the National Guard was introduced. Chance (1966) had concluded that one of the factors which had contributed to the internal stability of the Kaktovik Inupiat and their adjustment to rapid change during this period was facilitated by the effectiveness of the traditional leadership.

RELATIONSHIP TO CITY COUNCIL

Although the village council's activities diminished considerably after the city council was formed in 1971, the village

council was not formally dissolved. The village elected to organize a city council under the authority of the state of Alaska and many of the functions which had been the responsibility of the village council were assumed by the city council. The city council would act on behalf of the village IRA as necessary. The city council also continued to receive just enough funds from the BIA, according to the city clerk, to purchase office supplies. The village council did not have any employees or provide any direct governmental services so the transition to the city council didn't immediately seem apparent in the community

Under the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act (P.L. 93-638), the village IRA council was entitled to contract with the federal government to provide services which are generally administered by the BIA and the PHS. On October 26, 1979, the city council, acting on behalf of the village IRA, passed Ordinance 79-8 authorizing and designating the Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope to perform all duties pursuant to P.L. 93-638 retroactively effective from October 1, 1977, to September 30, 1981. On January 10, 1980, the city council minutes indicate that nominations were made from the council for one member to represent Kaktovik on the ICAS board. On March 20, 1980, a long-time resident and member of the National Guard was authorized to represent Kaktovik. He was replaced by a woman the following year. There is no evidence that ICAS provided any services to Kaktovik which it had contracted from the BIA to administer.

During the September 20, 1983, regular city council meeting, according to the minutes, a telegram from U.S. Senator Ted Stevens was transmitted to the council via phone. Senator Stevens informed the council that the village of Barter Island is designated "as an entity which exercises government functions for the purpose of P.L. 97-473, the Indian Tribal Government Tax Status Act of 1982." The telegram was consistent with President Reagan's 1983 Indian Policy Statement and his Economic Recovery Program. Reagan's Indian policy acknowledged the existence of Indian tribal governments and reaffirmed the government-to-government relationship between Indian tribes and the United States. To implement his Indian Policy, Reagan initiated a series of reforms to strengthen tribal self-government and to enable tribal governments to resume control over their affairs and to promote the economic development within the community. Reagan promoted the passage of the Indian Tribal Governmental Tax Status Act of 1982, to which Senator Stevens' telegram referred. It would provide tribal governments with the same revenue raising and saving mechanisms which previously have been accorded only to state and local governments. Under this act, Native governments could generate revenues for essential governmental functions and stimulate economic growth in their villages.

The city council had a year earlier discussed, according to the October 18, 1982, minutes, the possible re-formation of a separate tribal council apart from the city council. The council records and interviews do not give any evidence that the IRA council was activated. It may be assumed that the city council together with the NSB was providing the necessary governmental

services that the residents needed and that the villagers saw no benefit to reactivate its tribal government. Within the last three years, tribal governments throughout the state have been quite active. This activity was stimulated by the fear of the loss of lands held by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act corporations in 1991. In that year, the restriction on the sale of stock will be removed. Many Natives have expressed fear that non-Natives will acquire the stock and control over Native land. There are no indications that the village IRA has joined this effort or has become involved in the United 'Tribes of Alaska which is a federation of traditional and IRA councils organized in 1983.

On November 15, 1983, the city council mayor was recorded in the minutes as noting that Kaktovik did not have a formally constituted IRA council. He was apparently responding to an villager who requested to represent Kaktovik on the ICAS board. However, it is interesting to note that the mayor also told the individual that he couldn't represent Kaktovik since the representative had to be a resident of Kaktovik. The individual was advised that he was not considered a resident. His family originated from Kaktovik, but it is unclear whether the individual had only returned to Kaktovik recently or was living in the community. He had not been in Kaktovik long enough to be considered a resident according to the old village membership criteria (his name does not appear on the 1983 census).

The City Council

ORGANIZATION

In early 1971, Kaktovik incorporated itself as a 4th class city council under state municipal laws. Several months later it was reclassified as a 2nd class city. The municipal government was to be known as the "City of Kaktovik." The city council functioned in most respects like the federal village council. The city council, in fact, became the primary governing body in the community and acted in behalf of the village council (Worl, 1982).

Perhaps the most striking differences between the village and city councils were the memberships. The village council had designated itself as the "Native Village of Kaktovik," and as previously noted, had limited its membership to those whose names appeared on a census role and were approved by the council. Under the state of Alaska's legislative authority, any citizen of the United States who had resided in Alaska for a period of one year and for 30 days within Kaktovik was eligible to vote in city elections and entitled to reside in the community. While the state laws opened the community to non-Inupiat, the restrictive language in Section 8.3 of Ordinance No.1, Providing for the Organization and Procedures of the City of Kaktovik, potentially limited the participation of the Inupiat. Section 8.3 required that voters be able to "read or speak the English language." Article XV, Section 23 of the Alaska Constitution allowed for an exception to the English requirement if the individual had legally voted in the general election of November 4, 1924. While the

young adults had been exposed to English, many of the elder residents had only abandoned their nomadic lifestyle less than 20 years prior to the formation of the city council and had continued to speak Inupiaq. Certainly none of them had voted in the 1924 election. Fortunately, the English requirement was never enforced.

Of greater significance was the adoption of a form of government which opened the community to non-Inupiat members. The village council had limited access to the community. Chance (1966) reports that the village council would prohibit undesirables from the Dew-Line station from the village. Under the state government., this would no longer be legally possible. However, in a later discussion, it will be noted that the city council was able to develop other mechanisms that served to limit development, in the community.

Another difference between the village and city councils was in the area of judicial powers. Traditional and IRA governments have the authority to act as a judicial body and, as has been noted, the Kaktovik village council on occasion did act in this capacity. The advantage of this form is that individuals are judged according to the standards and value system in which they are a member. Under state laws, the legislative and judicial powers are vested in separate entities. The city council can act only as a legislative and policy body. The state of Alaska has never to date established a court system in Kaktovik. Civil and criminal cases must still be held outside of the community. Until a few years ago, individuals were required to go to court in Fairbanks. A study by the Alaska Judicial Council which

discovered in 1978 that Alaska Natives were receiving sentences that were twice as long as non-Natives, may in part have led to the establishment of a court system in Barrow and to the appointment of a judge who has considerable knowledge of the Inupiat cultural system.

MEMBERSHIP

Like the village council, the city council was governed by seven elected members. The city council would then appoint from its membership a mayor who would serve as the chief administrative officer. The city council also had the authority to appoint a city clerk, city treasurer, and chief of police. The city council had the authority to levy a sales tax not to exceed 3 percent on all retail sales and services in the city, but not a tax on the real or personal property of any person.

A review of the councilmen reflects a remarkable stability and close kin relationships among the members. During the years from 1980 to 1983, a total of 13 different individuals served on the council for the following number of years:

2 members served 4 years
4 members served 3 years
2 members served 2 years
5 members served 1 year

The council elected the same person as mayor during those four years and appointed the same city clerk. The membership was dominated by men. Four of the members, one of whom was non-Inupiat, were married to sisters. Three of the 13 council members were non-Inupiat males. Two of them were married to Inupiat and both served three of the four years. A third non-Inupiat served

on the council for one of these four years. During this time period, two of the council members were females, one of whom served two years and the other one year.

SOURCES OF REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES

The city council received and expended very little funds in the early years after its incorporation. By the mid-1970's, however, the NSB was providing most of the governmental services and the council apparently saw no need to deliver other services or pursue additional funding. In August of 1978, the council had passed Ordinance 78-2 repealing its sales tax. On occasion it received funds of which the council had no previous knowledge. For instance, the council records indicate that in 1979 it had received \$15,000 from PHS, but no instructions on how to spend it. In 1980, the council received \$5,042.00 from the BIA which it elected to spend on a "kanechuk" (an enclosed entryway) for the small hut which housed the single telephone in the village. The balance of \$2,000 was allocated for a boat dock to be constructed at some time in the future. For the most part, most of the council's funds were limited to grants and were often not expended but put into a savings account.

The council's revenues increased substantially in the early 1980's with the increasing state wealth and the increasing influence of the Bush legislators. In FY 1979-1980, Kaktovik's annual budget was under \$35,000. By FY 1981-1982, its total revenues jumped to \$113,021.05. The greater portion of these funds were received from the state municipal assistance, municipal aid and state revenue sharing programs.

In FY 1983-1984, Ordinance 83-01 show that its budget was \$210,080.10. Table 11-1 reflects the source of revenues and expenditures.

EMPLOYMENT

The only direct employment provided by the city council was its city clerk who was paid at a rate of \$17 per hour. Council members were paid a fee of \$20 for each regularly scheduled meeting they attended. Election judges were also paid by the council for local elections.

The council records indicate that the city council exercised considerable influence over employment in other areas. For example, the council appointed individuals who would serve as the health aides but who were actually employed by the NSB. They would also select the individuals who would attend paralegal aide training. Funds to hire individuals for different projects were also passed through the council. The village records indicate that the NSB would make funds available to the council to hire individuals to remove the honey buckets. Other job openings, such as with VECO, an oil field support company, or opportunities to earn cash with the department of transportation were announced through the city council. The minutes suggest that the council must have taken note of the fact that all the borough's PSO's in Kaktovik were non-Inupiat. In 1980, the records indicate that the public safety office reported to the council that its efforts to recruit Natives were not successful. The PSO's were all non-Inupiat.

TABLE 11-1

Kaktovik City Budget, 1983-1984
Ordinance 83-01

Revenues

Federal Revenue Sharing	2, -761.00
State Revenue Sharing	16,821.00
Miscellaneous*	181,259.10
Not accounted for in budget	239.00
Total Revenues	\$210,080.10

Expenditures

Council	\$ 7,280.00
Administration and Finance**	40,850.00
Parks and Recreation	3,000.00
Payroll Taxes	3,000000
unexpected	46,950.10
Community Building Overrun	100,000.00
Total	210,080.10

*Miscellaneous Revenues

Interest Earnings	1,028.35
Building Rental	16,000000
Carry-over Previous Year	156,950.75
unexpected Revenue	7,280.00
Total	181,259.10

**Administration and Finance

Salaries	20,000000
Travel & Per Diem	2,000.00
Equipment	.4,000.00
Supplies	500.00
Utilities	4,000.00
Telephone	800.00
Insurance	1,000.00
Building Maintenance Repairs	.5,000.00
Advertising	100.00
Membership Dues, Fees	250.00
Elections	500.00
Contractual Services (audit, assessors, legal fees)	2,500.00
Total	40,850.00

Source: Kaktovik City Council Records

Approval and promotion of business development% in the community appears to be another council function. The council minutes indicates that individuals desiring to establish new businesses have appeared before the council to request permission to "apply for a business license." The records indicate that the council gave "no objection to legitimate business," but in one case did not that one of the proposed businesses was a "curious nature of business." It was learned that the applicant intended to open an arcade. Few of the residents had any familiarity with arcades. It was the first and thus far remains the only one in Kaktovik. It was proposed by a non-Inupiat who was married to an Inupiat female. The council has also supported the expansion of a local airlines company to operate between the North Slope Borough and the Canadian Yukon and Northwest Territories. It also pursued the establishment of a banking facility when a shortage of cash and problems with cashing checks in the village was noted. Council members suggested doing something through the village corporation or requesting a bank to come to Kaktovik.

ACTIONS

The city government does not provide any direct Services, but it does act in numerous ways on behalf of the community and to promote its interest. For instance, as late as 1975, the community was without telephone service. The council minutes indicate that in 1975 an emergency occurred and the community was forced to dispatch a "foot runner" to the Dew-Line to make an emergency telephone call. After this occurrence, the council requested RCA to install a telephone in the community. It was

not until 1975 that a phone was installed in the center of the village in a small shed. In 1979, the council passed a resolution requesting the Arctic Slope Telephone Association Cooperative to provide telephone services for the community. It was not until 1982 that phones were actually installed in individual homes. In the same year, the council also initiated action to see if the community could have cable television.

The city council also acted on issues which affected the daily lives of its residents, such as those relating to dog problems, poor mail delivery, curfews, its 15 mph speed limit and its perennial "honey bucket" disposal. The council minutes indicate that community members would come to the council to request its assistance on variety of matters, such as finding out who was responsible for the destruction of personal property.

One of the council's favorite projects was its community center. The minutes indicate that the community center commanded much attention in the council. It also became an issue between the city and the NSB. In 1980, the council directed that efforts be made to negotiate with the NSB about CIP funds for the center, but only if Kaktovik continued to have control over the project. While the council allowed the NSB to construct many public facilities, such as the fire station and health clinic, it was adamant in its decision that the NSB would not take over control of the community center. The council began to set aside municipal funds for its eventual construction. The discussions have continued through the years, but to date, the center remains a dream.

LAND

After abandoning a nomadic lifestyle, establishing a permanent settlement followed by three forced relocations of the community site, the Kaktovik Inupiat came to have some different meanings of the significance of land within the confines of the permanent settlement. The Inupiat's aboriginal claim to ownership of the land was never disputed, but it was preempted by the U.S. Air Force.

The Air Force occupation of Barter Island began in the late 1940's presumably under the authority of the prosecution of the war effort. It wasn't until 1951 that Kaktovik was officially withdrawn as a military reserve by the U.S. Secretary of the Interior. By this order, the Air Force assumed control of 4,500 acres or essentially the entire surface area of Kaktovik (Nielson, 1977). The order recognized the rights of the Inupiat to mine coal, hunt and use the land in their customary manner and their possessor rights or claims providing that such rights were not inconsistent with military requirements.

It was not until 1964 that the Kaktovik townsite (U.S. Survey 4234) was surveyed. The Kaktovik townsite as it exists in its present form was patented to the Townsite Trustee in the U.S. Bureau of Land Management in 1967 (Alaska Consultants, Inc., 1983). The concept of individual legal title was introduced at this time. Residents were able to apply for title to land on which their homes were located. Most chose to hold their land in a restricted status, held in trust by the BIA. The council records indicate that some effort was made to educate the applicants about their first title to land. They were provided infor-

mation about the rights and limitations of restricted title (Table 11-2). In 1983, approximately 6 acres or 26 lots were held in a restricted status (not subject to taxation or regulatory codes adopted by the traditional or IRA council).

The city of Kaktovik's corporate limits encompass approximately 1 square mile. However, over half of this area is within the jurisdiction of the Dew-Line Station or the village corporation. The remaining area within the original townsite survey and the Kaktovik Subdivision (made available by Public Land Order 5448 on November 20, 1974) totals 278 acres. Of this acreage only 32 have been actually developed. The primary use of the developed acreage within the corporate limits of the community has been for residential purposes. Over 13 acres or 42 percent of the developed acres have been used for residential purposes and less than 1 acre was in commercial use. The remaining developed area was utilized for public purposes, such as roads, the school, church, post office, fire station and health clinic (Alaska Consultants, Inc., 1983).

The Air Force historically controlled land development on Barter Island until the city council acquired its townsite. While the Air Force land holdings still affect the villagers, an analysis of the City of Kaktovik records indicate that the council initiated a series of actions which evolved into the system which ultimately allowed it to control the development within the limits of the city.

In the first few years after its incorporation as a state municipal entity, the city council readily conceded without

TABLE 11-2
Restricted Deeds

IF YOU HAVE A RESTRICTED DEED YOUR LOT AND LOTS ARE

1. Not subject to taxation in any form
2. Can be mortgaged with BIA approval
3. Income from property not taxable
4. BIA furnishes free management services involving leases, right-of-way, and other use purposes
5. Cannot be sold or encumbered without BIA approval
6. If individually owned and owner dies, the estate is probated by the Examiner of Inheritance for the Interior Department at a nominal cost.
7. Cannot be sold by the State to satisfy welfare liens.
8. Can be changed to unrestricted by application to and approval by the BIA.

IF YOU HAVE AN UNRESTRICTED DEED

1. Your lot is taxable.
2. You can do as you please with it without permission from anyone.
3. Cannot be changed to a restricted deed.

Source : Kaktovik City Council Records

any financial considerations lots to other organizations, such as the USE Post Office, the ArcticSlopeRegional Corporation, and " the North Slope Borough. While the council did not have an established policy on land disposals it did attach stipulations to the conveyances. They were made for specific purposes and contained a reverter clause if the lots were not used for the purpose for which the council had approved the conveyance. For instance, in 1973, the city deeded "10 lots to the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation to construct new houses." It contained a reverter clause which would return the lots to the city if they were not used for houses. In like manner the city approved of the U.S. Bureau of Land Management Townsite Trustee's granting title to the U.S. Postal Service in 1974 with the same reverter clause.

A review of the resolutions and ordinances adopted by the city council from 1972 through 1983 indicates that 23 conveyances or leases were made. The North Slope Borough was by far the recipient of the most of the conveyances. The records indicate that 20 of the ordinances referred to ordinances conveying or leasing lots to the North Slope. Some of the actions involved multiple lots. The council also requested the townsite trustee to grant Trustee Permits to the NSB to construct and improve roads and trails. The majority of the lots were for houses and public facilities, such as the generation building, water storage tank, health clinic, fire station and the fuel storage tank. Some of the lots the city conveyed to the NSB were conveyances which had been received from the Kaktovik village corporation? such as for the high school and the water storage tank.

"meeting with the NSB. The NSB outlined its need for land for the Capital Improvement Projects. The borough emphasized that funds obtained from the sale of bonds could not be used for construction on land it did not own. The borough also requested lots for the construction of 16 additional houses. The records indicate that the city finally agreed to make the lots available if the NSB could provide the names of the residents, who desired rental housing. The NSB agreed that it would do a survey. The council passed a motion to sell the NSB land 52,168 sq. ft. at 30 cents per square foot which totaled \$15,650.00. During this same meeting, the council also agreed to sell the NSB a lot for the fire station at \$9,000.00. The council also added a stipulation calling for the right of first refusal if the land were to be resold.

By late 1982, it was standard practice for the council to sell lots to the NSB for the appraised value of the lots and to demand the right of first refusal in any resales. By 1983, the council indicated that it would provide land only for "valid persons desiring rental housing."

The council was familiar with the concept of enclave development in which outsiders are restricted to a defined area. Although the Dew-Line station was adjacent to the community, it remained separate from the community. This practice was also apparently applied to outsiders who worked for the NSB, such as that with the NSB dredging crew who lived in a camp away from the community. The council minutes also indicate that this same principle was to be applied to 'hikers' who were, by 1983, tra-

veling through the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in increasing numbers. During the summer of 1983, concern was expressed that hikers were camping everywhere, including areas that drained into the lake. The council moved to restrict the camper to one area.

In the early years of its development, the council did not have a formal policy dealing with the lease or sale of lots nor did it specifically set out to define who could obtain lots. Lots were conveyed without cost to the borough government. The council minutes indicate that in some cases a number of Kaktovik residents were able to lease their lots to the NSB. The borough would then construct houses for those individuals. The goals of the NSB and the residents appeared to parallel. The borough's CIP would construct roads, houses, and public facilities that the residents of Kaktovik desired. However, when the NSB began to accelerate its requests for lots, the council minutes indicate that a change in the attitude of the council was occurring. The council began to call for negotiation for lease or sale prices of the lots. Finally the council decided to actually charge the borough the appraised value of the lots. At the same time, the records indicate that the council was becoming cognizant of the relationship between lots and houses. Initially, the council conveyed lots noting only that it was for houses. Later the council began to demand to know who would actually occupy the houses, and finally the council adopted a position that it must actually approve of the purchasers or future occupants of the new houses. The effects of the council's position to convey lots contingent upon who inhabited the house becomes more apparent in the following discussion on housing.

HOUSING

The construction of new houses under the borough's CIP has had multiple effects on various social and economic components within the society. These include the family relationships and interpersonal relationships, economic needs and stratification, and community membership.

Prior to the construction of the NSB housing, Kaktovik had approximately 30 single-family structures. Most of these older houses were built from makeshift or salvaged materials. Families which occupied these houses owned their own homes without any financial indebtedness. It was not until the early 1970's that residents were introduced to purchasing homes with long-term financing under the Alaska State Housing Authority. Seven houses were built under this program.

By 1975 plans were underway by the NSB to build 13 new homes. The city council advised the borough in 1979 that it was opposed to the construction of any multifamily or four-plex apartment buildings, such as were constructed in Barrow. The council advised the NSB that the community wanted a mix of one-, two-, and three-bedroom single units. It was not until 1981 that the city actually passed an ordinance informing the borough that the city must approve of the purchasers of any NSB houses. During the following years, the records indicate that the council approved of specific individuals who would be allowed to purchase the houses. The records read, "No objection to ----- being selected to occupy NSB house," "----- selected to occupy NSB house." The council files reflect that the council

actually approved of all individuals who were allowed to occupy NSB houses except for the six houses occupied by NSB employees which included the public safety officers and teachers. During the construction phase, the minutes indicate that the council expressed concern about "Blackstock rentals all over town." The council decided to write to the NSB to request that Blackstock construction "staff be consolidated [in one area]."

Fifteen of the houses were purchased by the residents under the Mutual Help ownership program. The records indicate that two individuals were not eligible because of their high income. The council apparently did not approve of residents being denied access to the NSB houses and requested a meeting with NSB housing. As a result, the individuals were not denied NSB houses.

The records indicate that the NSB was unable to locate a financial program leading to home ownership for the nine rental houses. The borough also advised the council that rent payment could not apply towards a purchase of the houses which were being rented. The council records are replete with questions and complaints about home ownership, maintenance, and the rent being "too high." During a September, 1982, special meeting with NSB representative, the council pointed out to the borough that the city was "not consulted about the types of houses or size that were needed in Kaktovik." The borough responded to the complaints that it would do a survey. "

The council initiated measures through the allocation of jobs, lots and houses to control development and to define membership within the community. It initiated action to say who

could live in the new houses, it moved to consolidate temporary residents into one area, and it restricted where hikers who were passing through the village could camp. However, it should be noted that the council's effort to limit membership in the community could be altered with the sale or loss of the NSB houses. The NSB houses were constructed on unrestricted lots and do not have the same protection as property on restricted title. Individuals who purchased the NSB houses are bound to monthly payments or face the loss of their land and houses. As previously noted, restricted title is inalienable. The residents and home owners have had access to a fairly stable and high wage job market since the construction of the new houses. Should this condition change, the potential exists for residents to lose their new homes.

INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGES

North Slope Borough.

The city council's interrelationships with other institutions are probably the most intense with the NSB. NSB-related business consumes a significant portion of the city council agenda items in terms of land, housing, services and employment, and membership on various committees and commissions. While the NSB programs are administratively controlled by the Barrow office; programs and services, such as the schools, public safety and the search and rescue organization in turn affect the institutional development within Kaktovik.

Services.

Although many of the governmental services are provided by the NSB, the council maintains a strong interest in the quality of their delivery and that they are "consistent with city wishes." The council has also had significant influence in the introduction and the delivery of the various services to Kaktovik: the city must convey the land to the NSB on which it can then construct such things as the water storage tank, power generation, roads, health clinic, fire station and educational facilities. On occasion, the NSB will advise the council that facilities and services are available for which no record or evidence exists that Kaktovik ever requested or needed such a facility. As an example, in early March, 1980, the NSB advised the council that a women-in-crisis facility was available for Kaktovik. The council also directly requested the NSB to expand its services or provide additional funds for the city to provide such services as garbage and honey bucket or sewage removal. The council also requested the NSB to provide it technical assistance. For example, in October, 1982, the city requested the NSB assist the council in understanding bonding issues. As might be assumed, questions often arise over facilities which may be constructed by the borough with funds granted to the city and constructed on a city lot. One such facility was the bulk fuel storage facility which was made even more complex when the city council agreed to lease the fuel storage to the village corporation.

Public Safety Office.

Although no formal institutional relationship exist between the council and the NSB in the administration of the Kaktovik Public Safety Office, the council has taken an active interest in the PSO. This may in part be due to the public safety personnel who will regularly make reports to the council advising it of equipment received. The council then acts upon the report through a motion to accept. The council will also regularly request additional equipment such as trucks and boats for the Kaktovik PSO. The council reviews the PSO budget and has opposed any proposed NSB cutbacks.

● As noted earlier, the council has supported local Native hire in the PSO without any success. The PSO suggested two possible reasons. Apparently, a policy exists that if a PSO is hired from one village, he will be transferred outside of his village to another North Slope community. One difficulty an officer cited about keeping an officer in his home village, is that he is related in one way or another to everyone else in the village and enforcing the law becomes difficult. He also suggested that the residents do not like to leave their village.

● The second reason was attributed to the high wages individuals could earn in a short season in construction or on the dredge as opposed to the PSO salary.

Two officers are assigned to Kaktovik. Nearly all officers are from the Lower 48, which may account for the high rate of turn-over in the village. Kaktovik public safety officers generally stay a year. One officer, indicating that he and his family preferred Kaktovik over Barrow, cited the friendliness of

the community. In spite of the difference in lifestyle, which he acknowledged existed, he reported that his wife and children liked the village and intended to make it their home. He noted that interracial problems seemed to be absent in the community. He reported an incident in which someone had called an officer a "honkey" and asked what he was doing in the village. The community members were obviously upset with this hostile display and closed the dance down.

The institutional presence of the PSO in Kaktovik is clearly defined by a PSO office in the center of the community, by officers who wear uniforms and by trucks that are clearly marked with the NSB decal. While public safety officers are provided a \$600 to \$700 housing allowance in Barrow, PSO's in Kaktovik are provided houses as part of their benefits, but have to pay for their utilities. According to the PSO, an officer's work week is five days with usually five to six hours a day, but they are on call otherwise.

The PSO indicated that its office averages 15 to 20 calls a month. Most nights there are no problems, but sometimes there are calls all night. The calls coincide with the arrival of alcohol in the community. Approximately 70 percent of all calls are alcohol related and are generally limited to three or four identifiable families. He noted that with the close of one airline company and a decline in employment and cash income, the alcohol problems have all but ceased. He reported that he understood that the city council was thinking about adopting the state's local option law which would prohibit the importation of

alcohol into the community. He dismissed the value of the law since the enforcement agency is not legally able to do anything once the alcohol is in the community. According to this officer, the "law is a joke." He reported that in another North Slope community, officers could merely watch as intoxicated individuals "stumbled down the street."

Village Representatives.

Kaktovik is institutionally linked to the NSB through the programs and services provided by the NSB as well as through residents who serve on different NSB agencies, commissions, and committees or are directly employed by the borough programs within the village.

The borough is officially represented in the village by the NSB coordinator. Most often the village coordinators are individuals who held petty officer's rank in the National Guard. In the past they have been tied to individuals in the central NSB office who had a higher rank in the guard than the coordinator. This relationship served to strengthen the ties between the NSB and the villages in the early years of the NSB, but it has become less important as the influence of the guard diminished in the 1979-83 period. This is evidenced by the recent appointment of women and men who had never served in the National Guard to these positions in North Slope villages. The village coordinator was generally responsible for assisting other NSB personnel who came to the village on business and communicating messages to the city council. The position of the coordinator was apparently enhanced when the coordinator was also a member of the council. The

individual who has served as the village coordinator up until the October, 1984, borough election served three consecutive years on the council from 1981 to 1983.

The council was also quite influential in selecting the individuals who would sit on various NSB boards or commissions. This procedure made the individual an official representative of the council as well as a member of the particular body to which he or she was appointed. In 1982, Kaktovik was represented on the NSB School Board, History and Culture Commission and the Game Management Board. It did not have anyone from the community elected to the NSB Assembly. Although the records indicate that in 1983, the council recommended two individuals to be appointed to the planning commission, no one from the community was appointed. The community also lacked a representative on the language commission. Kaktovik, along with all the other whaling communities had a representative on the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission. The community had a representative on the NSB Health Board until it was dissolved by the health department. Kaktovik formed its own village health board comprised of four members.

In addition to the village coordinator and school personnel, the NSB employees included a housing maintenance person, equipment manager, two health aides, fire chief and search and rescue coordinator. During construction season, the NSB will also hire villagers for the CIP. The number of positions vary depending on the number and phase of the CIP.

Oil Industry.

The city council records reflect that petroleum development was an agenda item that was increasingly discussed in the village council in 1978 and required meeting with representatives of the oil industry and government officials. On April 4, 1978, 38 persons signed Resolution 78-1 which opposed "any drilling or other oil development activity in Beaufort Sea." The council further demanded that the government hold formal hearings in which the council and residents could express their position about oil development. It also requested that the government initiate educational programs to inform the villagers about the effects of oil development and oil spills. Throughout the remaining year, the council initiated a number of actions relating to the proposed Beaufort Sea development. The minutes indicate that an alliance among the coastal communities was beginning to form around the issues of offshore development. Representatives from Barrow and Nuiqsut attended a city council meeting on November 23, 1979, which resulted in the passage of Resolution 79-9. The resolution authorized Michael Jeffries with the Alaska Legal Service Corporation to include Kaktovik in the lawsuit initiated by the Barrow village corporation that was seeking to stop OCS development.

The village records indicate that the council was totally opposed to offshore development. A series of resolutions were passed opposing all development activities. From 1978 to 1982, those resolutions included opposition to the construction of artificial islands for drilling purposes in the Beaufort Sea, SOHIO's drilling, a mud-cutting experiment on sea ice, the con-

struction of gravel pads for Sag Delta 7&8 wells, Exxon's proposed Duck Island No. 3, and Point Thompson No. 5 projects. The council minutes also indicate that the Alaska Legal Service lawyer was reporting regularly to the council outlining the progress of its law case opposing the first Beaufort OCS lease sale.

The records suggest that by 1980, the council was gaining a sophisticated understanding about an issue and its process about which they had no previous experience. The council not only opposed offshore oil activity in Resolution 80-6 enacted on May 13, 1980, but it also insisted that the government was obligated to hold "adequate public hearings" on drilling in the Beaufort Sea. The council also advised the governmental **permitting** agencies that it would not accept industry' sponsored informational meetings which were held in the village public hearings.

The council's opposition to Beaufort Sea OCS development continued even after the industry's informational meetings and attempts by the industry to appease the community. In July, 1980, the legal service attorney reported to the council that SOHIO made a settlement offer and would do "anything reasonable that was in its power" if the village would drop its legal opposition. The council minutes indicate that the NSB mayor reported that Tim Bradner of SOHIO said that the oil companies would be willing to fund bowhead whale studies for the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission and that they would also be willing to give villagers jobs. According to the village records, Bradner provided a letter for Mayor Brower to sign to have the village drop

its opposition to drill inside the barrier islands. After discussion, the council voted unanimously to instruct its attorneys to continue to fight offshore drilling both inside and outside the barrier islands.

The council's opposition to Beaufort Sea development continued through 1982. It enacted resolution after resolution on seasonal drilling restrictions and indefinite delays of Lease Sale 71 Diapir Field. Alaska Legal Service, according to the minutes, provided much of the technical support for the council to pursue its legal opposition until it finally lost the case.

The council records also indicate that a representative of the oil industry began to make repeated appearances before the city council. The purpose apparently was to enhance relationships between the industry and community. The various oil companies would outline their future development plans. In one meeting, SOHIO requested the council assistance in promoting the interest of students in working for the oil industry. One of the oil companies hired a former Inupiat resident to represent its interests. The records indicate she scheduled meetings, attended council meetings with oil representatives and in one meeting stressed the necessity of the council to communicate with the oil industry.

The council's opposition to oil development also included onshore development activities. However, it appeared not to be as intense or to involve as much council activity as did offshore development. Outside of requests to the Inuit Circumpolar Conference and the North Slope Borough to oppose and lobby against oil development in the caribou calving grounds, the council

appearstohave tak en little act ion. More often, the records indicate that the council did not comment on environmental impact statementsbecause it didn't have enough time toor, as in the case ofthe waterflood project, didn't know enough about it.

The council's opposition to offshore and onshore oil developmentwas related toits concern for the protection ofwildlife habitat and subsistence. The council records indicate that it was particularly concerned for the bowhead whale and caribou. It called for the North Slope Borough to initiateaction to insure the projection of thebowhead whale. Thirty-six residents also signed a petition in June, 1978, opposing the opening of tile Porcupine Caribou Herd calving ground to oil exploration.

The community called for congress to sponsor an international meetingbetween the United States and Canada to adopt a convention to conserve the migratory caribou herd. The council outlined the following principles which should be contained in the Convention:

1. The management should be limited to the Porcupine Caribou Herd and its habitat.
2. To conserve the herd so as to meet the continuing subsistence needs of the local people.
3. To establish a commission to be composed of four members from each country. The U.S. delegation should include one representative from Kaktovik.
4. An advisory committee would be established to include one village representative.
5. Strong habitat protection.
6. Limit overall take when necessary.
7. Subsistence priority over any other use.

The council records indicate that one of its members was extensively involved in pursuing a caribou treaty. He represented the communities in meetings with the Athabaskans who also hunted from the Porcupine Caribou Herd. After his meetings in the Athabaskan village at Fort Yukon or his meetings in Washington, D. C., he would make reports to the village council. Efforts are still being made to pursue the adoption of a caribou treaty between the two-countries.

The city council initially acted as an advisory committee to the state's game board until a formal committee was established. In October, 1979, the council discussed the idea of establishing a Kaktovik Committee of Fish and Game. A city council member was also appointed by the NSB to sit on its game committee.

Representatives from the Alaska Department of Fish and Game and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife would also meet with the council to discuss harvest levels for various species. The council minutes indicate that agency representatives reported on the results of wildlife and habitat research. In one case, the minutes indicate that the council requested the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to "help us get rid of [polar] bears." Common subsistence interests was another reason for representatives from the different North Slope villages to meet.

XII. FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS

Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation

ABORIGINAL LANDS

The Inupiat have traditionally identified themselves as inhabitants of a specific geographic region. The ancestors of the present-day Kaktovik Inupiat were known as the Kaktivigmiut. Their social organization evolved around the common occupation and utilization of an established territory. As nomadic people, dependent on a hunting and fishing economy, they moved within these defined areas in pursuit of wildlife. They developed both an economic dependence on and cultural attachment to their land and resources. Jacobson and Wentworth (1982) describe Kaktovik's present subsistence area as including the northern part of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, south into the Brooks Range to the headwaters of the Hulahula River. The Kaktovik Inupiat also utilize the coastal area west of the refuge to Flaxman Island and Bullen Point and occasionally to the Shaviovik River and Foggy Island. Some present-day Kaktovik inhabitants once lived and hunted extensively east of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge into Canada.

While the United States recognized the aboriginal claims of the Kaktivigmiut Inupiat to the northeast corner of Alaska, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 would transfer fee-simple title to the Kaktovik Inupiat a significantly smaller area. ANCSA did not convey title to the Kaktovik Inupiat's tribal government. Instead the act called for the creation of a

corporate entity to hold the land. The village corporation was to receive the funds to which the indigenous population was entitled for the ex.anguishing its aboriginal title to lands it surrendered to the United States.

SHAREHOLDERS

Under the terms of ANCSA, tribal members were to be enrolled as shareholders in the new village corporation. Approximately 115 Inupiat enrolled as shareholders of the Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation (KIC) which in the early 1970's nearly equaled the total population of the community. Unlike the indigenous tribal entity and the tribal IRA council which allowed a perpetual membership through the inclusion of all children born to or adopted by tribal members, the ANCSA organization allowed only those individuals who were alive in 1971 to become corporate members. Children could become members (or shareholders) only if they inherited the shares of deceased members.

The newly established village corporate system is beginning to alter the social organization of the community through the exclusion of a segment of the Inupiat population and the creation of an unequal political and economic status among its membership. Approximately 50 Inupiat residents are not members of KIC. Children born after 1971 who have not inherited shares are not members of KIC. Today most all children who are 14 years and under are not members of the village corporation. The children, all students, appear to be optimistic that they will ultimately obtain membership either through amendments to ANCSA which would alter this restriction on their membership or that they will

inherit shares. Several of the students are preparing themselves to participate in the corporation by taking courses in school which focus on business management and by doing field study in the KIC offices.

Most all Inupiat who were living outside of Kaktovik during the enrollment period are also excluded from membership in the village corporate entity. One Inupiat who returned to live with her family in Kaktovik expressed deep bitterness about her and her children's exclusion from participating in KIC. She reports that she, along with several other Kaktovik Inupiat who were either attending school or were in the military, were not advised that they had the option to enroll in KIC. Some village residents were relegated to an amorphous state categorized as "at larger shareholders." They are members in the regional corporation, but not a village corporation. These classes of shareholders are excluded from participating in village corporations. Another effect of ANCSA is the creation of an unequal membership status in the corporation. Some individuals own 100 share, others (through inheritance) own more than 100 shares, and others own less or none at all. The political and economic effects of this differentiated status appear to be negligible now. Unlike shareholders in many other Native corporations? village shareholders do not wage intensive campaigns to get on the village corporation's board of directors. Shareholders reported that those members who expressed an interest in being elected to the board of directors were generally successful. If the village corporation should attain greater prominence in the future, the number of shares an individual holds may become politically and

economically significant. Those individuals who have amassed a greater number of shares can be anticipated to have greater influence in corporate elections than those who have less shares. Families with a greater number of shareholders may also attain more political influence. This assumption may also be extended to the economic sphere. Those individuals with a greater number of shares will also receive greater economic benefits from the distribution of dividends. In 1984, KIC declared its first dividend at \$5.00 a share which totaled \$500 for most of the shareholders.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND MANAGEMENT

The membership of the Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation Board of Directors is characterized by the same stability as was found in the city council. From 1981 through 1984, a total of 11 different individuals have sat on the board of directors, which is made up of 7 members. Three of the individuals have served as directors throughout this entire period. Four individuals have served for two years and the remaining four have served one year. The board appears to be dominated by two families who are inter-related through kinship or marriage. Women have been well represented on the board, since two to three women serve on the board each year. Their ages range from young adults to those who are considered elders.

Management does not run its own slate. Instead Candidacies are nominated from the floor during the annual elections. One shareholder who has attended all the annual meetings reported that he has never seen anyone campaign to be elected to the board

of director.

After the board elections, the directors will select a president, vice-president, treasurer and secretary from among the elected board members. Archie Brewer has served as the board president for the past four years. The president is a paid staff member. The salary, currently \$26.50 per hour, is set by the board. The position is full-time and includes the duties of the land chief. President Brewer reports that the only time he is not in the office is when he leaves the village "to attend meetings or to go whaling." The board treasurer is also a salaried position. The current treasurer, who also serves as the office manager, is paid \$24.50 per hour. However, the treasurer does not automatically assume the duties of the office manager. According to the president, the duties depend on the skills of the individual who was elected to the treasurer's office.

BUSINESS INVESTMENTS

The primary business activities of KIC include selling through the Kikiktak Store and selling the fuel and snowmobile and outboard parts out of the KIC office. The grocery store was purchased from Mark Sims, a non-Inupiat who is married to one of the shareholders. The store is run by two employees. The KIC office, located in the old BIA school, also serves as the store for the sale of fuel and equipment parts. It is part of the KIC corporate operation and not a subsidiary. KIC employs four individuals; however, the work load does not appear to demand full-time employees. Employees appear to be able to develop their own schedule depending on the demands of the job. The president

reported that he had started the clerk as a full-time employee, but she found that she didn't have enough to keep her busy so she started to come into the office only in the afternoon. The president noted that when there is hardly any work, "it's up to them " whether or not they should come in.

KIC has an informal policy which allows employees to go subsistence hunting. The 'presidents reported, "We don't hold them. If they want to go subsistence hunting, they go. They call me, let me know. We don't hold them from subsistence hunting." KIC does not provide other benefit's, such as housing or discounts to its employees.

The board of directors also established an employment policy which gives first priority to its shareholders. KIC does not have any non-Inupiat employees, but it has on occasion hired Inupiat who are shareholders from other village corporations. The president explained that some individuals were actually viewed as "our people," but they were living in other villages during the enrollment period and were enrolled to those villages. He notes that they have been trying to change their enrollment to Kaktovik which they view as their home. When the corporation has job openings, it puts up a notice. Kin relationship to board members or the president does not preclude an applicant from employment if she or he is qualified and eligible. The president remarked that at one time he had both his son and daughter working for the corporation as a laborer and secretary respectively.

A few years ago, KIC subcontracted with Olympic Prefabricators, Inc., Seattle, to provide the supervision and labor to

construct the fire station. More recently, the corporation formed a joint venture with the Barrow-based Eskimo, Inc. to construct houses. The president also reported that KIC had never had a joint venture with Blackstock, the company that constructed most of the CIP's in Kaktovik. He noted that he was recently approached to joint-venture with Blackstock, but the village corporation preferred to go with Eskimo, Inc., which is a subsidiary of ASRC. One of the earliest activities of KIC was to provide laborers for VECO at Prudhoe Bay to make pilings.

Brower describes the village corporation's relationship with ASRC as "real good." ASRC has provided KIC with the necessary technical support. It assisted, for instance, in KIC's land selections and now maintains its accounting and shareholder files. It also provides all the annual meeting support, such as mailing proxies and compiling its financial reports. KIC pays ASRC for these services. According to the president, KIC recently entered into an agreement with ASRC and Chevron to do seismic work through the winter about 14 miles east of Kaktovik. He noted that last year the shareholders didn't say anything about oil development, but, he added, "I don't know what they're going to say this year."

KIC has its own attorney (who also serves as the NSB school district attorney). The president indicated that the attorney wanted the corporation to set up a contract, but "it cost us too much" and "we pay him as we use him." Most of the work done by the attorney relates to land, and according to Brewer, he works closely with ASRC. He indicated that ASRC contacts its attorney when it needs him.

LAND ENTITLEMENTS

Under the terms of ANCSA, Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation is entitled to 92,162 acres of land in the Kaktovik area. Its selections are, however, affected by the village's location within the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) which has led to a series of complex transactions and exchanges. ANWR is comprised of 1.4 million acres extending from the Brooks Range to the Arctic Ocean and from the Canadian border to the Canning River. It includes Barter Island outside of the military withdrawal.

Selections within a national wildlife refuge system are subject to the laws and regulations governing use and development of national refuge lands. The United States has first right of refusal if any of these lands are ever sold. ANCSA limited land selections within a refuge to 69,120 acres and provided "in lieu" lands for entitlements beyond this acreage. However, the Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act (ANILCA) contained provisions to allow KIC to trade its deficiency lands outside the refuge system for land within ANWR. The U.S. Secretary of the Interior is authorized to convey all lands on Barter Island which were not properly selected by KIC before December, 1975, and were not included in the defense withdrawal in January, 1979. KIC selected 3,115 acres on Barter Island as part of its exchange. The corporation was allowed to select the remaining exchange acreage from lands contiguous to those previously conveyed under ANCSA. ANILCA also allowed ASRC to obtain subsurface rights to land selected by KIC in ANWR if public lands are opened for

commercial development of oil and gas within 75 miles of village-selected lands.

The following interim conveyances (IC) and patents have been extended to KIC:

IC	Date:	1/14/77	No. 052	Acreage:	481.7
IC	Date:	3/28/78	No. 085	Acreage:	22,812
Patent	Date:	1/14/77	No. 77-0046	Acreage:	65,292

The total interim conveyance and patent acreage totals 88,585.7 out its total entitlement of 92,162 acres. The remaining entitlement is 23,533 acres. The land records indicate that Charles Edwardson, Jr., known as Etok among the Inupiat, appealed the conveyance of KIC lands, stating that the corporation may not make selections without approval of the governing body of the Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope.

KIC is obligated to convey 1,280 acres to the City of Kaktovik for community expansion. However, the lands that the city would require to expand are held by the U.S. Air Force. KIC did transfer over 31 acres to the city council. The president of the village corporation indicated that some consideration had been given to conveying some lots to shareholders before transferring it to the city. However, he noted, "shareholders are not asking for lots."

KIC lands appear to have been selected for their potential petroleum value. Selection of land for the protection of subsistence did not appear to be a consideration. Although the community has previously opposed oil development because of the concern for the protection of the caribou, no opposition to corporate development activities has been noted.

Outside of the individual lots within Kaktovik and the village corporation lands, Inupiat individuals could also acquire land under a Native allotment. However, very few applications were filed prior to enactment of ANCSA which extinguished the right to apply for further land allotments. Only three applications were filed on Barter Island, but they have not been approved to date. Two of the allotments are 160 acres each and the third is a 40-acre parcel. Lands conveyed to individuals under Native allotments are restricted lands and are not subject to taxation or state, NSB or even city council regulations.

ANILCA, which opened ANWR to exploration for oil and natural gas, also provided for a cultural resource survey. Protection of identified sites is possible under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. While the Inupiat would not gain title to the 113 cultural resource sites identified in the survey, it does provide a hint of the Inupiat's extensive use of their land and another link to the cultural heritage of the Kaktovik Inupiat.

Kaktovik Schools

The school serves as the institutional base for another group of non-Inupiat. The NSB School District employs a total of 15 individuals (not including one vacant teacher-aide position: 12 are non-Inupiat, 3 are Inupiat, 7 non-Inupiat teachers, 3 maintenance men, 2 of whom are non-Inupiat and 1 Inupiat, and 2 custodians who are non-Inupiat. In addition to the Inupiat maintenance man, the school also employs an Inupiat teacher aide and cook. The cook is assisted by the wife of one of the maintenance men. The priority established by the school district

gives first preference to Inupiat and Native teachers and then to husband and wife teams who have had bush teaching experience. The school administration indicates that it has attempted to recruit Inupiat personnel but has been unsuccessful. The administration attributes this to the higher wages which are offered in the construction field. The Inupiat maintenance man has worked for the school for 16 years.

The husband-wife team was originally a necessity because of the housing Shortage. However, this is no longer the case in Kaktovik because of the extensive NSB housing construction. The school district is responsible for insuring that houses are available for the teachers, who must pay their own rent. The school district maintains four houses for the teachers and the chief of maintenance in Kaktovik. The second non-Inupiat maintenance person has an apartment adjacent to the NSB School District housing.

Another benefit of the husband-wife team appears to be a decrease in the teacher turnover rate. Teacher stability is viewed as a positive factor in student achievement. An earlier study of teachers in rural Alaska indicated that the average length of stay for a teacher was two years. The teachers who are currently in Kaktovik have been there for four and five years and expressed an intention to remain even longer. Teachers are also given two paid trips to Anchorage or Fairbanks. One teacher noted that they look forward to these trips. All the teachers spend their summers outside of Kaktovik. According to one teacher, they "go home or go to school." This coming summer, the

NSB School District will pay stipends for four teachers to attend summer school.

The teachers' lives are dominated by school activities. One teacher described their lives as consumed by school: "Most of our whole world is tied to teaching, there's not much outlet with the village . . . our activities are centered around school." He felt that Kaktovik would be intolerable without work, but he felt it was different for the Inupiat since they had their 'extended family and hunting." He also reported that teachers are dependent on each other: "We depend on each other and to a degree on the village . . . there's the church and other activities . . . activities which we sponsor for the village, such as ballgames and Christmas and Thanksgiving dinner." The children of the teachers reportedly do very well in Kaktovik both socially and academically. However, one teacher did send one of their children to a girls' school in California after she had attended school in Kaktovik for three years. They felt that she needed to see more of the "outside world."

One teacher reported that a relationship between the Dew-Line and community was nonexistent. He noted that "they [Dew-Line] don't bother with the village, we can take field trips, but to socialize we? don't." He also indicated that teachers were once formerly invited out to the station, but "something happened" and this no longer occurs.

The teachers appear to be quite dedicated in their efforts for the students to achieve academic excellence. They also have high regard for their academic potential as described aptly by one 'teacher. "We have a group of students who are success

oriented; we sent three girls to the junior Close-Up Program. They excelled. Exceptional group." They expend considerable hours far beyond the normal teaching day working with students and preparing lessons for the next day. Kaktovik school has the reputation of being one of the best in the North Slope School District. Students score higher than other students in North Slope schools and most likely in the state, according to one teacher. He also noted that their national test scores are also competitive throughout the nation.

Social interaction with the villagers appears to quite friendly. Although the teachers do not apparently view Kaktovik as their home, they do participate in some of the community activities, such as those associated with fall whaling. The teachers also sponsor activities for the community. Some of the teachers go with the students to the Brooks Range during the spring break, but according to a teacher, "It's mostly a Native thing." One teacher also works with the elders who are responsible for sharpening the knives used to butcher the whale. Other teachers make doughnuts and bring them to the whaling camps. While the school is dominated by non-Inupiat, the school as an institutional structure appears to be accepted and supported by the Inupiat village residents. Although its institutional members do not identify Kaktovik as their home, they appear to have successfully adapted to the community during their nine-month residency period.

The Elders and the Presbyterian Church

The Kaktovik Presbyterian Church is a member church of the Ahmaogak Parish. The Barrow Presbyterian Church is called the Mother Church for the entire North Slope. One minister travels throughout the Ahmaogak Parish. However, for the greater part of the time the Kaktovik church is administered by the local deacon and six elders. Two members are elected each year by the church members. Elders serve a three-year term and a maximum of six years has been established. Elders can be reelected after they have been out of office for one year. The deacon is elected from the membership of the elders.

The office of elders is not associated with age although most of the elders are in fact senior citizens and their responsibilities extend beyond church services. The office is open to both men and women, but it is largely dominated by men. Four women in the community have served with the elders at various times. The elders, individuals who command respect in the village, are sought for advice for major community events as well as personal advice. Their role in whaling is also significant. According to one elder, they "give talks" during activities associated with whaling. Elders are also responsible for sharpening whaling knives.

Since the Kaktovik church does not have a minister, the elders "lead church on Sunday." Church services are also held once or twice during the evenings during the week. They give donations to those in need of assistance. Funds are raised through rummage sales. One elder noted that they are supposed

"go visiting around, but we don't do that too much."

The elders have also been "giving testimonies during the Kaktovik Singers Programs. The 30-some member gospel singers practice at the church. The singers are accompanied by a couple of guitar players (reportedly "most all the guys can play"). Songs are sung in both Inupiaq and English. One of the members noted that, "We used to sing a lot further back before the TV came along, we used to have jam sessions." The singers began traveling to other communities in 1983. Elders have also accompanied the gospel singers on their travels to Anaktuvuk Pass, Fairbanks in Alaska, and to Inuvik, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk in Northwest Territories, Canada.

Five of the elders have been attending the Elders Meetings which are sponsored by the North Slope Borough and are generally held in Barrow. The elders who attend are selected by a NSB staff person. The same individuals have been attending these meetings even though other elders have been asked to attend. One elder who has not attended the Elders Meetings reported that he was asked, but he was reluctant to replace the individuals who usually attend. One of the elders doesn't like to go since "he doesn't know much about speaking English." While the Kaktovik elders appear to have enjoyed attending the Elders Meetings, no programs or activities within Kaktovik have been developed which are linked to these meetings.

Although the six-member elders group is associated with the church, its influence appears to stem from traditional Inupiat values. The elders act not only as spiritual leaders, but also as cultural and political leaders. They are heavily represented'

on the city council and in village corporation. Through the church and its activities, however, the community is strengthening its ties to other Inupiat and Canadian Inuit communities.

XIII. VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

Search and Rescue

Search and Rescue is another institutional component of the NSB which apparently had its beginnings outside of Kaktovik. In 1982, the council was advised to compile a list of volunteers for Search and Rescue and were then asked to select representatives to go to Barrow for training. Search and Rescue immediately became a men's institution. In late 1983, approximately 30 men were equipped with "pagers" which are one-way communication transmitters. The men wear a pager wherever they go. The pagers are also left on even at night when the men are at home. These men can then respond to emergency calls. Calls to the fire department are automatically transmitted to all the pagers. The PSO will also refer any emergency calls to the search and rescue unit.

The search and rescue unit is a recent introduction into Kaktovik. It represents a function that was formerly the responsibility of traditional groups but which has now been assumed by a specialized institutional form. However its presence does not suggest that extended family members or bunking partners will no longer assist their kin or partners in emergencies. The PSO reported that last fall Isaac Akootchook went out to look for overdue hunters prior to Search and Rescue's organizing a formal search party. Mandatory approval by the Barrow office of any search and rescue effort, the costs of which are to be assumed by the Search and Rescue office, may limit its development and effectiveness.

Kaktovik Womens Club

A counterpart to the all-male search and rescue organization is the Kaktovik Womens Club. It has traditionally been known as the Mothers Club. Its name was changed when it adopted formal bylaws in June, 1983, and extended its membership to any "natural women" who is 18 years or older. (Its bylaws give no explanation for the reference to "natural".) Women may join the organization merely by volunteering to help with the club's activities and attending the meeting. Membership ends when by their own choice they elect not to be involved.

The KWC is not incorporated, but its members define it as a nonprofit organization. Its bylaws were drafted by one of the women who obviously had previous experience in organizational efforts. The purpose of the organization is clearly stated in its bylaws :

To help families with emergencies by finding out their needs and donating money, supplies, services to take care of these needs.

To support community projects that the club membership feels worthwhile by volunteering services and or cash and material donations.

To promote an atmosphere where a better understanding between the women of Kaktovik can develop.

To encourage greater support of civic and community activities in an effort to make Kaktovik a better place to live.

Meetings may be called by any one of the three officers which include a president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer. A quorum constitutes five members and two officers.

While members may voluntarily resign from the organization, officers may be removed by the membership upon an affirmation vote of a majority of the members "with or without cause."

The Womens Club is quite active in community affairs. It supports its effort through revenues earned from communitywide bingo games rather than charging its members dues. It is known for its generosity to community members. One community member, describing the range of organizational activities, reported "It helps those who need help, cares for those who are sick and pays their air fare to go to if they should need a medevac, buys clothing and food for those whose homes have burned." She noted that the Womens Club also buys food for those who are unemployed. Its members donate prizes for community activities, such as Halloween. The womens organization also purchases food for the whaling crews during the fall whaling season. The only critical remark expressed about the KWC was that it could be more involved with children.

The womens organization appears to be strictly a village organization and is not linked to other womens organizations in the North Slope or state. Its activities focus on the well-being of the entire community and is not viewed as a feminist organization promoting economic and political equality between the sexes. It contributes to the overall welfare of the community by caring for individuals who are in need. Its role in supporting whaling activities also promotes the interest of the entire community.

Recreation Committee

The retreat, .icm committee is a loose organization comprised of seven members which is nearly equally divided between adult men and women. Its exact relationship to the city council is unclear even in the minds of its members. The members are appointed by the city council and the city extends its bingo permit to the 'ret committee." The council minutes report that discussions were held in two consecutive meetings in June and July, 1982. In June, 1982, it was suggested that the city needed to "get it back under city control" since it is no longer active. The following month the council members felt that they needed further clarification of the "rec committee" status.

One of the major activities of the recreation committee is bingo. The games which are held twice a week also appear to be one of the primary community activities along with church services. They are held in the city hall quonset hut and attract up to 35 individuals who come to play, work or just observe. The greater number of players are women. During one session, 22 women and 13 men attended. The games demand much attention since individuals will play up to 12 or more cards at one time. However, the players visit or take a smoke break between games.

The funds from the bingo games are used for a variety of community activities, such as the Fourth of July festivities. The "rec committee" has purchased baseball and playground equipment as well as musical instruments for the school band. The committee also purchases gas for the whaling crews. More recently, as the receipts from the bingo games increased, the 'ret

- committee" sponsored trips for 30 members of the Kaktovik Singers (gospel singing) to travel to three communities in Canada.

- The recreation committee is another organization whose influence extends beyond its membership of seven. Like the Womens Club, its objectives are to promote the welfare of the community. Through its sponsored activities, the cohesiveness among community members is reinforced.

SECTION III: BARROW INSTITUTIONS

XIV. POPULATION

Recent Trends

The population of Barrow grew at a modest rate in the decade between 1970 and 1980. Census figures show that the number of residents increased at a rate of 4.7 percent (103 individuals). This contrasts with the more recent 1979-83 period, during which the population grew by 23.4 percent, or 675 people (see Tables 14-1 and 14-2). Apparently, most of this increase is due to the in-migration of non-Inupiat into the area, but reliable data to give precise rates of growth and to provide ethnic composition are unavailable after 1980.

Between 1970 and 1980, two major processes occurred in the local population: the Barrow Inupiat population declined and the non-Inupiat increased substantially. The Inupiat population decreased by 181, or about 10 percent. Although a degree of in-migration probably occurred in response to the expanded economic opportunities and to the improved living conditions that followed the formation of the North Slope Borough, a larger number of Barrow residents moved out to resettle three traditional communities in the region, namely Nuiqsut, Atqasuk, and Pt. Lay.

The decline in Inupiat population was offset by the increase in non-Inupiat. During this decade, the non-Native population grew from 9.5 percent to 22 percent of the total population (see Table 14-3). As in the process of out-migration of Inupiat, the formation of the borough and the school district was the major

TABLE 14-1
Barrow Population, 1970-82

1970	2104
1977	2220
1980	2207
1982	2882

Sources: 1970, 1980, U.S. Census; 1977, NSB Planning Department estimate; 1982, City of Barrow

TABLE 14-2

Recent Population Changes in Selected North Slope Villages

	Wainwright	Barrow	Kaktovik	Nuiqsut
1980	405	2207	165	208
1983	483	2882	203	305
Net Increase	78	675	38	97
% Increase	16	23	19	32"

1. Barrow population changes are based on 1982 data; 1983 data are unavailable.
2. Total Population for the N.S. Borough in 1980 was 4199. Comparable data for 1983 are unavailable.

Sources: U.S. CENSUS, NSB Planning Department, City of Barrow

factor in this change; these organizations provided direct professional and skilled employment opportunities, and also engaged in massive capital construction projects that attracted additional non-Inupiat migrants.

By 1980, two trends were evident in this non-Inupiat population. First, as reported by Worl, Worl, and Lonner (1981), the new population was becoming less transient and more permanent. Instead of leaving after a short (two- or three-year) period of employment, a significant proportion of the non-Inupiat were remaining in the community for a longer period. Some intermarried with local Inupiat and began to raise families; others decided to take advantage of the economic opportunities and become permanent residents of Barrow.

Another trend that developed by 1980 was an increase in the ethnicity among the new migrants. The 1980 census indicates a growth in non-Caucasian populations which has increased at a more accelerated rate between 1980 and 1983. Although more recent population figures with ethnic breakdowns are not available, our field research provided direct evidence of the growth in number and permanence of several immigrant ethnic populations. Confirmation of this trend is evident in the recent population totals for the Barrow schools, which have a significant number of new ethnic groups (see Chapter 20 on the North Slope Borough School District). During our fieldwork, we interviewed Filipino, Korean, Mexican, South American, and Yugoslavian residents of Barrow. Many of these individuals had permanent jobs, or had constructed homes and businesses in the community, and it was clear that they did not view themselves as temporary residents.

TABLE 14-3

Barrow Native Population, 1970-80

	Total Population	Native	Non-Native
1970	2104	1901	199 (9.5%)
1980	2207	1720	487 (22%)

1. Comparable figures for later years are not available.

Source: U.S. Census

TABLE 14-4

Barrow Ethnic Populations, 1980

	White	Black	Filipino	Korean	Hawaiian	Other
1980	455	10	10	2	2	8

1. Comparable figures for later years are not available.

Source: U.S. Census

The Inupiat population appears to have continued to decline slightly during the recent 1980-83 period. This status is indicated by the figures for student enrollments between 1979 and 1983; in Barrow the size of the student body remained unchanged while the number of non-Inupiat students increased over 1980 levels (using the 1980 census figures for comparison in that year). (See Table 21-3.) Apparently, the out-migration to other North Slope villages and to other regions is continuing at a low rate. Analysis of village trends indicates that the Inupiat population of some villages continues to rise slowly, which may be confirmation of this trend in Barrow.

The average size of households in Barrow is smaller than in other villages, as indicated for 1980 in Table 14-5. The higher number of non-Inupiat households may be a factor in this comparison, contributing to the lower size in Barrow. The trend in Barrow towards smaller households is similar to the trend noted in Wainwright.

TABLE 14-5

Average Household Size in Selected North Slope Villages

	Wainwright	Barrow	Kaktov ik	Nuiqsut
1980	4.35	3.64	4.34	4.16
1983	4.06	3.35		

1. 1983 household size for Barrow is based on 1982 data.
2. Average Household Size for the entire North Slope region in 1980 was 4.28. Comparable regional data for 1983 are not available.

Sources: 1980, U.S. Census; 1983, North Slope Borough
(Wainwright), City of Barrow (Barrow)

Barrow's Ethnic Population

The presence of Asian and Latin populations in Barrow by 1978 was noted by Worl and others (1981). Prior to 1978, the non-Inupiat population was limited to whites. While ethnics representing several different backgrounds now live in Barrow, the city's ethnic diversity during the period of 1979-83 was represented primarily by Filipinos, Koreans, and Mexicans. A small Yugoslavian population also lived in Barrow.

The Korean and Mexican populations were basically centered around two restaurants. These two groups tended to be comprised of only men. They lived in housing provided by the restaurant owners and their numbers averaged between 12 and 20 individuals. It has only been during the last year that one or two Mexican family units were established. They began to venture beyond the cafe boundaries into the community. There is one Korean family, but its activities are primarily limited to the operation of the restaurant. It was the Filipino population which expanded and became established as a distinct social group in Barrow during the 1979-83 period.

PIONEER FILIPINOS

The first Filipino arrived in Barrow in 1978. Previous to this date, a Filipino reportedly worked at the Naval Arctic Research Lab located a few miles outside of Barrow, but he, like other NARL personnel, rarely ventured into Barrow. The first Filipino who lived in Barrow worked as a cook in the town's only hotel and was married to a "white girl," according to the recollections of the present resident Filipinos. In July, 1978, he

recruited a female friend who was a seasonal worker in a salmon cannery in Kodiak to work as a waitress in the hotel's restaurant. Six months later, she in turn invited another friend who had also been working in the cannery to come to Barrow. Her friend immediately went to work at another restaurant.

The first Filipino immigrant later left Barrow and moved to another Alaskan community outside of the North Slope, but by that time, the migration movement had begun in earnest. The two women had brought with them several of their children and another girlfriend who also brought her children. These "Pioneer Filipinos," as they are called by the more recent immigrants, continued to bring their family members and friends. These Filipinos in turn sponsored other kin and friends to come to Barrow.

This first wave of Filipino migrants were related through kinship or friendship bonds. They arrived in Barrow at the invitation and under the sponsorship of individuals who had already established themselves in the community. The migration pattern generally involved the movement of one individual member of a family, usually a male, living at the home of his relatives or friends in Barrow. Once he had secured a job and his own housing, he would then bring the rest of his immediate family members and later parents and other extended kin or friends. However, it was not uncommon to have single Filipino women come to Barrow. As noted previously, the first Filipinos in Barrow were two women who later brought their children.

POPULATION EXPANSION

The Filipino population in Barrow continued to grow through the arrival of an ever expanding network of kin and friends. This pattern continued until 1980. In that year a Filipino came to Barrow because he had heard from the pioneer women that a lucrative income could be earned here. This enterprising individual initiated the second wave of Filipino migrants. He reportedly began to sponsor others to come to Barrow. An absolute requisite to migrate to Barrow was to have a place to reside before arrival." But hotel rooms, if available, were beyond the means of most who came to Barrow to seek employment. The Filipino would provide those he sponsored a place to stay for a fee. In some instances, it was reported, he, and other sponsors, charged a percent of the migrant's initial wages in addition to the rental fee. The migrant also had to pay his or her own air fare.

Enterprising Filipinos also reportedly made 'bunkhouses" out of their homes. In such cases, a bedroom was set aside wherein several "bunk beds" were constructed. The beds were rented out for \$250 per month. 'The resident Filipino population reports that it was after these practices were instituted that the character of the Filipino population changed. They indicated that the close ties which formerly united the entire Filipino population no longer existed. One individual noted, "They were strangers, we didn't know the new Filipinos who were arriving in Barrow." The second wave of Filipinos also seemed to be different, according to one individual who said, "They gamble a lot. "

A significant number of the Filipinos migrated from southern California to Barrow, but a number of them had been working in salmon canneries in Alaska prior to their arrival. A predominant number of those from California came from San Diego. While most of the population are now American citizens, they were born in the Philippines and have maintained their ties to their homeland. A number of the Filipinos came directly to Barrow from the Philippines. Some families report that they still have children or other immediate family members in the Philippines..

The immigrant Filipino population in Barrow differed in a number of respects from the first settlers who came to Alaska. The original Filipino settlers in Alaska were men who came as seasonal salmon cannery workers. They lived in bunkhouses while working in Alaska during the salmon-canning season and then returned to the Lower 48 during the winter. The Filipinos who remained usually married Alaska Natives or they returned to the Philippines to obtain a wife. In the Barrow case, it is not uncommon to see single women migrating to the community.

The Filipino population is generally estimated to be near 200. Some have suggested that the population is nearer 300. All seem to agree that the population is still continuing to grow. One individual estimated that at least one new Filipino is arriving each month.

HOUSING AND EMPLOYMENT

All the Filipinos agree that jobs and high wages attracted them to Barrow. Most of the Filipinos interviewed spoke of the hard times and the depression in the Lower 48. They spoke about

the difficulties in finding a job and then about the low pay they received when they did find a job. One Filipino described Barrow as follows: "It's the land of opportunity; all YOU have to do is work hard." The growth of the Filipino population in Barrow was limited, not by the number of available jobs, but by the availability of housing.

In spite of the North Slope Borough's extensive housing construction project in Barrow, renting or purchasing a home is near impossible for a nonresident. As Barrow families moved into new North Slope Borough housing, other family members took their old homes. The nuclearization of extended family units limited the number of houses that became available for rent or purchase. Housing was generally taken by individuals who were moving out of their extended family dwellings. Usually the non-Inupiat general public never even knew that a house would be available. Even if housing became available, one- and two-bedroom substandard homes rented for \$1,000 to \$1,500 per month which most often was beyond the means of Filipinos migrating from a depressed region. While job opportunities were readily available in Barrow during the 1978 to 1983 period, it was the availability of housing that restricted the influx of Filipinos and other migrants.

Filipinos came to Barrow if they had a place to stay. As noted above, the pioneer migrants were assured of a place to stay before they came. The jobs they took also included housing benefits. These jobs in the private sector paid lower salaries than the North Slope Borough. The Inupiat rarely took such jobs since they had their own housing and could generally find employ-

ment with the North Slope Borough or other jobs with higher wages. Employers usually had to hire individuals from outside Barrow to take these lower paying jobs and had to provide housing as well.

The Filipinos took the jobs that provided housing. They in turn would bring a multitude of relatives and friends to Barrow who would initially live with them. As many as 10 to 13 people lived in a single house. One individual reported that a house that was destroyed by a fire left at least 13 Filipinos homeless. These individuals who had been brought to Barrow by their friends or relatives would then begin to seek employment. If Filipinos had a place to live, they could be fairly certain that they would eventually be able to find employment.

The Filipinos gained a monopoly over many of the jobs that provided housing. If a Filipino left one of these jobs, he was immediately replaced by another Filipino. The Filipino leaving the job usually recruited one of his relatives to take the job. This meant, of course, that the individual leaving the job could continue to live in the same house with his relative. The Filipinos in Barrow have gained a reputation as being industrious and dependable. This reputation facilitated their ability to control jobs providing housing.

As Filipinos were able to find additional housing beyond the houses furnished by employers, their numbers increased. As noted above, one house meant that as many as 10 to 13 Filipinos could come to Barrow. However, their difficulties with housing was not limited to only finding a place to rent. They also faced a host of other problems. One Filipino reported that one land-

birth and who are not required to have a green card to work. These American Filipinos report that the NSB Personnel Office has stated that they are still required to show their green card. One individual reported the economic and political problems this caused, "Some of the Filipinos who are U.S. citizens don't have papers to prove that they are citizens so they have not been able to work or vote, they don't have green cards."

A number of the Filipinos report that they have heard that the NSB has adopted an informal policy which orders Native hire only and prohibits the hiring of Filipinos and blacks. They attribute this policy to the presence of an increasing number of Filipinos in Barrow and a decrease in the number of available jobs. They report that in the early years of their presence in Barrow, jobs were plentiful, but are increasingly difficult to get in the present period. However, they hoped they would be able to find employment in the summer months. One individual reported the reason for the optimism: "In summer, the Natives go whaling and hunting, we take advantage of summer, they'll start hiring, Natives take off for summer, outsiders take summer jobs."

Filipinos have been variously described as "industrious," "hardworking" and "dependable." They have earned this reputation not only because they work hard on the job, but because they are also willing to hold two and even three jobs. Some enterprising individuals hold two jobs and run their own businesses as well. One such individual begins her 18-hour workday at 8 a.m. She works in her own business until 1:00 p.m. She then works for a private business from 2:00 to 5:00 p.m. She begins her borough job at 5:00 p.m. which continues until 2:00 a.m.

Filipinos are not only working at a multitude of jobs, they are also opening businesses. Of the 229 business licenses issued in 1984, nearly 20 of them are held by Filipinos. While none of them are major business enterprises, they provide basic services such as barber shops, bookkeeping services, janitorial services and restaurants.

One of the most stable private employers is Stuaqpak which is the biggest retail store in Barrow. It has an average work force of approximately 38 to 40 employees. In 1983, Stuaqpak hired about 110 individuals in total throughout the first six months of the year. Of this number roughly 50 percent were white, 30 percent were Filipinos, less than 19 percent were Native and the balance was comprised of other ethnic individuals. The store is also a favorite for part-time employment. Nearly a dozen of the Filipinos leave their full-time jobs at the end of their work day and immediately go to work at the store. One person described the store as "Little Manila." It is of significance to note that store management recently adopted a policy to sell a third of the stock to employees who have worked in the stores for at least a year. (The company is a statewide chain of stores throughout rural Alaska.) The common perception in Barrow is that the objective was to reduce the turnover in personnel and to encourage rural residents (whom management assumed would be Natives) to work permanently in the store. The irony is that if the present pattern continues, it will not be the Inupiat who will receive an interest in the store, but rather the whites and Filipinos.

Filipinos say they work to make money. They are also saving their money rather than spending it in Barrow. Most likely they are not even spending it in Alaska. Some talked about working long enough to retire; one estimated that he would retire in five years. Others came to Barrow to earn enough money to pay their way to college or to send their children to college. They noted that in spite of the high cost of living in Barrow, they were able to save money. They also say that they spend all of their time working because there is nothing else to occupy their time. They say it is better to work than to stay at home in their "little cubicles." One individual noted, "Our entertainment is saving money." Another said that "Our leisure is working." When they do devote time to leisure, it is usually outside of Barrow, and more often their vacations are spent in the Philippines.

SOCIAL AND INTERETHNIC RELATIONS

The Filipinos repeatedly reported that their major activity in Barrow was working. They indicated that because of the long hours they spent working, they had little time left to devote to social activities. However, they did appear to engage in a variety of activities outside of work. Perhaps the most significant and the one involving a majority of the Filipino population, was church-related activity. Most of the Filipinos belong to the St. Patrick's Parish Catholic Church. The visiting priest noted that in the early 1970's there were only a 'handful' who attended the monthly service. He observed a 'steady growth' in the size of the congregation since the mid-1970's. He felt that if the trend continues, the church would have to assign a full-time

priest to Bar row. He reported that well over 50percent of the membership, which he estimated to be around 150, were Filipino s. He also reported that in 1983 the Christmas MASS had to be celebrated in the community hall since the church WAS too small to hold the entire congregation. The priest noted that he had performed atleast a dozen marriageceremonies during the last few years. He reported that atleast three or more of them involved interracial marriages between Filipinos and Inupiat or whites. The Filipinos reported that these interracial marriages may have served to convert some Inupiat to Catholicism. The Barrow Inupiat are not ordinarily Catholics. The church also Organized a governing committee. Of the seven-member board, two of the positions are held by Filipinos.

The Filipino women are also active in the Parent Teachers Association. One of the women holds the office of vice-president in the PTA. She reports that she became active when the school administration indicated that the music classes might be eliminated from the elementary grades. They seem to be less concerned that no bilingual education for Filipinos exists although most all the students are bilingual. One parent reported that "even in the Philippine Islands the medium of instruction was English and children spoke Filipino in the home." The Filipinos also indicated that they placed a high value on the ability to speak English because speaking English is a critical factor in obtaining employment.

A number of the Filipinos also indicated that they were initiating efforts to form a Filipino organization. Filipinos from the Anchorage area reportedly went to Barrow to assist the

local population in forming such an organization. They had an organizational meeting to discuss the possibility and the need for such an organization. One individual noted that he thought an organization was necessary for civic reasons "to help in the development of Barrow, and not only in the development of Filipinos in Barrow." He cited issues like "youth development as important to the whole community.

Interethnic relationships between the Filipinos and Inupiat have not been consistently positive. When the Filipinos first arrived in Barrow, the Inupiat women were reportedly hostile to the Filipino women. One Filipino woman attributed hostility to the difference in their style of dress. Filipino women are generally described as fashionable. They pay considerable attention to their dress and makeup while Inupiat women are not as concerned with high fashion. Frequent confrontations occurred between the Filipino and Inupiat women in social settings, like the business establishment offering live music and dancing. However, since 1980, the relations have reportedly improved. The Filipino male counterparts also described their relationship with the Inupiat as vastly improved from that of the early years.

At least five interethnic marriages have occurred between Filipinos and the Inupiat during recent years. One Filipino woman also married a white person. The marriages involved both Filipino men and women marriages with the Inupiat. As noted earlier, these marriages often resulted in the Inupiat's being converted to the Catholic Church. The interethnic marriages appear to be readily accepted by the Inupiat. Inupiat extended

family members spoke positively about the marriages and even commented on their good fortune in becoming exposed to new ways of cooking their Native foods.

Interethnic relationships are also significant in the field of employment. The Filipinos are uniformly praised for their industriousness and their dependability. However, during the last several months of 1984, the Filipinos reported they sensed a growing resentment towards them. Filipinos, as previously described, usually took the low paying jobs both within the private sector and within the NSB. These jobs tend to be in the operations and maintenance area and are not subject to the seasonality and instability of construction jobs which offer higher salaries. With the decrease of the borough's CIP jobs, the people who will be left with jobs will be those who are in operations and maintenance. Many of these positions are held by Filipinos and many have already gained their permanent status in the civil service. The decrease in the availability of jobs will undoubtedly continue to be a factor limiting positive interethnic relations.

The Filipinos have established themselves as a distinct social group within Barrow. Most of the Filipino population have a direct link to the Philippine Islands and they speak their own language. They stem from a common racial background and they perceive of themselves as holding a common set of traditions which are not shared with the Inupiat or the whites in Barrow. They take pride in their reputation as being hard and dependable workers. A predominant number of them belong to the Catholic Church and more recently they have moved to form a Filipino organization to promote their interests. Whether they will re-

main permanently in Barrow is in all likelihood linked to the economic viability of Barrow. They appear to have entrenched themselves in jobs which will remain after the major NSB construction jobs have disappeared. Many Filipinos have lived in Barrow for five or more years and view it as home. When asked if Filipinos will continue to live in Barrow, one woman responded, "I've become Barrowized, and I miss Barrow when I leave."

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XV. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

History

The early development of formal governmental institutions in Barrow was similar to the pattern described for Wainwright and Kaktovik. An informal group of influential community members and more proficient hunters was active as a 'traditional Council' which provided leadership and adjudication in community matters. In 1939, Barrow residents adopted a formal constitution and by-laws for a village council under the IRA: "We, a group of Eskimos having the common bond of living together in the Village of Barrow, Territory of Alaska, in order to have better life and greater security, make for ourselves this constitution and By-laws." This council served as the formal village government until the late 1950's, when the city government was formed. Our interviews indicated that residents also viewed the Mothers Club as a governing organization throughout the early history of the settlement. (See the section on Mothers Club.) Under the IRA form of government, non-Natives did not have the right to vote or run for office, but this situation changed when Barrow organized as a city under state law.

The village of Barrow was incorporated as a fourth class city in 1958 under the territorial administration. The action of incorporating the town was promoted by several villagers, who called a town meeting to discuss the subject. "Virtually the entire population gathered in the armory for the meeting. There was no opposition (Bills, 1980, 113). At this time, the only governmental presence was federal (BIA, Air Force, Navy), and the

village received minimal funds from these sources. With the forthcoming development of state government, the promoters believed the village would receive static revenues and services if it incorporated as a fourth class city.

Some of the promoters of incorporation were officials of the village IRA council. Following the formation of the city, no elections for the village council took place for the next 20-25 years, as council members shifted their attention to the state and the newly formed city government. A city council serving as the governing body of the village was elected. Functions served by the village council were adopted by the city council and mayor. For example, prior to incorporation, individuals who wanted a lot would apply to the village council which allocated land in the village. When the city was formed, the townsite was surveyed, some buildings were moved to create more space for roads, and individuals were given their own lots. The remaining unoccupied land in the townsite belonged to the city (although it was held by the BLM Townsite Trustee). Subsequently, the city council continued the practice of allocating new lots in the town.

Barrow organized under a mayor and city council form of government, and became a third class city after statehood. The first major capital project for the village was an airport. In the 1950's, the village used the airstrip which had been constructed at NARL. But the village had segregated the men on "the base," having a policy which kept them from entering the community unless they were invited. This practice was similar to

that followed in Kaktovik with respect to the DEW-line base. The management of NARL was not seen as supporting community norms, and the community sought to be independent from the installation.

In the early 1960's, there were several community associations, such as the Mothers Club and the Veterans Association, that interacted with and supported the city council and mayor. At this time a community fund raising drive provided monies for a public safety building (combined police and fire departments), which is now the fire station in the old townsite area. Later a fire truck was obtained.

Powers and Authorities

A year following the formation of the North Slope Borough in 1972, the borough mayor requested a transfer of powers from all borough city governments. The City of Barrow objected to the transfer of powers to the new borough. "Barrow stood to lose influence and status if governmental functions were transferred to the borough, and council members questioned whether the borough had the ability, staff, and financial resources to administer a broad range of social services" (Morehouse et al, 1984, p. 143). Barrow has been the loudest voice among the North Slope villages to speak up and question the borough. The transfer of powers was slowed when it became known that areawide elections were necessary and police powers were removed from the list.

Although the city did not approve of the transfer, they were required to because of the areawide election. This issue was a major factor in changing the city to a first class municipality, which was accomplished later in 1974. By becoming first class,

the city was not bound by an area-wide election, and it would be able to transfer powers only through city elections. This gave the city council more direct control over the transfer of powers.

According to the mayor, police powers were transferred by the city so the borough would have full, area-wide police powers. The borough had received the powers from other villages in area-wide elections in 1976. Another reason could have been the lack of operating funds. In about 1980, the city rejected a request from the borough to transfer fire powers; instead it entered into a joint exercise agreement with the borough over the administration of the fire department. The city had funded, through capital project funds, construction of the new fire station in Brewerville. capital project funds, and provided a fire truck, through donations from the Mothers Club and other organizations; however, the city could not afford the operating expenses. In the agreement, the borough provides full operation and maintenance costs and the city contributes the building and lot.

Since its formation, the city has held several elections regarding the sale and importation of alcohol; villages voted "wet" and "dry" on different occasions. In 1978, the community voted against the local sale of alcoholic beverages (but did not prohibit importation), and the local ordinance has remained in force through 1984. These election results eliminated the city-operated Ukeagvik Community Liquor Store. This store was a source of operating revenue for the city; in FY 1977-78, it contributed \$52,083 (15%) to the city's general fund.

Although the city has transferred many of its municipal powers to the borough, it has resisted proposals to merge with the borough. With the greatly increased revenues received by the city in the 1979-83 period (discussed below), it has undergone considerable growth and development as a community institution. The city has been the source of several large capital projects in the town between 1979 and 1983, and additional major capital projects are planned for 1984-85. It has held onto the recreation power, and used its resources to renovate and build an addition to the teen center (which had been converted from the community liquor store), renovate another building to create a community youth center, build a playground and a boat launching ramp, begin construction of a major adult recreation facility, and hire a recreation director to supervise an expanded staff in that area. Under a new state municipal aid program, the city developed a social services program in 1982-83 which has operated additional programs with North Slope Borough funding.

The city administers a local sales tax and enforces powers over cemeteries dog control, and curfew. The Mothers Club requested the city council to take over responsibility for the youth curfew in about 1970, which the city has continued to exercise. The city hired individuals to enforce the curfew in the 1970's. In the recent period, the curfew has been administered by staff of the alternatives for youth program funded by the North Slope Borough Department of Health and Social Services. The program sponsors an evening patrol providing nonpolice enforcement of the city's youth curfew ordinance (Alaska Consultants, Inc., 1983a, p. 89).

Organization and Membership

The seven-member city council is comprised of six elected council members and the mayor. Upon becoming a first class city in 1974, the position of mayor became elective by community vote. Shortly after its transformation to a first class city, the council changed to a city manager form. Under this structure, the council hires an administrator (city manager) who is responsible for the day-to-day business of the city. The mayor has less say in the city administration since the manager reports to the council as a whole. In 1984, the mayor did not even have an office in the city administration building.

The administrative staff increased during a period of substantial growth from 1979-81. Prior to this period, the city manager was assisted by a city clerk (secretary) and a part-time fire chief (police having been transferred to the borough). The city added a bookkeeper, a grant writer, receptionist, and several recreation positions including a teen center director (and two assistants), youth center coordinator (part time) and a community arts coordinator. A summer clean-up program was started in 1980 with 2 to 3 staff and from 5 to 30 high school age young people. This program is funded by the borough.

Staffing levels increased at a slower rate of growth in the more recent period. With the joint exercise agreement with the fire department, the North Slope Borough assumed the operating costs for the fire station after 1981. By 1983, the staff was reported to be 10 in administration and 6 in recreation. City

staff became more skilled and diversified; they included a finance director, attorney, grants coordinator, administrative assistant and a recreation director. A recreation department was organized in 1980, and the various programs were unified under a single administrative unit which included the community center (bingo and youth programs), teen center, community recreation (three city leagues: softball, basketball, and volleyball), and outdoor recreation (playgrounds, bike paths, etc.).

A special state appropriation for social service programs (municipal aid) provided additional funding for a variety of organizations. The appropriation was reported to be a one-time allocation in 1981-82 which was administered by the city in 1982-84. Some of the funding was provided through the North Slope Borough. The municipal aid did not result in addition of social service staff to the city but provided contributions to existing community programs. Municipal aid was distributed to the following organizations and programs:

Jail Diversion Program *

Alaska Legal Services

Childrens Receiving Home *

Old City Office Renovation

Arctic Women-in-Crisis Center *

Temporary Placement Facility *

Alcohol Abuse Treatment Center (halfway house) *

Barrow Chamber of Commerce

Boy/Girl Scouts of America

* Indicates North Slope Borough programs

Analysis of the city council membership indicates there were elements of both stability and change in the 1979-83 period. Stability is seen in the office of mayor, which remains unchanged throughout the recent period. Also, there was some degree of continuity among the elected council members. One individual served for all five years and another was on board for four consecutive years. There was also a marked shift in council membership which occurred at one point in time. In 1982, four of the six councilors were replaced with new members; these members were again reelected in the following year. The election pattern shows that S-membership was relatively stable before and after 1982; four members served consecutively in the three previous years and five were elected in the two subsequent years. Apparently, Barrow voters prefer a stable and enduring council membership, but they will elect new persons, as occurred in 1982.

The members tend to represent the larger families in Barrow. An analysis of the composition of the city council indicates that the families represented are distinct; a pattern of kinship affiliation among the membership is not evident. Over the five-year period under study, city council members have become younger in the more recent past. There has been at least one female councilor in each year. The ethnicity of the council changed during the 1979-83 period when a non-Inupiat was elected in 1982. Prior to that time, the council was all Inupiat; however, the city manager in the 1979-81 period was white and reportedly he was a strong influence on the city council during that period.

In most years, the three major institutions in the community (NSB, ASRC, UIC) are represented on the council. Recent council membership is about equally divided among the three institutions. This is a change from the past; the borough appeared to have the majority of membership in 1979. Deliberations of the most recent council (1984) were reported to be dominated by no one group; depending on the issue, the members will shift their position.

Land

Prior to the establishment of the Native Townsite of Barrow in the early 1960's, the majority of Inupiat houses were clustered together informally on the south side of Tasigarook Lagoon. The federal government held title to surveyed parcels for service institutions (including the Native hospital, BIA school, and weather station). Another block of land north of the lagoon was patented to Charlie Brower as a trading and manufacturing area. The remaining land was occupied without formal restrictions by Inupiat families and the few white traders and missionaries who resided in the village.

The first major impetus towards individual title in Barrow occurred after the townsite was surveyed in 1963. The townsite survey disrupted the traditional settlement pattern as room was made for streets and formal residential lots. Houses were moved onto surveyed lots along the new streets, causing the dispersal of Inupiat households into a new pattern. All surveyed land was placed in the hands of the BLM Townsite Trustee, but individuals were encouraged to apply for title to their residential lots. Inupiat could request title to be transferred in restricted or

unrestricted status; restricted title meant that the land would never be subject to taxation or regulatory codes (building, housing, zoning, etc.) and that the land cannot be leased, transferred, or sold without permission of the BIA and/or Townsite Trustee. In 1983, slightly over 200 lots, or about 34 acres of land were held in restricted title in Barrow (Alaska Consultants, Inc., 1983a, p. 46). ' This is about 42 percent of the residential (single family) land area in the town. .

The corporate limits of Barrow cover approximately 21 square miles which include the Native townsite surveyed in 1963, an additional subdivision held for the city by the Townsite Trustee, state airport lands, UIC lands, two Native allotment applications, and about half of the NARL installation. According to city officials, after the townsite was patented in 1965, the city managed and coordinated the transfer of title for occupied land with the BLM Townsite Trustee. Individuals and organizations applied to the city council for lots they used, and the city would confirm that improvements had been made and forward its decisions to the Townsite Trustee for final approval and title transfer. The city council would write to the Townsite Trustee stating that the land in question has been improved in a specified manner and that the council's approval was granted for the issuance of title. Apparently, the city council continued to act as a broker between individuals and the TownSite Trustee in subsequent transactions involving vacant areas. According to a former official, the city council would set aside vacant lots for a designated purpose on behalf of individuals, with the expecta-

tion that the individual would be granted a townsite title for the lot when the improvements were made.

During this period, unoccupied land in the townsite was reserved only for Natives by the Townsite Trustee (under the Saxman opinions on the Townsite Act). However, this practice changed following the district court decision (Klawock vs. Guska-fson) in the mid-1970's, which gave the trustee authority to auction vacant lots, sell them to a government agency or transfer them to the city (Case, 1984). Apparently, this decision provided new options to the city government which led to an important change in its land management practices. Whereas before this decision vacant lots would be transferred only to Native owners (who usually elected to receive it in restricted status), subsequently it became possible for the city to obtain unoccupied land in unrestricted status which it could then sell or lease to the highest bidder. Not only did this practice allow townsite land to be transferred to non-Natives, it further transformed land into a marketable commodity, the value of which was measured solely in monetary terms. Although the city was not the only instigator of this process of "commoditization" of village land, its distribution of village lands has resulted in conflicts with other institutions (NSB and UIC) in the community.

According to former city officials, they began to see municipal land as a source of revenue before other sources (state revenues, gravel sales, and leases to NSB and ASRC for parcels of municipal land) were available. Under regulations of the Townsite Act, sales proceeds and unsold lots within the townsite should be transferred to the city to dispose of as they see fit.

Unoccupied lots were auctioned by the city through sealed bids. Before the auction, the council would specify commercial or residential use for the parcels which were sold in unrestricted status. Prior to the mid-1970's, lots were available at low cost. Later, the city began to have the vacant land appraised, hence it had a role in establishing value standards for land in the municipality. A non-Inupiat city manager (1978-81) strongly asserted the policy that it was appropriate to sell the land and use profits to provide programs to benefit the population. Selling the land was viewed as a means of converting the peoples' resources to a revenue base for city services.

As in other villages, the city council transferred lots to the borough and its housing authority through the mid-1970's for no financial consideration. The city was beginning to pursue its own land policies in this early period, but it did not always agree with the aggressive stance of the borough. The city had the power to approve title transfers by the Townsite Trustee and to receive and dispose of vacant lands under the Townsite Act, as mentioned above. In a letter to the Townsite Trustee in November, 1976, Mayor Eben Hopson objected to these regulations. Hopson suggested that the planning and zoning authority of the borough makes the borough the proper entity for the Townsite Trustee to deal with. The regional solicitor (USDOI) disagreed with the suggestion in a memorandum of February, 1977. The borough filed a lawsuit against the Townsite Trustee over the issue of control over unoccupied townsite land, and at least one village (Wainwright) supported Barrow's right to control land

within its boundaries. (See further discussion under North Slope Borough Planning Department.)

According to city officials, the city began to form lease agreements with the borough and ASRC for the use of city land. Both the borough and ASRC leased large storage areas on Block B, an unoccupied tract south of the airport. The city also contracted with Eskimos, Inc. to operate the gravel pit in the same area; the sale of gravel provided an important source of revenue commencing in FY 1979-80. For lots which the borough requested for construction of service buildings, the city council developed a policy of charging a nominal rent of \$1.00 per year for lands devoted to the provision of community services. In addition to limiting use of the land, it attached a reverter clause to ensure the return of the lot to the city if and when the land were put to another use. Table 15-1 provides a list of parcels leased by the municipality of Barrow.

The city faced another challenge to its ability to control the distribution of vacant townsite lands from UIC by the Barrow village corporation. UIC filed two lawsuits in the 1979-83 period seeking to limit the city's authority to convey vacant land. The first suit concerns the ANCSA 14(c)3 entitlement to the city of Barrow of 1,280 acres of UIC land for future municipal expansion. UIC sought to limit the amount of land to be transferred to the city to levels necessary for municipal services, rather than a conveyance of the full maximum allowed under the law. A Municipal Lands Agreement between UIC and the city was negotiated in 1981 and signed in 1982. It allows for a conveyance to the city of 3 acres for each subdivision, which are

to be used only for municipal purposes (firestation, playgrounds, public facilities, etc.). According to a city official,

TABLE 15-1

City of Barrow Lease Agreements, 1983

<u>Parcel</u>	<u>Lessee</u>
Office and gas station	Eskimos, Inc.
Tank farm	Eskimos, Inc.
Gravel pit	Eskimos, Inc.
Storage Area	North Slope Borough
ASAG camp	ASRC
Lions Club	Lions Club
Employment office	State of Alaska
Barrow Search and Rescue	Barrow Search and Rescue
KBRW (Radio Station)	KBRW

Additional Lots owned by City of Barrow

Browerville Fire Station
 Teen Center
 Community Center
 Recreation Center

Source: City of Barrow

the council saw this as a loss to the city, but it decided the agreement was in the interests of the community as a whole. The area in question is a large subdivision in Browerville which UIC was developing. In selling the lots, UIC retained the first right of refusal when the lots came up for resale. The city council was in agreement with the purpose of this condition of sale, which was a means of keeping the land in Native ownership.

Another lawsuit filed by UIC claims that vacant lands within the townsite should be conveyed to UIC instead of the city or the borough. Filed in March, 1983, this suit put a stop to a land

sale the city was holding for 15 lots in Block A. The city had completed the sale of 3 lots, but the remaining 12 were tied up by the lawsuit. UIC claims that all townsite lands which were vacant and/or unoccupied on December 18, 1971, should be part of UIC's ANCSA entitlement. This land consists of 242 lots and 3 blocks within the townsite which have been conveyed to the city or the borough, portions of Block 11A, and the unsubdivided Block B (the location of the gravel pit and storage areas) which is still held by the Townsite Trustee (Alaska Consultants, Inc., 1983a, p. 46). The Trustee was ordered to convey Block B to the city in August, 1981, but has not done so because of the pending court decision on the proper conveyance of unsubdivided townsite land (the Alaknagik case). In the second part of the suit, UIC seeks title to Block B on the grounds that it was an unsubdivided portion of the townsite when ANCSA was passed.

This lawsuit with UIC has enjoined the city from selling or transferring any additional lands within the original townsite since early 1983. Excluding the airport, land use in the vicinity of the town is distributed in the following proportions:

Residential	81 acres, 39 percent
Industrial and Storage	73 acres, 35 percent
Public	45 acres, 22 percent
Commercial	9 acres, 4 percent

Source : Alaska Consultants, Inc., 1980a

The city leases a large area in an unoccupied subdivision south of the airport to ASRC and the borough for storage and a gravel pit.

Sources of Revenues and Expenditures

Analysis of Barrow's financial records reveal that the city's budget in the 1979-83 period was substantially larger than in previous years, and it continued to grow throughout the study period. Revenues rose from twice the 1978 level in 1979 to over four times that level in 1983; they varied between 1 and 2 million dollars in each of the five years under study. There "was some fluctuation in the level of expenditures due mainly to the scheduling of large capital improvement projects, and the level of administration and community service expenditures grew significantly (see Table 15-2). Initially, the growth of the city's budget can be attributed to two large capital improvement projects, but in the more recent past the level of general government and community services has grown substantially along with the level of capital projects. By 1983, the city's budget exceeded 2 million dollars, and its assets totaled 5.4 million dollars.

City records demonstrate that Barrow has received substantial capital improvement grants in addition to general and special revenue sharing programs from both state and federal governments. The city built a new fire station in 1979 and a city office addition in the following year with a grant from the U.S. Economic Development Administration. In 1979-83, the city developed a variety of small capital projects and three that were significantly larger in scope (see Table 15-3). The influx of state-funded projects after 1980 has contributed to the capital development in Barrow. Some of the projects were started a year

Table 15-2

City of Barrow Revenues and Expenditures, 1979-83

	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1982-82	1982-83	1983-84
Revenues							
Taxes	181,516	178,916	155,082	219,623	277,438	305,016	318,267
Intergovernmental	108,453	759,621	409,930	633,406	803,756	1,242,917	1,524,930
Charges for Services	-0-	-0-	2,404	2,250	51,814	51,473	43,503
Sales & Leases	85,358	49,980	188,383	123,290	216,629	412,221	198,261
Misc.	<u>7,301</u>	<u>41,151</u>	<u>259,573</u>	<u>146,441</u>	<u>104,498</u>	<u>165,445</u>	<u>305,382</u>
Total	382,628	1,029,668	1,015,372	1,125,010	1,454,135	2,177,072	2,390,343
Expenditures							
General Government	142,191	233,310	384,159	349,747	409,079	998,922	1,505,389
Community Services	113,083	94,583	53,824	179,073	321,505	263,198	308,783
Capital Projects	<u>47,356</u>	<u>701,837</u>	<u>309,316</u>	<u>154,198</u>	<u>96,051</u>	<u>472,275</u>	<u>479,321</u>
Total	302,830	1,036,450	747,299	683,018	826,635	1,734,395	2,293,493

Source: City of Barrow Financial Statements (year end June 30

TABLE 15-3

City of Barrow Capital Projects, 1979-83

Browerville Fire station*
 Fire Truck
 Municipal Building Improvement (new city offices in fire station)
 Foot and Bike Path
 Youth Center (renovation and expansion)
 Boat Ramp
 Weather Bureau Playground
 Recycling Center
 City Employee Housing
 Recreation center (started 1983-84)*

*Indicate larger capital projects

or two after the funds were received, allowing the city to gain some income from interest. A large community recreation center was started in early 1984, and a new municipal office building is planned for 1985. The city is entitled to 13 percent of the state projects for administrative costs.

Other revenue increases were derived from the sale of land and gravel and leases on city parcels which were formed in FY 1980 or later. The local sales tax, which is split between the borough and the city, shows a steady increase throughout this period. The largest increase was in Static revenue sharing, particularly from the municipal assistant% program which was started in FY 1981. Commencing in FY 1983, additional state revenue for social services (municipal aid) was received by the city. These three sources (state programs, land and gravel sales and leases, and the sales tax) provided the largest revenues to the city's general fund throughout the 1979-83 period.

The expenditures for general government (city council and administration) and community services (recreation and, after

1982, municipal aid) reflect the increases in state revenue programs, rising slowly until FY 1981 when more dramatic increases occurred. Community services declined by 50 percent between 1978 and 1980; it was at this point the city entered into the joint operating agreement with the borough for the fire department. Expenditures for services more than tripled the following year, due mainly to the new state municipal assistance program and the North Slope Borough's summer clean-up project funds. Both of these sources were available in subsequent years. Community services expenditures peaked in FY1982. General government expenditures fluctuated slightly, but overall they rose steadily until FY 1982, after which a dramatic increase occurred. By 1983, the annual expenditure was nearly 1 million dollars (which rose again to 1.5 million in the following year). This level is significantly higher than expenditures for community services.

The recent major increase in city expenditures raises the question (of significance for monitoring purposes) of the ability of the city to continue at its present (1983-84) level of operations. Following the completion of the 1984-85 capital projects, after which the city will not have the 13 percent administrative costs benefit and will be faced with increased building maintenance and operating costs, the city may encounter serious funding deficits. How it resolves this potential problem will be of significance to the community since the city has become an important institution in Barrow in the 1979-83 period. We note that this situation is shared by many municipal governments

across the state which have recent capital improvements, are accustomed to having a buffer of administrative and interest earnings from such grants, may have yet to initiate or complete recent projects, but are faced with the future decline in state revenue-sharing programs.

As described above, the community services provided by the city between 1979 and 1983 included a variety of recreation programs, an annual summer clean-up project, and a recent municipal aid program (described more fully under organizations). Occasionally, the city contributed to community organizations; \$50,000 was donated to ICAS in FY 1982 to help meet its funding shortfall in general assistance. The city had operated the general assistance program (BIA) in the 1970's; there was a General Assistance Fund through FY 1978 for this purpose. Also in that year the city gave contributions to Eskimo Dance, Inc., and the Mothers Club. In the recent period, the city has shifted to more service-oriented programs made available through static funding sources.

Institutional Linkages to Other Organizations

The city of Barrow developed into an important institution of local governance during the 1979-83 period. It received substantial revenues as a municipality and increased the level of services it provided. It administered the design and construction of several capital projects through funds obtained as a city government. It also managed and developed income from its land

base. In the process, a variety of formal and informal relationships were formed with the major institutions in the town, including the North Slope Borough, ASRC, UIC, and with other community organizations.

NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH

Barrow had transferred many of its municipal powers for basic services and facilities by 1979 and subsequently sought to exercise the remaining powers through its own funding sources. When the borough requested another power, namely fire protection, in about 1980, the city had completed development of a new fire station as a major capital project. As described above, the city did not wish to turn over the new facility to the borough, but its operating revenues for basic services were not increasing and it negotiated a joint exercise agreement for the power. The building and lot remain in control of the city, but the maintenance and-operating costs of the fire department are assumed by the borough. The city and the borough each contributed a fire truck to the facility.

The city has resisted borough requests for acquisition of the recreation power. With the influx of new state revenue funds commencing in 1981, the city has consolidated and built up its recreational services. A number of capital projects were also completed to improve community recreation programs. Beginning in FY 1981, the borough contributed funds to the city for a special youth-oriented community service program, the summer clean-up project. With a new state revenue program for special community services, municipal aid, the city contributed the existing ser-

vice organizations and groups. As noted above, funds for several of these programs were received through the borough. The city government has thus become an established service-provider in the community, and the borough now **Contributes** to these operations through a government-to-government linkage.

With regard to the management and development of its land, the city council withstood challenges by the borough over its right to exercise this control, as noted above. The borough filed a lawsuit in this matter when the city continued to maintain its authority in this area, which is indicative of a certain threshold of institutional establishment and maturity. UIC has also brought lawsuits against the city over land issues, as discussed above. Although the council transferred land to the borough at no charge in the 1970's the practice was reevaluated, and the council began to lease land to the borough and then **expect**, payment for lots during the 1979-83 period. The council has recognized the community benefits of some of its land leases with the borough and the terms are nominal for those service-oriented lots. The city protected its interest in these lots by including reverter clauses in the leases. At least one lease (for a detoxification center) has been canceled because the program was not developed as planned.

Discussions with city officials indicate the city council has two major policy areas of relationship with the North Slope Borough. The first is the borough's reunification plan, which was a proposal to integrate the region's village governments (including the Prudhoe Bay population) under a single regional government. The Barrow City Council did not agree with this plan

and called some town meetings on the topic. Through AKOUNA-TC, an organization of city mayors formed in 1981 because they felt the borough was not adequately addressing their needs, Barrow alerted other villages of this issue. With the broadcast of the town meetings over the radio, the city council set the example for the other villages which held their own village meetings. It was reported that the proposal was seen as a move by the borough to have its own way over the interests of city governments, and the villages were in agreement that the borough should not be unified in that manner. AKOUNA-TC's efforts were devoted towards stopping the commission on unification by not proposing any commissioners--reportedly the only application originated from Prudhoe Bay.

The second area of policy relationship with the borough concerns the borough zoning ordinance. Under state law, a borough has planning and zoning powers unless they are transferred to smaller municipal governments (cities), and cities have the right to review the planning and zoning procedures. The borough initiated a zoning ordinance in about 1982 which has been extensively reviewed by the Barrow City Council. One issue was that UIC desired to build another gravel pit, whereas the city already owned one and maintained that it was adequate for community needs. Another issue is that the borough plan does not distinguish between restricted and unrestricted lots. In federal law, restricted lots are not regulated by local ordinances. It was reported that the city council discussed whether the borough can or cannot zone and passed a resolution generally in favor of

zoning, but which recognized the privileges of restricted title owners.

UKPEAGVIK INUPIAT CORPORATION

In two lawsuits brought against the city of Barrow, the village corporation has sought to restrict both the amount and use of land which it is required to transfer to the city under ANCSA 14(c)3. One suit seeks to obtain title to all land within the Native townsite that was vacant or unoccupied when ANCSA was passed, to be included in UIC's entitlement. The other suit sought to limit the land which UIC is required to transfer to the city in areas that UIC was seeking to develop into residential lots, and to restrict the use of the transferred land to public use or facilities. In these suits, UIC is seeking to maximize its land holdings in and around Barrow and to restrict the amount of land to be reconveyed to the city under ANCSA to only the amount which the city needs for future municipal services. UIC has opposed the city's practice of selling or leasing vacant land for purposes of raising revenue, and seeks to keep town lands in Native ownership (see discussion of Land).

The city and UIC negotiated an agreement in 1982 concerning the future transfer of land in UIC's subdivision. No decision has been reached on the remaining lawsuit, which effectively prohibits the city from making further sales and leases on most vacant land within the townsite and another unsubdivided block. UIC has also presented a proposal to the North Slope Borough that UIC reconvey land directly to the borough and receive the lease and sale payments for land the borough needs for development of

housing and facilities This approach is consistent with the borough's claim that, insofar as it has authority for certain government powers, it is the proper recipient. of vacant lands. The city has maintained that any such agreements should be tripartite, and that UIC should first convey land to the city which will then reconvey it to the borough. In 1984, the borough was pressing forthistype (tripartite) final ANCSA 14(c)3 agreement

In late 1983 or early 1984, the city manager met with UIC officials to develop working relationships with UIC and to identify areas of mutual interest in which they could work together, and to leave the areas of lawsuit as a separate issue. A major area of relationship lies in contracting with UIC for the city's capital projects. As a local business, the city is interested in promoting UIC's involvement with city-sponsored jobs and contracts. The city had a cooperative agreement with UIC in the new state-funded energy conservation program administered by the city in 1983. Another area of mutual interest is the development of lots allocated to the city in UIC's subdivision (No. 3) which resulted from the agreement negotiated in 1982.

RECREATION

Several of the city's recreation programs require coordination with organizations in the community if the activities are to function smoothly. One of the responsibilities of the recreation director is to develop and maintain these cooperative relationships. Coordination is necessary with the school district for scheduling the use of the gym facilities for the three city sports leagues. Representatives of the various bingo groups

schedule the use of the community center for their fund-raising activities through the recreation department. Close relationships with these groups are fruitful for the city, since often they will make contributions of equipment for the recreation facilities. The Mothers Club, Barrow Search and Rescue, Lions Club, etc., have made donations for playground equipment and guardrails, for example, in the recent period.

Sometimes the city makes contributions to community activities such as the 4th of July games sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. This donation is made through the recreation department.

Employment

As described in the section Organization and Membership, the city staff grew considerably in the 1978-80 period and remained at about a constant level through 1983. The permanent staff positions included a city manager, city attorney, finance director, grants coordinator, administrative assistant, recreation director, several recreation assistants, and a secretary/receptionist. Temporary positions were added for special events and seasonal programs such as summer clean-up. The professional positions carried a salary commensurate with similar levels in other institutions in Barrow; for example, in 1984, the finance director slot was advertised with a salary of \$61,000. The staff was reorganized in 1984, and the administration was reduced by three positions for budgetary reasons.

The changes from 1978-84 are the following:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Administration</u>	<u>Recreation</u>
1978	2	0
1980	5	5
1983	10	6
1984	7	6

The city council encourages the development of employment and business opportunities in the community. According to a city official, the council's priority is a policy of local hire in administration positions and capital projects. It also supports contracting with local businesses; it includes a local option on its request forbids which gives local firms a 10 percent advantage on their contracts: a local firm will win the contract if it comes within 10 percent of the low bid. City financial records indicate that the city supports the recently formed Chamber of Commerce, an organization of local business-people seeking to promote local businesses and engaging in community service activities. The chamber has sponsored community sports events and celebrations on July 4th, and in the 1984 borough mayoral race it sponsored a public debate among the candidates. The city council has made donations to the chamber for its summer games.

XVI. NATIVE CORPORATIONS

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act was passed in 1971 to settle the Alaska Native peoples' aboriginal claim to the land. Congress conveyed fee simple title to corporate entities. The major components of ANCSA were corporations, land, and money. The institutional form and the assets provided the basis for the Inupiat to assimilate economically into the capital economy. During the 1979 to 1983 period, the Barrow village corporation, Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation, emerged as a viable corporate entity and the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation expanded its business operations. The most notable changes during this period occurred in the village corporation. The changes associated with the regional corporation were more of expansion rather than transformation.

Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation

Prior to 1978, the VIC was limited to two employees. Its primary business was limited to the retail store which was then called Shontz. (The new name is Stuaqpak.) Current corporate officers described the operation of VIC as more of a subsidiary of ASRC than an independent corporate entity. According to some observers, it was also dominated by the North Slope Borough.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND MANAGEMENT

Until 1980, the board of directors tended to be middle-aged Inupiat who were primarily oriented to a subsistence economy. Several of the board members worked for the NSB or other govern-

mental agencies, such as the Naval Arctic Research Lab. They had little in their background to prepare them for operating a private profit-making corporation. Their expectations of this new institutional form were shaped by their experiences with governmental institutions. Their attitude was that UIC should benefit the Inupiat so their consideration was less that UIC should make a profit. One corporate official felt that it was this attitude that led to UIC "giving the North Slope Borough preferential treatment without benefiting UIC." He also explained that people feel strongly that they did not vote for ANCSA and consequently did not feel strongly about the village and regional corporations.

It was in 1980 that a group of young Inupiat met to discuss the future of UIC. They decided that they should make a commitment to the corporation and work, as one individual reported, "to get it on its feet." They decided that UIC should be independent of ASRC and should no longer act like a government. They took control of the board of directors and began to initiate changes within UIC. They began to assert control of the corporation and make changes in its relationship with the North Slope Borough, the City of Barrow and the regional corporation. Often those changes were possible only after the corporation initiated legal action. One corporate official recalls that they were labeled the "Red Guard" because of the radical changes they initiated and their legal conflicts with ASRC and the NSB over economic benefits which UIC felt it was due. They, on the other hand, viewed themselves as younger people making a commitment. With the exception of one older man who remained on the board, the new

directors were young. They all had gone to high school and some of them had post secondary training or had served in the military.

UIC may have been the first formal organization which was controlled primarily by young adults. It set the stage for young adults to interact on an equal basis with older people who were on other organizational "boards or commissions. In some cases, it also meant that a young director would be engaged in relationships with older relatives or parents. One young corporate official described his first occasion which involved doing business with his mother who was on a commission. He appeared before the commission and addressed his mother by her last name. Later she asked why he addressed her in this fashion. He replied that while they were doing business he was representing UIC and she was representing the commission. He told her that they could not think of their family relationship in these settings. He indicated that she found this encounter to be very painful. She called a family meeting to discuss how they would interact in these business and professional settings. They all agreed that they would have to learn to separate their family and business relationships? but that after 5:00 p.m., they would be a family again. The young corporate official reports that in spite of the mental anguish between relatives interacting in business settings, "We have graduated to the point where we can work together."

Unlike many Native corporations, UIC has the distinction of being controlled and managed by its Inupiat shareholders. The

employees of the UIC parent company are mostly Inupiat. Only those positions requiring technical experience which the shareholders do not possess are held by nonshareholders. As its previous president, George Ahmaogak, noted, UIC is able to maintain its Inupiat viewpoint and is readily willing to advocate for the interest of its shareholders. A corporate staff person commented that , "We don't need lawyers and consultants to tell us what to do, just how to do it."

SOCIAL INVESTMENTS

While the young directors were concerned that the corporation should begin to act as a profit-making entity, they also felt that UIC had a responsibility to protect and promote their traditional Inupiat way of life. The corporation's board of directors have consistently opposed offshore oil development activities which may adversely affect the bowhead whales and subsistence hunting. The board has a policy that it will not invest in any business ventures which may have a negative impact on the culture even if the business may be economically lucrative. The board also 'campaigned vigorously for the enactment of a federal Arctic policy which would allow the Inupiat a greater degree of involvement in the decisions that affect them.

The concern to control offshore oil development led the board to join a legal suit with the Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope in the federal court. UIC and ICAS assert that they have possessory rights under the doctrine of aboriginal title over the sea and sea-ice region from 3 to 65 miles offshore. They argued that they have traditionally used this area for their

subsistence hunting. The also claimed that ANCSA did not extinguish their aboriginal rights in this region. The U.S. District Court and the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals have ruled against " them. UIC has announced that it intends to ask the United States Supreme Court to review the case.

As part of its social investment policy, the board of directors reactivated its nonprofit organization, the Arctic Slope Inupiat Foundation, in 1983. UIC gave the foundation an initial grant of \$25,000 to provide elders assistance with their social, health and transportation needs. UIC also intends to expand its services to support educational and training opportunities for younger shareholders. UIC has also donated funds to a variety of cultural and recreational activities in the community such as Native dancing classes.

UIC has been a strong advocate for the regional tribal government, the Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope. ICAS has provided a variety of governmental services to the Inupiat through contracts with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It has provided political support and, on occasion, financial support and has been playing a major role in reactivating ICAS, currently in retrocession (returning all program administration to the BIA). UIC has assigned one staff person to assist in reactivating ICAS. The corporation is not only interested in the governmental services which ICAS can provide, but also in the powers ICAS has as a tribal government. UIC has also provided the funding in the federal case, ICAS and UIC vs. the United States, seeking aboriginal title to the offshore area.

Concern over the lack of housing for its young married shareholders who were living in extended family dwellings prompted UIC to conduct a land lottery in 1982 to convey fee simple title to 67 lots. Two years later, the corporation sponsored another lottery for 208 lots. The corporation holds the right of first refusal to purchase the lots if shareholders elect to sell their lots.

As part of its land management program, UIC also dedicated 20 miles on the Chukchi sea coast and another 700 acres on Point Barrow for subsistence purposes. The corporation has also developed a system to reconvey lands used for business, subsistence campsites and occupancy to shareholders under ANCSA Section 14(c)(1). Nonshareholders are required to have a permit to utilize the lands which have been set aside for subsistence purposes. UIC has called upon the NSB Public Safety Department to evict trespassers who disturb subsistence activities. UIC also advised the Alaska Department of Fish and Game that it must have corporate permits to have access to its lands. In 1979, the corporation initiated the UIC vs. Alaska Department of Fish and Game case in the U.S. District Court. ADF&G had issued citations to two hunters for violations of hunting regulations and confiscated their caribou. The corporation charged that ADF&G trespassed on corporate land and harassed shareholders. UIC argued that its lands within the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska are outside the jurisdiction of the state. UIC won its case.

UIC has also rejected the Bureau of Land Management position denying allotments to 11 individuals within UIC land areas. Initially, the BLM position was to subtract the total acreage for

these land allotments from UIC land entitlement of 209,000 acres under ANCSA. The corporation has taken the position that these individuals, who are shareholders of UIC, have prior valid and existing rights to their allotments OVER UIC claims.

ECONOMIC INVESTMENTS

Prior to 1983, UIC's financial progress was measured in terms of reductions of losses rather than increases in profits. UIC management attributes much of financial difficulties to the drain on its resources to pay for the litigation the corporation initiated on behalf of its shareholders. Beginning in 1981, the company began to diversify its investments and increased its assets to approximately \$16 million, and its current liabilities are almost negligible. UIC, the parent company, has business interests in approximately a dozen different companies including insurance construction transportation, building supplies, and Communication. One of its most recent investments was in a three-party venture which will manage and operate the Kuparuk Industrial Center. KIC is an oilfield service center constructed by the NSB. This is the first joint venture involving major Inupiat-owned companies, including ASRC, the borough, Pingo Corporation and UIC. The village corporation has attempted to maintain its investment enterprises in the North Slope region. It has also invested in activities which complement one another, according to the statements of a corporate official.

In 1983, UIC declared its first dividend of \$1 to its 2,040 shareholders. Most shareholders received \$100 dividend. Other than the one-time dividend and the lots conveyed to 279 share-

holders, the most direct benefit to shareholders has been in the area of employment. The corporate office staff is well over 90 percent shareholder hire. One subsidiary has been quite successful in shareholder hire. The percentage of shareholders has ranged as high as 98 percent on certain construction projects. However, other subsidiaries have been less successful.

UIC stands as a model of one of the Native corporations that has attempted to meet both the economic, social, and cultural needs of its shareholders. In spite of the claims made by many Native people that the corporate structure is alien to Native people and conflicts with Native values, UIC has developed a cadre of Inupiat shareholders who have readily adopted the corporate model. Nearly 30 Inupiat living in Barrow have started their own businesses. While most of the individual Native companies are small, their existence represents economic assimilation.

Arctic Slope Regional Corporation

The predecessor of the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, the Arctic Slope Native Association, was the only Native group to vote against approving of ANCSA. Although its leaders were opposed to the act, they immediately initiated action to implement ANCSA. They also acknowledge that they knew very little about the new institutional form they inherited under the act. Its first president, Joseph Upickson, who had been one of the articulate leaders from the North Slope, said in his first annual report to the shareholders that "We didn't know what a corpora-

tion was, or land selection, or oil companies or much else in the corporate world."

While its organizers may have lacked corporate experience, the corporation moved very quickly to implement ANCSA. Its corporate officials take much pride in their ability to learn about land selections and to organize businesses. They acknowledge that in their first years they tried many businesses, some of which did well and others were abandoned. With a 5-million acre land base including lands with great potential for petroleum development, the corporation didn't take too long to enter the business arena. During the 1979 to 1983 period, ASRC formulated and implemented a set of activities to seek the resources of the land, to develop the educational level of its shareholders, and to continue the major investment in the exploration and development of its land. Overall the company appeared to be quite successful in achieving these goals. By June 30, 1983, ASRC's assets totaled over \$56 million. The regional corporation had also initiated a series of land exchanges which significantly increased the value of its 5 million acres in land holdings.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND MANAGEMENT

The ASRC Board of Directors, its officers and management reflect remarkable stability. The only dramatic changes in its corporate history was 'the defeat of its first chairman of the board in late 1970's and the removal of its executive vice-president in 1982. A common perception of many shareholders was that the executive vice-president who had undue control over the corporation. 'The 15-member board of directors is made up of

directors from each of the 7 villages and 5 from Barrow and 3 at-large members. Approximately 54 percent of the 4,000 shareholders are from Barrow, which is the basis of their numerical dominance on the board. The board composition is all male and is equally divided between younger and older members. At least two or three of the board members have also served concurrently on the North Slope Borough Assembly.

SOCIAL INVESTMENTS

ASRC has frequently reiterated that it is keenly aware of possible conflicts between development activities and traditional lifestyle activities. The corporation adopted a position that neither of these activities should be sacrificed for the other. It has maintained that resource exploration and extraction and the protection of environment and lifestyles can be compatible. While the economic opportunities for the corporation appeared to be promising in the 1978 Beaufort Sea lease sale, shareholder opposition to offshore exploration and development activities kept the regional corporation from investing in these activities.

The regional corporation donates funds to a variety of cultural and community activities. It provides office space and support for the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission. Perhaps its most significant social investment, however, is in the education of its shareholders. ASRC organized the Arctic Education Foundation which awards scholarships to students attending postsecondary institutions. In 1983, AEF awarded scholarships to 41 ASRC Shareholders. ASRC contributes a significant portion of the scholarship funds, but contributions are also made by local

ture. The lands that have been selected by ASRC have generally been for their nonrenewable extractive resources rather than their subsistence value.

In early 1981, a boundary error was discovered which led to the opportunity for ASRC to file land selections in a 96,000 acre area along the southeastern boundary of NPR-A. When it was learned that the wrong mountain peak had been used on government maps as the southeast corner of NPR-A, ASRC persuaded the then Secretary of the Interior, James Watt, to withdraw the lands for ASRC selection. ASRC had the first priority over the state of Alaska to select land in the area. According to ASRC reports, the area is thought to have high potential for oil and gas and hard rock mineral deposits.

Under the terms of ANCSA and the Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act of 1980, ASRC's land entitlement is 4.6 million acres. Under the provision of ANILCA, ASRC is entitled to exchange portions of its land for other lands in the National Petroleum Reserve, Alaska, and the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. These lands were previously excluded from ASRC land selection. These options, according to ASRC, are important factors affecting the pattern of ASRC land holdings and the possible resolution of the 'severed estates' problems created in ANCSA (when ASRC was not allowed to acquire village subsurface in NPR-A and ANWR). These options also could provide a greater measure of local control over village corporation lands. It also makes possible a direct revenue source for the villages affected, in the event a discovery is made on or near such lands.

ASRC exercised its options under ANILCA and acquired a small but important parcel in the Cape Halkett area in 1982. The regional and village corporations in NPR-A and ANWR have also negotiated further land exchanges. In 1983, ASRC, Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation and the Department of the Interior completed a land exchange which allowed ASRC to acquire the subsurface estate beneath lands which were conveyed to KIC. In this exchange, ASRC conveyed to the United States approximately equal surface acreage in the Chandler Lake-Kollutark area. Under another ANILCA exchange, ASRC will receive additional lands adjacent to Nunamiut Corporation (Anaktuvuk Pass village corporation). This exchange will create a consolidated ASRC-Nunamiut ownership pattern in the Anaktuvuk Pass region. Congress also enacted legislation in 1984 which authorized further exchanges of land between the United States and ASRC. In this exchange, ASRC received 11,250 acres of surface lands and 57,600 acres of fee lands (except for gas and sand and gravel) south of UIC lands. In the exchange, ASRC conveyed to the United States nearly 170,000 acres of subsurface lands in the western Arctic and Gates of the Arctic National Park. ASRC indicates that the land it conveyed to the Park Service contains little resource potential.

In 1981 and 1982 ASRC had approximately 4.3 million acres of its fee and subsurface land under lease to several oil companies. A total of eight exploratory wells were drilled on ASRC land which represented a monetary exploration commitment in excess of \$400 million. By 1983, the total acreage of leased lands was reduced to 2.5 million acres. The reduction in lease revenues was offset in early 1984 by the lease revenues obtained from the

XVII. THE INUPIAT COMMUNITY OF THE ARCTIC SLOPE

The formation of Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope was the third phase in the Inupiat's effort to formally unify the villages in the North Slope region. The initial effort began in 1961 and included the Inupiat in northwestern and northern Alaska. They organized the Inupiat Paitot (People's Heritage) to protect their aboriginal land and hunting rights and to pursue economic and social development. This organization was the first to link the Inupiat with other regional Native organizations to pursue land rights. It was later replaced by the Arctic Slope Native Association and the Northwest Arctic Native Association. Unlike Inupiat Paitot, the membership of ASNA was limited to the Inupiat who lived north of the Brooks Range. The leadership within ASNA moved to further solidify the North Slope communities by organizing the Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope (ICAS) under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934 as applied to Alaska by the Alaska Reorganization Act of May 1, 1936 (World Associates, 1978).

According to the 131A records, six villages were eligible to vote in the election to accept or reject the formation of a regional tribal government. The formation of ICAS was approved by 541 Inupiat living within four villages (See Table 17-1). This number was well in excess of the 30 percent required for a proper election under the regulation implementing the Indian Reorganization Act. Only four villages actually participated in the election. The 63 Inupiat who claimed Point Lay as their residence were not living in the village at this time. They did,

TABLE 17-1

Implementation of ICAS Election

Community	Eligible Voters	Votes Cast
Anaktuvuk Pass	68	
Barrow & Browerville	784	
Kaktovik	84	
Point Hope	140	
Wainwright	124	
TOTAL	1200	

Source : BIA

according to the BIA records, participate in the election. Point Hope did not vote because weather problems did not allow for an election. The communities of Nuiqsut and Ataqasuk were not formally established during the election period. The formation of a regional tribal government did not mean the the villages surrendered their autonomy. The villages continued to utilize their local IRA.

Membership

According to the ICAS preamble, the members are the Inupiat residing in the North Slope region. The geographic limits of ICAS are coextensive the North Slope Borough boundary which is the area north of the 68th parallel of latitude. Article II,

section one of the constitution is more specific and identifies its membership as follows:

The base membership roll of the community shall consist of all persons whose name appear on a list of individuals of Inupiat blood residing with the community or associated with it prepared pursuant to the direction of the Secretary of the Interior.

It is of interest to note that section one includes as members those Inupiat who are "associated" with the community. This suggests that the member need not necessarily reside in the North Slope communities. In this case, those who live in Anchorage and work in the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, the Barrow village corporation and the North Slope Borough office are considered members of the tribal organization.

Its membership is also restricted by article II, section 3 as follows:

No person shall be enrolled as a member of this community who maintains membership in any other Native group organized pursuant to the Acts of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984), and May 1, 1936 (49 Stat. 1250).

The latter provision is of significance in that it technically restricts from ICAS membership those Inupiat who are members of the village IRA's. David Case, the BIA attorney-advisor? recommended that those who desire to become members of ICAS 'renounce any membership they may retain in any previously established IRA organization as part of the enrollment process (Case, 1979, p* 11). In actuality, ICAS never implemented an enrollment process nor did it initiate any action to restrict its membership. The constitution was amended in the mid-1970's to

include the traditional councils of Atqasuk and Nuiqsut as well as the Point Hope and Point Lay IRA's.

Leadership

ICAS is governed by an elected council of 12 members. According to the amended constitution and bylaws, Barrow is entitled to 5 members and each of the 7 villages is represented by 1 member. The first election was held in 1971. Although council members are elected for three-year terms, no further elections were held for several years.

ICAS was largely controlled by the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation. Its board of directors, with the exception of one or two members, also served on the tribal council. Meetings for both organizations were called for the same time. Joe Upickson served as chair for both organizations. He would merely adjourn the ASRC meeting and then call the ICAS meeting to order. All council and board members would usually vote during the meetings of both organizations. Rather than announce that only the elected members of each governing board could vote, the chair would diplomatically count only the votes of the appropriate members.

The first regionwide election to include all the villages in the North Slope was held in 1979. For the first time, all villages were represented on the tribal council. However, Barrow and the ASRC continued to dominate ICAS. Most of the Barrow representatives were still ASRC board members as well. Routine decisions were still made by the executive board, whose members

were the Barrow members. The ASRC/ICAS overlap was thus continued in effect if not on paper.

Another ICAS election was held the following summer in which several board members were replaced. The new membership resulted in a shift of the balance of power away from ASRC to Utkeavik Inupiat Corporation, the Barrow village corporation. The approach of the new members was one of aggressive assertion of Inupiat sovereignty. Their personal style was more aggressive, and at the same time, more open than that of their predecessors. For instance, the reorganization meeting was televised and broadcast over the local radio network.

Powers and Authorities

Under the provisions of the IRA, ICAS has the authority to act both as a political and economic institution. ICAS adopted a constitution and bylaws for its tribal government, but did not adopt a corporate charter. The leaders of ASNA had originally assumed that ICAS would be the logical recipient for both the land and money entitlements under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. However, the legislation mandated that corporations rather than tribal organizations should implement ANCSA. As a result of this legislative requirement, the leaders did not establish a corporate organization to do business, but limited their activities to governmental functions.

ICAS, as a federally recognized, dependent sovereign entity, has the power to deal with the federal and state government on a government-to-government basis. Its relationship with the North Slope Borough has been as a government-to-government. Since its

formation, its purpose has been twofold: to formulate policies and strategies to defend Inupiat rights and interests, primarily in environmental and resource management and harvest, and to provide services to its membership.

The enactment of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (P.L. 93-638) provided the mechanisms for the tribal government to contract with the federal government to provide services which were traditionally administered by the BIA and the USPHS. Representatives from the North Slope first met with the BIA in 1976 to recommend the budget allocations in the BIA's "band analysis" process. ICAS proceeded to contract with the federal government to administer its first project in 1977.

Institutional Linkages

The ramifications of the federal/tribal/state division in authorities, vis-a-vis the North Slope Borough and other state entities within the region, have been to place individuals who originally organized ICAS in conflicting positions. During the course of the past 12 years--the period in which ICAS, the North Slope Borough and ANCSA corporations have all developed--inter-institutional relations have been determined at once by the issues at hand, and at the same time by the relationship of the individuals holding positions of authority within each organization. Although the same core of people was involved in the creation of the regional power structures--Arctic Slope Native Association (ASNA), ICAS, Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (ASRC), the Native Village of Barrow, and the North Slope Borough

Assembly--the first few years of organizational development were intense and at times divided the community.

The tribal status of ICAS has, on the other hand, created alliances as when, for instance, the village corporation joined ICAS in its suit with the U.S. over sea-ice jurisdiction. As a corporate organization, UIC did not have the authority to sue in cases claiming aboriginal rights/title and ICAS did not have the finances to litigate. At other times, overlapping jurisdiction has created conflict between the institutions as to which has what authority. For instance the, Inupiat who claimed the North Slope under aboriginal title argued that ICAS as the tribal government did not give its consent to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act which transferred its lands to corporate entities organized under state laws.

Relations between the various institutions within the North Slope are a function of several factors. The ability to maximize the benefits of each regional institution for specific purposes has not yet been defined, and the limitations that each pose have not been identified. This uncertainty may contribute to the contradictory positions made by the same individual who sits on different governing bodies. In one capacity, he may support a position that he previously opposed as a representative of another institution. Leadership roles and alliances have traditionally been flexible within the Inupiat society. An umialik may attract a whaling crew through family ties and community position, but members are free to transfer to another crew if they desire. An agukig (roughly translated "foreman") is a temporarily designated leader whose expertise in a particular

matter is recognized and called upon. Once the task is completed, his position of leadership is finished. As a consequence, alliances between people shift according to the context. The institutional leaders are yet determining how to adapt this flexibility apparent in the traditional organizations to the new formal institutions.

The most divisive conflicts are those which divide Inupiat families whose members represent various institutions and who seek to maintain their control over land, cash, revenues and political power. The relationship of ICAS to other institutions on the North Slope has varied from one of potential centrality to that of peripheral importance because of such circumstances. However, its potential as an organization to singly represent Inupiat interests has been acknowledged even by those who oppose its actions of the moment. The fact that the current borough mayor served on the tribal council may well influence future relations between the borough and ICAS.

The perpetual struggle in the North Slope, both historically as well as in the present period, has been to control access to the resources in the region. ICAS adopted the position to protect Inupiat access to and management of land and resources. In this regard, it has given support for a number of lawsuits relating to trespass damages to its land prior to ANCSA, approval for allotments within NPR-A. In terms of jurisdiction over wildlife resources, ICAS supported the formation of a new organization to deal with the International Whaling Commission. ICAS, by resolution, transferred its tribal authority to the Alaska Eskimo

Whaling Commission in 1978 to protect its aboriginal whaling activities .

Although ICAS was not active during the latter half of the 1970's, its council members initiated action which established its links to other institutions. The board passed several resolutions which effectively transferred its tribal authority and its ability to provide services for its membership to the NSB and ASRC : housing (HUD), health (PHS) and education were transferred to the NSB; gas operations were delegated to a utilities organization through an agreement between the U.S. Navy, the BIA, and ASRC. These actions maximized the financial base for each of the institutions and increased the services to its membership.

As previously noted, ICAS was largely dominated by ASRC during its formative years. The focus of the ASRC Board of Directions who were also the tribal councilmen was largely devoted to implementing ANCSA. Throughout the 1970's ICAS was fairly inactive. However, in the early 1980's, a new direction emerged as its council members changed. The publication of The Inupiat View was a formal statement, of ICAS' position on a number of issues concerning Inupiat land use, resources ,and proposed NPR-A management plans. It emphasized free access and use of the region, strict environmental protection, and "the highest degree possible of home rule." 'The document was authorized and endorsed by a board that was essentially the same as that of ASRC. Yet it supported several positions that could possibly conflict with the objectives of the for-profit ANCSA corporation, i.e., water priorities placed industrial needs last, gravel was identified as a surface resource (and therefore

accessible to the village corporations for development), and a case-by-case evaluation of development projects was urged. It asserted that the potential conflict among the many institutions on the North Slope could be minimized only if the protection of subsistence remained the prime objective of all concerned.

ICAS' intergovernmental relations with the North Slope Borough was initially limited to the authority ICAS transferred to the NSB to contract from BIA and PHS under P.L. 93-638. Eben Hopson had little regard for the potential of IRA governmental authority both because of his disdain for the BIA and his knowledge of the benefits that could be secured under a municipal home rule borough. Neither Mayor Hopson nor ICAS Tribal Chairman, Upickson initiated any action to clarify how the two entities might work together as governments. A common assumption among the residents was that the North Slope Borough was adequate to represent and protect Inupiat interests since the Inupiat were the majority population and they could control the NSB. ICAS was perceived to be less significant because the Inupiat had both the NSB and ASRC to promote their political and economic interests.

From 1971 to 1980, ICAS experienced a number of changes in relation to other institutions. From the start, members of its council for the most part served on other governing bodies as well (village corporations, the regional corporation, and the North Slope Borough Assembly). Interlocking membership was not viewed as a conflict of interest, in part because the institutions shared mutual objectives for their constituency and ICAS was viewed primarily as a vehicle for contracting with the BIA

and PHS to administer services. Its potential as a local governing agent was perceived to be minor in relation to the North Slope Borough.

By the late 1970's, the governing body had begun to separate itself from ASRC and also moved to regain some of the authorities it had transferred to the borough and AEWC. ICAS was also formalizing its relationship with the villages. It had obtained authorization from all of the North Slope communities to negotiate with the federal government to contract to provide BIA and PHS services. Its relationship with the borough also became more intense and varied. At times the borough was highly critical (as when ICAS questioned the use of PCP in the construction of the utility system in Barrow); at other times, the borough provided political and material support to the tribal government. For example, the borough mayor provided an affidavit in support of ICAS vs. the United States even though ICAS' position would lessen the borough's jurisdiction; and the borough provided a grant of \$100,000 to support ICAS' Emergency Relief Program.

As previously noted, the North Slope Borough was originally perceived by many North Slope residents to be an Inupiat government by virtue of the fact that Inupiat are a majority population in this region. This attitude underwent some change by the late 1970's. It was becoming increasingly clear that many issues crucial to Inupiat interests could not be pursued by a state government that could not advocate solely for Inupiat interests. The potential of a tribal government representing Inupiat interests was becoming increasingly evident. As pointed out by Worl et al. (1981), ICAS was perceived as well to offer a forum in which

people could express positions that would be impossible in other contexts. The early leaders of the region neglected to define the organizational jurisdictions. The issues surrounding decreasing tax revenues, threats to subsistence priority and the potential loss of Native land may well lead current leaders to reexamine the benefits of tribal as well as state structures.

Historical Overview

Since its formation, ICAS has experienced periods of relative inactivity to periods of intense activity. It has been affected by both the leadership and the forces which have impacted the North Slope region during the past 12 years.

ICAS was fairly inactive from the time of its organization in early 1971 until the mid-1970's. As noted previously, this was in part due to the enactment of ANCSA which delegated much of the functions to corporate entities which the leaders had originally assumed would be conducted by the tribal Organization. The leaders of ICAS were also heavily involved in implementing ICAS. The taxation powers of the NSB also made the borough government far more attractive than the tribal government which would have been dependent primarily on federal revenues. The major activity initiated by ICAS during the formative years was to delegate its authorities to other institutions, such as the NSB, ASRC and AEWC to represent its interests in behalf of its constituents.

In the mid-1970's, the Inupiat leaders began to examine way that ICAS could begin to provide services. During this period, ICAS moved to obtain resolutions from all seven Arctic Slope

villages authorizing it to negotiate a contract to provide federal services on their behalf as well as on Barrow's. The contract included dollars from general assistance (emergency financial aid), realty, housing improvement program, direct employment, advanced vocational training, and tribal operations.

Scattered information from Wainwright and Kaktovik indicates that ICAS was initially perceived as predominantly a Barrow organization rather than a regionwide institution. This attitude began to change by mid-1978 when most villages obtained part-time ICAS/social services representatives. Contact also increased when ICAS Barrow staff made field visits two to three times a year. Funds from the Administration for Native Americans and from CETA were obtained to expand the natural resources program. a tribal employment rights office was begun, and a child welfare worker augmented the general assistance program.

ICAS' increasing activity during the late 1970's and early 1980's was a result of a more aggressive and politicized council and its Inupiat staff. The passage of the U.S. Self-Determination Act and the U.S. Indian Child Welfare Act was instrumental in providing funds. The organization providing direct services changed during this period. Personnel grew in number as new programs were added on and village staff multiplied. The proportion of Inupiat staff changed from about 30 percent in 1979 to 95 percent in 1982. This increase was accompanied by a heightened perception by the general population of the capabilities of ICAS. Those involved in the political developments of this period were aware from the outset of ICAS' unique tribal authorities. Others did not begin to feel the ICAS presence, particularly in the

villages, until the end of the 1970's. By that time, however, many villages saw ICAS as a source of financial aid and advocacy. Interorganizational relations were highly cooperative--ICAS staff worked regularly with different organizations, such as the division of family and youth services, Arctic-Women-in-Crisis, public assistance, Alaska Legal Services, the public defenders and local civic organizations.

ICAS continued its organizational expansion into the first part of the 1980's, but it was also accompanied by a period of conflict both internally and externally. The BIA reclaimed the funds which supported the realty department and the possibility existed that other funds would have to be returned to the BIA. A general concern was the number of non-Inupiat employees in ICAS. One administrative staff person described the organization and programs "just -provided people with paychecks." At this time there was also a major shift in the makeup of the board. This coincided with both contract negotiations with the BIA and a significant degree of personnel turnover. The executive director, three accounting staff, and the natural resources director were non-Inupiat staff who resigned or were terminated. One Inupiat administrator was terminated, another resigned. All positions were replaced with ICAS members.

In the early 1980's, ICAS was also increasing its effort to become recognized by its membership as a viable tribal entity exercising Inupiat self-government. One of its first major acts was to call for an audit of all federal programs on the North Slope. This call was initiated with the idea that ICAS would

reassume control over them. Full council meetings were called regularly. Village council members were encouraged to take an active part in the meetings and in the decision-making process. Two lawsuits were filed: ICAS vs. U.S., regarding trespass damages that occurred prior to ANCSA, and ICAS vs. U.S., concerning the jurisdiction over the sea-ice beyond 3-mile offshore. In both suits, UIC was a co-plaintiff and provided financial support for attorneys' fees. Extensive village travel was undertaken to re-present the organization to its membership, both in its scope of policy (primarily in the explanation of ICAS' lawsuits) and of services. ICAS also moved to revise its constitution to expand its tribal sovereignty. The tribal rights 'under the U.S. Indian Child Welfare Act were actively assumed and the formation of a tribal court system-was considered. The difference between the borough as a state entity and ICAS as a tribal government became more apparent during this period.

In addition to the land and resource policy questions, the council formalized its policies on institutional management and a number of social welfare issues: the Tribal Employment Rights Office (TERO) line of authority was directly to the council; a council member was designated to monitor Indian Child Welfare Act actions; the council also monitored health and employment conditions. (In 1982, the council received a request from an Inupiat family in Fairbanks to transfer jurisdiction from the state to the tribal council which would act as the tribal court. The council accepted, but its request was denied.)

The BIA contracts relating to housing improvement, social services, vocational training, direct employment, tribal opera-

tions and natural resources were also expanded. The council viewed land issues to be of paramount importance to ICAS membership and, therefore made several unsuccessful attempts to reinstate the realty contract with the BIA. The receipt of funds under the Indian child welfare program which were first received in 1981 allowed ICAS to employ village staff, namely, a part-time ICWA worker and a part-time paralegal. By 1982, an ANA/TERO federal grant allowed village TERO officers to monitor village construction projects. CETA funds provided for some vocational training, local adult education support and on-the-job training. After the BIA ended its general assistance program in 1982, ICAS obtained \$160,000 from a number of organizations of the North Slope, including the North Slope Borough, the City of Barrow, the Mothers Club and the Presbyterian church to meet the emergency needs of residents throughout all the villages.

ICAS was seeking ways of becoming less dependent on the BIA for program funds while becoming recognized throughout the North Slope as an organization capable of providing a number of services. It also sought to deal with several aspects of Inupiat self-determination which would achieve interorganizational support. The growth of ICAS was not without conflict however.

During the period from 1980-1982, conflict within the council was evident in the alternation of council president between the "old" and the "new" guard. The leadership styles of the two council presidents was markedly different. This was accompanied by seven changes of executive directors in three years. Internal

conflict was not related to the objectives of ICAS but rather to the leadership style, strategy and tactics.

The response to the International Whaling Commission quota in the spring of 1982 illustrates the leadership style of one president. During that season, the limit for struck whales was reached in Barrow even without landing a whale and before all the crews were at their whaling camp. The Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission called all of the crews off the ice. The ICAS president sent a telegram to the President of the United States - announcing that the white residents were at risk if the Inupiat could not hunt and obtain an adequate number of whales to meet community needs. The reaction of council members and the community was immediate and strong but mixed. Many advocated for the AEWC to take a stronger position against the quota and some thought that the Barrow whalers ignored the quota. Others wanted to avoid any confrontation since the traditional belief was that whales would avoid a community engulfed in conflict and the hunters would never be able to take whales. The disagreement within the community was not the goal sought by the president of ICAS, who wanted Barrow to continue hunting. The disagreement was caused by the manner in which he expressed opposition to the quota system.

The deliberately confrontational stance of this ICAS president resulted in polarizing the community in order to expose the issues and make people feel their immediacy. Although public expression of interpersonal discord within the community is generally discouraged, open defiance has been a successful Inupiat tactic in dealing with outside agencies. The Barrow "duck-in" of

1960 is perhaps the most famous example of the open confrontational stance. In this case, one Barrow hunter WAS arrested for hunting ducks out of season. Over 100 hunters, each carrying a duck, approached the U.S. Fish and Wildlife officer and demanded that they also be arrested. The key to such success was communitywide support. Public awareness of many of the issues in which ICAS has been involved has not been as great as it was during the "duck-in." Many of the issues are based on complex legal definitions of authority and jurisdiction. "Education of the membership" was seen as a crucial task of the ICAS Council if it were to operate effectively as a government. The dramatic approach by the ICAS president WAS meant to convey his sense of loss and urgency to the federal government while on the other hand it dramatized the diminished local control over aboriginal whaling.

The other style of leadership was subdued with the president working behind the scenes and striving to keep the day-to-day operation running smoothly. His focus of attention WAS on the internal operations of ICAS rather than the larger issues affecting the community. Both leaders are seen in the community to possess specialized knowledge that is utilized in different situations.

In the summer of 1982, the BIA suspended the ICAS letter of credit which had been extended in order for ICAS to administer the BIA contracts. By March, 1983, the contracts were "retroceded" or returned to the BIA. At this time, ICAS had obtained over \$600,000 for other contracts. However, the larger part of

the administration and salary were supported by the BIA contracts. ICAS was forced to end its delivery of services completely.

The events leading up to the cessation of ICAS program services are interpreted differently by various individuals. According to the BIA, the issues concern expenditures which exceeded the contract amount and scope. Local interpretation includes the conviction that the BIA pulled the funds because the aggressive stance of the tribal organization on issues, such as the whaling quota and the ICAS lawsuits.

During the initial period of this dispute between ICAS and the BIA, several council representatives were replaced with more conservative members. The staff worked for several months without pay to try to maintain the delivery of services. The disagreements continued and in the spring of 1983, the council was advised that there were means of regaining a letter of credit. The council agreed to retrocede the contract "Temporarily" to the BIA. The retrocession was to be for 90 days. Two years have passed and the ICAS Council has formally requested the return of the contract, but it remains under BIA control. The BIA services which ICAS had been providing under contract remain for the most part undelivered.

The retrocession of the P.L. 93-638 "Self-Determination" contract to the BIA occurred in 1982. The council is dependent on BIA monies to bring village council members into Barrow and as a result the council has met only sporadically since 1983. Some members have made efforts to revive the organization. Several council members have expressed that they feel that the BIA is

dictating how the council should operate {Specifying dates of meetings, suggesting election procedures even though the ICAS constitution and bylaws include already approved regulations, etc.)}.

Council members have reiterated that ICAS as a tribal government exists even though there is no funding for its administration. According to the council members, the BIA cannot deny the existence of a local government, it can only control contracting for services.

The Native Village of Barrow , the local village IRA, held its first election in many years in September, 1984, and a five-member council was elected. The Barrow tribal council has made efforts to apply for BIA funds and to receive notifications of actions affecting Native children under the authority of the Indian Child Welfare Act.

Throughout its active period, the Council consistently supported Inupiat interests concerning subsistence issues. Even though its council members were affiliated with prodevelopment organizations they have often supported ICAS positions conflicting with development interests in favor of subsistence. As has been suggested elsewhere, ICAS has perhaps functioned as an organization in which the Inupiat can take positions which are not necessarily appropriate in other contexts. It can also be argued that Inupiat leaders are testing the limits of the many organizations which have recently been introduced into the community to find those tools and strategies that are most effective in dealing with outside agencies.

The Native Village of Barrow is contending that the five Barrow members of the ICAS Council should properly be those already on the Native Village of Barrow Council. The primary action of the village IRA Council revolves around their assertion that it has the patented claim to 6 square miles of Barrow land which it argues was patented prior to ANCSA and therefore subject to "valid existing rights." The village council is also claiming lands which were not affected by ANCSA, but which may possibly lead to conflicts with organizations that have already developed land within the same area. The future of this tribal entity is still to be determined. The Native Village of Barrow has not received communitywide support. Approximately 70 people out of a possible 1,500 to 2,000 voted in the fall election. Council members indicate that increasing community involvement and support is one of their highest priorities.

XVIII. VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

Barrowites support a large number of communitywide voluntary organizations. Some of these groups raise their own funds in the town and provide some specific social services to the community (Mothers Club, Search and Rescue). Others, formed to provide an opportunity for association, tend to be more social, but they also make donations to community events or institutions (VFW, Lions and Lionesses Club). Some are funded by local or state government. to support a specific activity of benefit to the community or region (volunteer fire departments, National Guard). The Chamber of Commerce seeks to promote community integration by sponsoring recreational and other special events which bring together individuals and members of community institutions for mutual participation. Another group, the Barrow Whaling Captains Association, meets periodically for the specific purpose of self-management of community whaling activities.

There has been significant change and development in some of these organizations in the 1979-83 period. Several have grown in membership and enlarged their scope of activity; some of these have been re-formed from an earlier period of decline in the 1970's and were in 1983 comprised of younger members with different institutional affiliations. Others have grown in maturity and have developed new types of relationships with other institutions in the community and beyond; sometimes they stimulated the formation of similar groups in the surrounding villages. The organizations selected for description below present the more important developments that have occurred in the 1979-83 period.

Barrow Search and Rescue

The Barrow Search and Rescue is an all-male volunteer association which organizes and carries out searches when hunting and fishing parties are reported overdue. The association also contacts the North Slope Borough Search and Rescue, when airborne assistance is needed, and supplies observers for the helicopters and planes. The association gives (and receives) assistance to the neighboring villages of Wainwright, Atkasuk, or Nuiqsut. Problems usually occur in winter, and searches are usually done by snowmachines. In large-scale searches the Mothers Club may provide these searchers with hot meals and drinks. In winter, the group sometimes conducts house-to-house searches for missing children who have not called home in a day or two.

The membership has grown significantly in the recent past. In 1983, there were 35-40 volunteers (Alaska Consultants, Inc., 1983, p. 75). By the end of 1984, membership was reported to be 105. Whaling captains, crews, and other active hunters in the community are members, but membership is not as widespread throughout the community as in Wainwright or Kaktovik. Although membership is not as prominent in Barrow as in the smaller villages, the organization is representative of the same traditional values of compassion for and obligation to give aid to other individuals in need. An analysis of the composition of the board indicates that the officers are older whaling captains who represent traditional elements of Inupiat culture. Some of these individuals have from time to time acted as informal advisors of younger leaders in the community, and others are known for their

accomplished participation in traditional activities such as Eskimo dancing. Apparently, the Barrow Search and Rescue is representative of a traditional element in the Barrow community, and the recent increase in membership may indicate that the influence of such values is growing in significance. In 1984 the president of Search and Rescue was elected to the borough assembly. Future monitoring efforts should examine^e this potential in greater detail.

The Barrow Search and Rescue is incorporated as a nonprofit organization and is governed by a five-member board of directors. The four officers (president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer) are board members. The group has one committee? the bingo committee, which sponsors one or two nights of bingo each week in the community center. These games are the major source of funding for the organization, but it also receives equipment on occasion from the borough or other agencies. The group has monthly meetings. At one such meeting the state legislative representative from the region happened to walk in and listened to a discussion of the organization's need for a larger boat. In the following year, Search and Rescue received the boat through legislative appropriation. Some members of the group flew to Kotzebue to bring the boat to Barrow along the coast; they stopped in communities along the way (Pt. Hope, Pt. Lay, and Wainwright) and instructed those groups how to obtain such a grant. The Barrow group encourages development of other local search and rescue organizations, some members traveled to Pt. Hope to help that community reorganize its group in 1982 or 1983.

The Barrow Search and Rescue has four snow machines, two boats, and a headquarters building which serves as a combination dispatch and coordination center, office, repair shop, and storage area. The lot on which the headquarters is situated belongs to the city, which rents it to the organization at the rate of \$1.00 per year. In addition to providing a donation of this lot, the city is planning to make a similar agreement for the vacant adjoining lot. This area would be used for storage by the Barrow organization. The contribution of land by the city assists the Barrow Search and Rescue in keeping its operating costs manageable.

Bingo provides the group with some operating expenses which is augmented by the Volunteers, who contribute their time equipment, and supplies and by the North Slope Borough. The Borough Search and Rescue provides equipment. (four snow machines, one boat) and may reimburse individuals for their gasoline expenses. Formerly the borough rented the Barrow Search and Rescue building from the group for use as its base of operations (1979-83), and it housed its helicopter in NARL. Since late 1983, the Borough Search and Rescue has been located in a new hangar facility at the airport. The borough was instrumental in providing equipment and funding for air support for search and rescue. Minutes of assembly meetings indicate that whaling captains were influential in the decision to fund the first helicopter. It was purchased by the borough under the responsibility of the public works department, which Eugene Brewer (a whaling captain and former borough mayor) directed at the time. Later, the Borough Search and Rescue was expanded, and became a separate department in

and the principal actively supported the curfew and the "truant officers." The teachers would speak at Mothers Club meetings which, by the 1930's, were held in the school. The club also provided an opportunity for socializing; during the week between meetings members would gather for fun, games, and amusement.

After a fire which destroyed homes and lives in the 1950's, it was reported that the village council gave \$50 to the Mothers Club and instructed it to raise money for a disaster fund to contribute to the victims. This practice of raising money for family assistance (food, clothing, funeral expenses) after fires, drownings, etc. has become the major activity of the Mothers Club in the present. The initial means of raising money was a talent show in the armory. People were charged admission to see 'performances' on a rough stage. Box socials, Halloween parties, cake walks, and other types of social events were also held. The club started to change in the 1960's as the community grew faster; bingo games, started as a means of raising funds, became a very productive method. Social activities declined, however, and some key members who had been active in the Mothers Club since the 1930's and 1940's resigned. In 1970 or 1971, the Mothers Club approached the city council and asked it to take over the curfew because the town was becoming so large. The council accepted this request and began to appoint truant, offices to enforce the childrens' curfew. Through the 1970's the Mothers Club continued to sponsor bingo games and a few social gatherings and to provide assistance to needy families and to families suffering occurrences of misfortune. Assistance though was at an overall level substantially below that of the recent period.

1983. The relationship between the Borough Search and Rescue and the local voluntary group has not always been harmonious. A member of the local group served as coordinator with the borough structure, but disagreements have arisen over who has the authority to call out airsearch assistance and to say under which weather conditions such searches are to take place. The Barrow group is clearly determined to operate as a separate and independent organization.

Barrow Mothers Club

The Mothers Club was started during the 1920's by the wife of Otto W. Greist, a Presbyterian missionary. She was concerned with the rate of disease and poor health conditions of Inupiat households, and she sought to improve them by giving instruction on cleanliness in the home. By the 1930's, another emphasis had developed, namely ensuring that children came home in the evening and attended school during the day. In the 1930's and 1940's, it was reported that club members were given a list of cleaning tasks to carry out during the week; on Saturdays the club would go as a group to inspect the members' homes. The person who had completed all the tasks was given a banner with the words "Clean House" to keep until the following Saturday. Each week, two women were selected to walk around the town, following the ringing of the church bell at 9 p.m., to make sure all the children had returned home. Another pair of women were selected to visit the school during the week to discover who was absent, and then go to their homes to find out why they did not attend. The teachers

In the mid 1970's, at least one of the older members returned to the club and worked with a group of younger women. The club continued with the tradition of contributing to needy families, fire victims, and families with recent deaths. But in 1978-79, the club began a significant expansion in its community involvements which reshaped the club in the 1979-83 period. These actions are revitalizing and revivalistic, and are viewed by the new members as redefining the interests of the founders-in a modern setting of the in the social conditions of youth and in the betterment of the community, but only in a modern setting.

The two major issues which mobilized the Mothers Club in 1978-79 were whaling and the incidence of abused women in the community. The club was very involved in whaling because its members were the wives or relatives of whaling captains and crew members. The club president. was married to a whaling captain who was instrumental in obtaining the first helicopter for the borough. The members shared a concern over the effects of the international pressure to halt their whaling, and the club made substantial contributions to the AEWC for travel to the IWC meeting in Japan and to AEWC meetings in Barrow. Their 1981 donation was \$20,000.00. The level of involvement of the Mothers Club is indicative of the significance of the whaling quota and potential ban to the community and the extent to which whaling institutions continue to be an integrative mechanism in the community. The Mothers Club also works closely with the Barrow Search and Rescue; club members have donated their own meat and prepared hot meals and coffee for searchers. The Mothers Club

has organized food collections and has seen to its preparation and delivery.

In 1978-79 some club members noted that the incidence of abused women in the community had increased and exceeded the ability of volunteers to resolve. They decided that a safe home was necessary for these women and the club sponsored a trip by one of the officers to Anchorage to express this need at a statewide conference. At this time the only source of aid was through Fairbanks, but the amount was insufficient.. The Mothers Club pressed for the establishment of the Arctic Women in Crisis Center and began to make monthly contributions to keep it open. Later, the club succeeded in having it transferred to the borough's department of health and human services which has provided a sufficient level of funding. The Mothers Club continues to give donations to assist the center.

Bingo has provided the Mothers Club with substantial financial resources in the recent period and thus contributed to its growth and development. Throughout the 1979-83 period, the club has been involved in major local issues through its donations. It provided assistance to existing organizations and pursued the development of new social services. In 1981, for example, the Mothers Club made donations and contributions to 18 community organizations and social events totaling \$110,762.00, in addition to \$16,254.26 in assistance to families for fires, funerals, child illness, and related travel expenses (see Table 18-1). The Mothers Club has had a major impact in the development of community services for women and youth.

The Mothers Club assisted with the reformation of the Barrow

TABLE 18-11

Contributions by Barrow Mothers Club, 1981

Recipient	l?l.lrdosq	Amount
Alaska Native Women - Barrow Chapter	Donation	\$22,523.34
Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission	Donation	20,000.00
Families-Individuals in Barrow	Donation of aid and assistance	16,264.26
11 Club Members	AFN convention	10,292.00
NSBHSS - Youth Alternatives	Donation	10,000.00
American Cancer Society	Donation	9,576.00
Barrow High School	Close up program	7,000.00
Women in Crisis	Donation	6,729.32
Barrow Whalers	Escorts/mothers travel to tournament	6,001.80
Presbyterian Church - Board of Deacons	Donation	5,000.00
Inupiat Community	Donation	4,000.00
Qitiktichirit Club	Jesse Owens participation	3,000.00
Barrow Women's Basketball	Trip to Pt. Hope	1,800.00
All-Alaska Whaling Captains	Special dinner	1,601.54
NSB Children	Christmas stockings	1,194.21
Barrow Alcoholism	Donation	1,000.00
Atgasuk Mothers	Donation	800.00
City of Barrow	New building dedication	<u>243.80</u>
	Total	\$ 12,7,026.27

Source: Annual Financial Statement, 1981

Health Board in 1980-81. The health board had stopped functioning, and in order to initiate the process of reorganization, the Mothers Club temporarily assumed responsibilities of the health board during its meetings. The Mothers Club would recess their meeting and convene as the temporary health board, until permanent members of the health board were appointed. The Barrow Mothers Club also provided advice on the design of the Barrow Day Care Center. The club has an emergency scholarship fund which provides assistance to Barrow college students who need additional funds on short notice; the request must be brought up and voted on in a regular meeting.

The club has also been involved with the local chapter of the Statewide Native Womens' Organization (SNWO) through donations. Club donations provide Barrow women with the opportunity to participate in statewide organizations such as the SNWO and AFN. The institutional affiliations of Mothers Club members have shifted towards the local and statewide Women's and social service organizations, whereas the affiliations of former and current senior club members included one or more of the Presbyterian church groups (such as the Church Women's Association and Ikayuqtit, or Helpers).

The contributions to individuals and families for various needs continues to be a significant activity of the Mothers Club. Assistance after misfortunes, such as fire or death in the family, travel for medical or alcohol treatment, and for special medical treatment for children out of state are common forms of aid. Emergency relief is also available. When ICAS was no

longer able to provide general assistance to community members after 1982, the Mothers Club increased its contributions to the families in need.

The Barrow Mothers Club meets regularly once per month. They are formally organized as a nonprofit, and have elected officers since the 1920's. There are three officers (president, vice-president, and secretary/treasurer), and the club has two committees with committee chairwomen who also serve on the board. The bingo committee organizes and supplies the staff for the weekly bingo games. The social committee is responsible for buying food for the needy and organizing the annual Halloween parties and distribution of Christmas stockings to children in the community.

The revival of the Barrow Mothers Club has stimulated interest for similar organizations in other villages, particularly in Wainwright. In about 1981, the club president traveled to Wainwright to talk about the activities of the Mothers Club and how to reorganize the group in that community. She talked about bingo as a means of raising funds, the role of officers, and how to organize meetings. Following this meeting, the Wainwright Womens Club was formed. The Barrow club has also donated to the Atkasuk Mothers Club during the recent period.

Barrow Dancers

The Barrow Dancers first performed as a group outside the community in 1963, when the World Eskimo-Indian Olympics invited people from Barrow to dance at the competition in Fairbanks. Wien Airlines paid for some of the tickets, and often NARL would provide air transportation for the group. Membership in the

group was voluntary, and any interested person was eligible to join. Occasionally, a more gifted dancer was invited to join. The group has always been an informal association; it is not organized as a nonprofit organization and does not raise money through bingo. The group does have officers, however, who serve in contact and fund-raising roles.

The group has always been an informal association of friends and family who enjoy dancing. Local residents refer to the group by the present leader's name. In the recent past, it was known as Suvalik's Dance Group in reference to the former president who passed away in 1982. Members recalled him as a charismatic person who looked after the group, would talk and reassure them, and was knowledgeable and would tell them what to sing and how to move. He had been with the group from its beginning until his death, after which the group's composition changed. He and several other members died at about the same time, and some of the other members dropped out of the group about then. Consequently, there were more children and fewer adults in 1983 than were participating in 1979. Dance classes held in the school on two nights per week, have attracted more younger people in the recent period.

The Barrow Dancers do not perform as often, now as when Suvulug was alive. The fact that the new president lives in Atkasuk, has divided the organization of the group. The president is elected to be a contact person; when the group is invited to perform, he is the person who organizes the group and schedules practice sessions. Other members, who reside in Barrow,

assume fund-raising roles, sending letters and brochures to ASRC, the city, and other local organizations to request travel assistance. The dancers do not raise money through bingo and other social activities but depend on the help of organizations who invite them and other institutions; ASRC has been the major Contributor .

Dancers say that participating in dance is a very uplifting experience. It brings out strong feelings of happiness and well-being as they dance. People participate to the extent of their interest in dancing; there has never been a formal incorporation of the group in the community. Group members will dance at community celebrations at Thanksgiving and Christmas, and at other times on special occasions. Former members and other community residents will join them at any time. For events in the community, our observations indicate that the current dance group (Tunik's Dance Group) is not always distinguishable as a group from the other participants. In early 1985 we observed a long and exciting dance performance in Barrow at the 1985 meeting of whaling captains involving all the whaling villages.

National Guard

The National Guard unit in Barrow is part of A Company (North Slope) of the Third Scout Battalion (headquartered in Kotzebue) of the 297th Infantry. The original organization of the Guard in the North Slope villages developed during World War II when "Muktuk" Marston traveled with Governor Gruening and registered the village men into the Alaska Territorial Guard (the "Tundra Army"). These men were discharged after the war, but

several years later the National Guard was organized among the war veterans and former Territorial Guard members. This association was an important component in the organization of the land claims movement on the Slope and, after its passage, in the formation of the North Slope Borough. National Guard associates of Eben Hopson were given some key positions in the borough and, as pointed out in Chapter IX, the borough's village coordinators were drawn from this network.

The membership in the Guard declined during the late 1970's, and by 1983 nearly all members of the original group had passed away or retired from the Guard. During 1980, a member of the borough's public safety department in Barrow volunteered to serve as the officer in charge of the all-but-defunct A Company and try to build up its membership. Mainly through his efforts, membership has grown by 27 from 1980 to 1984, to a total of about 50 people in 5 villages. Both Barrow and Wainwright have more than 10 members, thus entitling them to an armory and authorizing one full-time position. Although the personnel has changed, this association may continue to grow and could become an influential mode of relationship in the future.

The activities of the National Guard include training for wartime missions, assisting in search and rescue missions, and contributing to community social activities such as the 4th of July celebrations. Training is scheduled during the winter months from October to April to allow members to be free to participate in subsistence in the summer months. Training normally occurs twice a month to compensate for this schedule.

There is also a mandatory participation in the annual statewide winter games training which lasts for two weeks. Training sessions are sometimes coordinated with other communities within and beyond the region. In 1984, Guardsmen from the Kobuk area came to Barrow for joint training missions. The commanding officer has requested a joint training maneuver with Canadian Eskimos east of Kaktovik, scheduled in 1985. As in the past, this activity may serve to cement former ties and provide an opportunity to develop wider social networks.

Barrow Chamber of Commerce

The Barrow Chamber of Commerce was formed in 1982 to promote "more activities in Barrow for villagers to participate in together." In the words of a former officer, members "just want people to enjoy themselves and help "to make Barrow a better place to live." The group sponsors recreational activities, scholarships, and, in 1984, the first debate in a borough mayoral election. The recreational events include fireworks at New Year, the Piuraagiaota ("Spring Festival" of village games), a barbecue on July 4th, and an art event (Sileavuk). As an organization of businesses in Barrow, it also seeks to promote the development of local business opportunities. In 1982 and 1983, the Small Business Administration responded favorably to the chamber's request for courses in Barrow on how to start a small business.

The development of this institution is an indicator of the recent shift among local institutions towards the promotion of local business opportunities and entrepreneurial values. Although there had been a Chamber of Commerce in the past, in which

Tom Brower, Sr. and Al Hopson, Sr. , were active, it had died. The city council helped the new members reorganize it by calling the different people together in 1982. The city also supports the spring games; the city requested the chamber to sponsor them and provided \$7,500 in 1983, the first year of the event. The chamber membership is composed mainly of businesses, although individuals and other organizations (such as churches) are associate members. The membership was approximately 30 businesses in 1982 and 1983. All of the member business owners are entrepreneurs who reside in Barrow; it is not an organization funded by outside firms with business interests in the town.

The chamber raises funds mainly through sponsoring lunches at which various community leaders are invited to speak. In 1984, the chamber luncheon was the first public speech by the new borough mayor. These functions provide a nonpartisan forum for communication by leaders of different institutions with the community and receive questions and comments from the local residents. Occasionally the chamber receives funds from organizations for particular events, such as the City of Barrow, as discussed above. Luncheons do not provide a large return and the organization needs a more productive form of fundraising.

XIX. CHURCHES

History of the Presbyterian Church

The Presbyterians were delegated the region north of the Brooks Range by agreement with other Christian churches in Alaska, and the first missionary came to Barrow in 1891. The church was formally organized on Easter Sunday in 1899. Under the leadership of Dr. Otto Greist, the Presbyterian Church became firmly established in the community and in surrounding villages. He traveled several times per year to Wainwright and established the first Presbyterian church in that community in the 1920's. Concerned with the poor health condition of Inupiat households, and seeking to improve the school attendance rate of Inupiat youngsters, Greist's wife organized the Mothers Club in Barrow during this period (see discussion of Mothers Club under Voluntary Organizations). She was also successful in organizing a club in Wainwright.

The missionaries were instrumental in introducing new forms of government into the communities. In discussions with community members, the Mothers Club is referred to as one of the first formal governmental organizations in the village (the other was the village council). Another factor was the support which the missionaries received from the revenue officers who patrolled the coasts. "In the introduction of law and order, and the discouraging of earlier social practices, the missionaries? and later the school teachers, were always supported by the visible power and authority of the Revenue Service Captains who were a law unto

themselves in this remote area" (Milan, 1964, p. 24).

The efforts of the church were closely related to those of the school. As described elsewhere in this report, one of the purposes for the formation of the Mothers Club was to form a "truancy patrol" to reduce absences from school, and the school teachers had an active role in the club operation. In neighboring villages, such as Wainwright, the school teachers were expected to lead church services, which initially were held in the school, when there was no missionary in the village. The first small church was erected in Wainwright in 1936 (Milan, 1964, p. 23).

The Presbyterian church was involved in the organization of the National Guard in the area. When the territorial governor came to Barrow in the spring of 1942 to organize the Alaska Territorial Guard, he approached the Presbyterian minister to be commanding officer of the Barrow unit. The minister accepted the post, and a total of 110 local men were inducted (Klerekoper, 1977, p. 32).

The Presbyterian church, like the Assembly of God in later years, espoused a fundamentalist orientation based on a literal interpretation of the Bible (Brosted, n.d., p. 33). This may have been more the case in Wainwright than in Barrow; many Wainwrighters observed a taboo, first introduced by the missionaries in the 1960's, against hunting on Sunday (Nelson, 1969, p. 384). Sunday was to be observed as a day of rest, and bunking and whaling were considered by missionaries as the equivalent of work :

Hunting on Sunday is considered ill-advised by almost all the uluRunikamiut and breaking of what is almost a tabu gives rise to considerable anxiety. The uluRunikamiut are members of the Presbyterian church, and Sunday is a day of obligatory abstinence from work and play. Indeed, the Eskimo name for Sunday, savainik, translates as "no work." In 1955, one captain would return to the village for church by midnight Saturday, and left his crew on the ice to hunt if they wished. One Sunday a whale was sighted, this captain's crew did not give chase, but another captain and crew (native store) did and lost the whale with their harpoon and floats, and nearly swamped. The Christian captain's crew asserted that this disaster was partly caused by hunting on Sunday (Milan, 1964, pp. 34-5).

In the mid-1950's, this prohibition was apparently observed by nearly all Wainwrighters, since all but four villagers were Presbyterians.

The church was reported to be an important social cohesive force and church elders had prestigious positions in the community (Milan, 1964, p. 71). The minister in Wainwright was an Inupiat from Barrow. Christian group prayers were said immediately before placing umiags in the water for the first time each year and also after the whale was struck by the harpoons. Prayers were said when the walrus-hunting crew first entered the boat and immediately before shooting (Milan, 1964, pp. 34-6). The major feasts at Thanksgiving and Christmas were church-sponsored events that involved the whole community.

History of the Assembly of God Church

In 1954, an Assembly of God missionary arranged to have materials for the First Assembly of God church shipped to Barrow aboard the North Star, the annual BIA supply ship. The small church was completed in 1955; it was the first building in Barrow to be constructed on a gravel pad. Two assistants accompanied

the missionary to help with the construction. This was the pattern of Assembly of God church development on the slope and throughout the state--missionaries and pastors would "accept the call" and move to a community for several years, during which they would hold meetings and seek conversions. The missionaries were responsible for their own supplies, fuel, and maintenance of the station; sometimes they would have the assistance of "vocational volunteers" from outside assemblies and receive occasional supplies and equipment of necessity from the larger assemblies in Fairbanks or Anchorage.

An Inupiat from Wainwright, while still a teenager, had traveled to Seattle and San Francisco and experienced conversion to the Assembly of God church. After living outside for a number of years, he returned to Wainwright and maintained the faith prior to the arrival of the missionary. Apparently, the pattern of proselytizing among the Inupiat was to tell their relatives to get saved. The method was successful; members of this Wainwright family were instrumental in the development of assemblies in Barrow, Kaktovik, and Wainwright.

A two-week revival meeting in the Barrow church during 1959 resulted in many converts. Thirty-two people signed up for baptisms and as many as 150 attended the services, according to an account by the pastor (Bills, 1980). An interpreter for the Presbyterian church, Ned Nusunginya, was converted in this meeting and began making testimonial trips to other North Slope villages afterwards. He became the first Inupiat to be ordained as a pastor (at the Second Biennial Convention of the Alaska

District Assembly of God in 1968). A short time after the revival in Barrow, a few of the Inupiat leaders met to discuss a structure for the church and decided several rules: assembly people should not drink, smoke, or attend movies or dances, including Eskimo dances. Some people dropped out because of this latter prohibition. The Barrow assembly also started to broadcast its meetings using an oscillator, and a women's group was formed in the church in 1959 (Bills, 1980).

Similar revival meetings were held in Kaktovik and Wainwright. In that year (1959), a church member was in Wainwright translating the New Testament into Inupiaq under the auspices of the Wycliffe Bible Society. A missionary went to the village soon after, and another traveled to Kaktovik and took up residence in a cabin owned by a member of the Wainwright family who was influential in the development of the church (some of the family members were DEW-Line employees who migrated to other villages for employment).

In 1960, the original Barrow missionary, Rev. A. E. Capener, constructed a small structure in Point Hope; he built a larger church with living quarters above in the following year. He then moved on to Wainwright and constructed the first assembly building in that community. The church did not own the lot at the time, but it was built with permission of the village council. He also transported materials along the coast to Kaktovik in 1952 and constructed a church in that village. Lots for these buildings were applied for from the Townsite Trustee (BLM) and obtained by the missionaries.

In the early 1960's, the pastor in Barrow established annual

Inupiat "camp meetings" to which church members would come from villages on the North Slope and elsewhere. They were hosted by the Barrow Assembly in their homes. A new, larger church was built in the late 1960's. An assembly church was constructed in Nuiqsut in the mid-1970's.

Ned Nusunginya of Barrow served in Kaktovik from 1966 to 1970, after which he moved to Point Hope. Greg Tagarook, who had been a board member of the Wainwright Assembly of God, became the minister in Kaktovik in 1970. Following the death of Nusunginya in 1972, Tagarook moved to Point Hope where he remains today. He was ordained at the 1975 assembly convention in Anchorage.

Change and Development in the Recent Period

The membership of the Presbyterian church began to decline when the Assembly of God developed as a new church in the region in the late 1950's and 1960's, and the decline has continued in the recent period. There have been new churches appearing in the area, namely, the Barrow Catholic congregation, an occasional Episcopalian service, and a new Lutheran or Methodist practitioner in Wainwright. The recent decline in the Presbyterian church does not appear related to the increase in other churches, however. New residents comprise the core of the new membership (Catholic and Episcopalian) or the church is so new that it has not attracted a permanent following (Methodist). Membership in the Presbyterian church had decreased significantly in Wainwright and Anaktuvuk Pass by 1984, and efforts of the clergy were directed towards restoring participation in the church.

The pattern of family participation in church activities has changed significantly. Where it used to be the practice that family groups would attend' church together, in the recent period it was reported that "none of the family groups go to church as a family. Now, parents go without children and children go without parents." This change in church participation suggests that family forms have continued to change towards the nuclear family in the recent period. The decline in church membership is probably related to this shift.

The Barrow Presbyterian church has continued to provide services and to offer fellowship groups in the recent period. The church sponsors a two-hour religious radio program on Sunday evenings which is broadcast to all North Slope communities. Several groups are organized by the church, including an adult fellowship group (Geneva Cross Fellowship), a youth group (comprised of about 75 teenagers aged 13-18), and a women's association (membership is 25-30 older women from the community). There is also a Sunday school group, which fluctuated in size from year to year. In the very recent past (1983-84), the church has formed new service groups to provide additional counseling and treatment options in Barrow. There is a new Alcoholics Anonymous, and the Ikayuqtit, or Helpers, and the pastor is seeking grant funds to develop an adolescent drug prevention program. Some community members suggested that these recent programs display the interests of the pastor and should not be viewed as self-generated actions of the church membership.

There are three boards which govern and administer the Barrow Presbyterian Church. The session is the governing board of the

church and is responsible for policy. The trustees, in charge of management, oversee the corporate affairs of the church. Charitable acts are delegated to the board of deacons, which allocates emergency food for families, clothing for children, and funds for emergency transportation. Occasionally the Mothers Club and the VFW make contributions to the board of deacons. Half of the income of the church is derived from the rent of an office building situated on the church lot. According to the pastor, membership of the three church boards included most of the Barrow members of North Slope Borough Assembly and boards of ASRC and UIC. Most of the Mothers Club members belong to the church Women's association. The pastor also indicated that membership was nearly 450, including about 40 individuals in Atkasuk. The non-Inupiat membership was estimated to be 5 or 6 people.

The Assembly of God is much smaller; the reverend reported there were 40 registered members and a larger number who attended regularly in 1984. A policy of the church is to have a Native pastor if possible; in 1984 there were Native pastors in Nuiqsut, Wainwright, and Pt. Hope. There are 10 to 20 non-Inupiat who attend the assembly. This group is nearly all Caucasian but there are a few blacks and Filipinos, indicating that the ethnic diversity is greater than in the Presbyterian church. The assembly became a self-supported congregation during the recent past; it was a mission until 1984 when it became a 'sovereign work.' A constitution and bylaws were adopted on November 24, 1984, and the church was incorporated at that time. Subsequently, the pastor has been elected by the membership. The local church is

supported by tithes (obligatory payments), and offerings are accepted for special church activities.

The assembly has a formal policy against drinking and dancing. The bylaws prohibit traditional Eskimo and popular American dancing; Eskimo dancing is prohibited because its roots are those of shamanism and devil-worship, and American dancing is not approved because of the body contact that is involved. The church has a method of alcohol prevention through faith in Christ which is supported by practices of group behavioral reinforcement. According to the pastor, the Assembly has an 86 percent rate of effectiveness in alcohol prevention. For some of the members, this practice has been beneficial and may partially explain the success of the church.

SECTION IV: NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH

XX . NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH GOVERNMENT

Historical Overview, 1979-83

The period of 1979 to 1983 was a period of intense conflict and activity in the North Slope Borough, much of which was directed at the Consolidation of borough regulatory powers and the development of its capital improvement program. The period was also marked by the death of the borough's founder, Eben Hopson, in 1980; by the second meeting of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference in Nuuk; by the massive Joint Federal/State Beaufort Sea Oil and Gas Lease Sale in December 1979; by the completion and subsequent abandonment of the Mid-Beaufort Coastal Management Program; by the continuing development of the borough's comprehensive plan and land use regulations; by the completion of the studies of the National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska; and by consolidation of the borough's health and social services programs.

The borough's authority over the haul road corridor, zoned as a Highway Related Development District by the assembly in December, 1977, was being asserted as the state took over maintenance from Alyeska Pipeline Service Company in October, 1978. The state faced new pressures to open the road to the public and balked at following borough regulations within the development district.

In January, 1979, the borough sponsored the Bowhead Whale Conference held in Anchorage, at which the results of scientific studies of the bowhead--mostly census efforts initiated in 1973--

were discussed. The borough's increasing' role in arctic science was supported by this conference and by the \$250,000 grant obtained by the borough from the Alaska legislature for bowhead research. The borough was quick to support bioacoustic technology for counting the bowhead whale and sponsored a bioacoustics conference in San Diego in February, 1980. During this period, as federal funding for arctic science declined and the Outer Continental Shelf Environmental Assessment Program for bowhead research decreased substantially, the borough assumed a leadership position in arctic science. It hired Dr. Thomas Albert as its science official, established the NSB Science Advisory Commission, and was one of the main supporters of U.S. Senator Frank Murkowski's Arctic Science Research and Policy Act, introduced in the U.S. Congress in 1982 and passed in 1984.

The borough supported the claims of the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission to the management, of the bowhead whale and proceeded in federal court in its Hopson vs. Kreps suit which attacked the jurisdiction of the International Whaling Commission over subsistence whaling. In March, 1981 the AEWC concluded its bowhead management plan and was awarded management of the bowhead hunt by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Since 1974, the borough had tied much of its regulatory efforts to the development of its Coastal Zone Management Plan. During the period of 1979-1983, the borough fought off repeated attacks on the plan at the same time as it assembled a sophisticated team of planners. It completed the traditional land-use inventory and proceeded with a number of studies of land-use patterns. The environmental projection office was established,

and the borough's first permit administrator was appointed. The planning commission assumed an important role in leadership and development of the policies and issues pursued during the borough's development of the plan. While the commission held repeated hearings in all the borough villages, planning department staff worked closely with state and industry officials in developing the statutes.

Although the coastal program developed for the mid-Beaufort region was completed in 1978, two major offshore leases and strong industry opposition delayed its approval by the assembly for two years. Meanwhile, the borough developed zoning regulations that were used in the interim. These detailed regulations were later added to the coastal plan and together they were called the Mid-Beaufort Coastal Management Plan.

In March of 1979, Mayor Hopson acted quickly to squelch a resolution (supported by British Petroleum's Sohio of Alaska) in the state senate that would have suspended the borough's zoning and planning authority in Prudhoe Bay. The borough hired Trustees for Alaska, the legal arm of the environmental movement in Alaska, to design a legal regime for implementing its Arctic Coastal Zone Management Program. In January, 1980, after the Alaska Coastal Policy Council held a hearing on the borough's mid-Beaufort plan, the borough withdrew the plan for consideration, fearing rejection by the ACPC or the state legislature.

The borough began immediately to develop a much more ambitious plan that would cover its entire coastline. That plan,

completed in 1984, was made part of the borough's Comprehensive plan and accepted by the ACPC in April 1985.

As the date of the Joint Federal/State Beaufort Sea Oil and Gas Lease Sale approached, the oil industry stepped up its campaign to convince state and federal authorities not to place seasonal drilling stipulations on the Beaufort Sea leases as the borough had requested. The borough called for consolidation of offshore facilities as a condition of the sale.

One month before the sale was to take place, the borough filed suit in a Washington, D.C., federal court to stop leasing of the tracts beyond the barrier islands. The courts allowed the sale to proceed, but halted the awarding of leases until stipulations covering the migration of the bowhead whale were developed. Similar actions were taken by state courts.

On the international level, the borough was heavily involved in supporting the work of the various committees of the ICC. Mayor Hopson called an Inuit summit at Inuvik to discuss progress on the ICC charter. A later meeting was held at Nuuk in May, 1979, during Greenland's home rule celebration. Hopson continued to support Canadian settlement of Inuvialuit land claims. Borough support contributed heavily to the success of the ICC meeting in Nuuk in June, 1980. Eben Hopson considered the establishment of the ICC as his most important accomplishment. The adoption of the ICC charter by the delegates at Nuuk a few days after his death was tribute to the energy and diplomacy he directed towards this goal.

The borough continued to support the ICC and the work of the committees. Through the work of its Washington, D.C., liaison staff, it secured nongovernmental organization status for the ICC in February, 1983. With substantial assistance from the borough, the ICC was able to hold its third meeting in Frobisher Bay in June, 1983.

Before his death, Mayor Hopson saw the results of many of the projects he had inaugurated in 1972, which included the building of new schools and housing in all of the villages, safe water supplies, expanded health services, village public safety programs, and vast improvements in transportation and communications across the Alaskan Arctic.

The administration of Jacob Adams, which lasted until October, 1981, continued many of the programs begun under Hopson, with the exception of the capital improvement program. He began a reevaluation of the program with an eye to reduced spending. Construction programs were cut back and there was a noted decrease in local employment. During that time the borough also began reevaluating strategy in asserting its regulatory powers over industrial development, concluding that more progress would be made by negotiations and compromise than litigation.

The election of Eugene Brewer as mayor in 1981 brought renewed commitment to Hopson's programs, including the controversial Capital Improvement Program. New projects were developed in each of the borough villages providing the hope of extending employment for as long as possible.

The borough began construction of the Barrow utilidor, and a boroughwide energy plan was developed. Work on the completion of

the Coastal Management Plan was stepped up, now incorporating development of an ambitious computer mapping system, the Geographic Information System. One function of this system was to aid in the borough's permit-review process, and other functions were dedicated to land Ownership legal descriptions, and bibliographic data retrieval.

In May, 1983, the borough's achievements in arctic policy development were recognized when Mayor Brower and Assembly Chairman James Stotts were invited to participate in a conference on U.S. Arctic Policy held at the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute in Massachusetts. Their statement was included in a publication based on the conference, a major text on arctic policy.

With the borough's support, the ICC announced it would conduct a review of the effects of the 1972 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. The appointment of Canadian jurist Thomas R. Berger to head the review commission was announced at the ICC meeting in Frobisher Bay. The borough provided significant funding for this project, which is nearing completion.

Political Leadership

The North Slope Borough political leadership within the assembly was remarkably stable during the 1979 to 1983 period. Of the seven-member assembly, five members served together for this five-year period. One member served four consecutive years. Another member served three years, but during the two-year period in which he was not on the assembly, he served as mayor of NSB.

for one year. One member served two years beginning in 1982 and 1983. Only one member served a one-year period.

Barrow residents dominated the assembly membership during the entire five-year period. They controlled at least five of the seats every year (another assemblyman was actually from Barrow, but lived in different village because of his job). With the exception of one year (1981), a Barrow resident served as president of the assembly throughout the 1979 to 1983 period. All but one of the Barrow representatives who were members the assembly during this five-year period are interrelated through kinship or marriage to two extended families. These members were also closely related to the three different individuals who served as mayor during this time period.

Point Hope was the only community to have an assemblyman elected from its village during the 1979 to 1983 period. A resident, of Wainwright had a seat on the assembly for one year. As previously noted, one assemblyman was originally from Barrow, but during this same time period, he lived in different villages.

Two members of the assembly were older males while the others were in the younger middle-age range. This group had had high school training and one had college training. All assemblymen were bilingual, however. During the five-year period, two of the assembly members also sat on the ASRC Board of Directors. A board member of UIC sat on the assembly for four of the years. All of the assemblymen were whale hunters which is one of the criteria identifying traditional political leaders.

Prior to the 1979-83 period, two older women had served on the assembly. These women had had limited contact with the outside world, but they were quite active in village affairs. They were viewed as more traditional women. In 1982, a younger woman who had a college degree was elected to the assembly. She is widely known throughout the North Slope, not so much because of her family ties, but because of her previous work with the North Slope Borough (in 1984, another young college educated woman was elected to the assembly).

During the 1979-83 period, the borough was headed by three different mayors. Eben Hopson, who had served as the mayor of the borough since its formation in 1972, remained as its mayor until his death in 1980. Jacob Adams, who was then serving as the NSB Assembly president, was appointed by the assembly to serve out Hopson's unexpired term. In 1981, Adams ran against Eugene Brewer who won the mayoral election. In spite of the fact that the borough had three different mayors during this period, the political organization remained much as it had been under the Hopson regime. Adams and Brewer did little to change the political organization established by Hopson.

Although the non-Inupiat population increased dramatically during this period, the Inupiat maintained their control over the political positions in the North Slope Borough. However, an increase in the number of non-Inupiat voting in borough elections was evident between the October elections in 1979 and 1983. The most notable increase was in Barrow where 39 percent of those who voted in the 1983 election were non-Inupiat (see Table 20-1). Throughout the borough, there was nearly a threefold increase

TABLE 20-1

Voter Participation, 1979 and 1983

(October Election)

Community	1979		1983	
	Inupiat	Non-Inupiat	Inupiat	Non-Inupiat
Anaktuvuk Pass	40	1	32	8
Atkasuk	28		34	3
Barrow	188	38	234	143
Browerville*	55	4	36	12
Kaktovik	39	7	44	18
Nuiqsut	29	2	44	7
Point Hope	49	3	127	12
Point Lay	16	3	22	8
Wainwright	<u>52</u>		<u>106</u>	<u>9</u>
Total	496	57	679	220

*A subdivision and precinct in Barrow

Source: North Slope Borough

(286 percent) in the voting of non-Inupiat during this period, compared to a one-third increase (37%) among the Inupiat. The Filipinos estimate that approximately 70 of their group vote in borough elections, which accounts for nearly 50 percent of the non-Inupiat voters.

While Inupiat continue to hold the leadership positions, there are indications that the patterns of traditional leadership may be changing. Traditional leadership roles were formerly held primarily by whaling captains or hunters who had distinguished themselves through their hunting abilities. Although the men who were elected to the assembly during this time period participate in whaling, less than half of them are whaling captains. The value placed on formal education and knowledge of the dominant institutional forms may be increasing. The recent election (since 1982) of three young, well-educated individuals, two of whom are women, is a marked difference from previous traditional leadership patterns. The women, however, have distinguished themselves in their professional work in various issues and areas related to Inupiat culture.

Institutional Development

Gerald A. McBeath (1981) described three stages in the growth of the North Slope Borough from 1972 until 1980. The first stage, which began with the incorporation of the NSB in 1972 and lasted until the end of 1973, was devoted to organizing the borough as a municipal government and meeting the challenges from the oil industry. From 1974 to 1978, McBeath reports that the borough

developed a massive social infrastructure which he indicates was associated with the centralization of powers and functions from the villages to the borough governments and centralization of power within the borough executives. The third stage of institutional development, which McBeath marks from 1978 and until 1980, was characterized by specialization of roles, differentiation of functions, and relationships with external institutions which become routinized. McBeath elaborates on the major characteristics of the borough's third stage of development (1981, p.17):

From 1978 to the present, the borough has 'normalized': through specialization of borough departments and increasing integration of programs in the mayor's office, it has developed capabilities in the areas of Native issues, social infrastructure, and environmental protection; through accommodation to village institutions and mutual accommodations with other regional organizations, the borough has contributed to the unification of the North Slope community.

In the three years following the "normalization" period, the organizational structure of the borough remained stable, but the size of the different departments changed (measured through the changes in NSB employment Table 20-2). While no major structural changes occurred in the NSB infrastructure, the findings reported in the Wainwright and Kaktovik sections does indicate that the villages were 'increasingly reacting to the centralization of power within the borough. They were demanding more autonomy, compensation for lands used by the NSB, and greater involvement in borough decisions that affected their villages.

Fluctuations in the number of employees in the different departments varied (Table 20-2). Some departments remained stable or actually decreased in size, but overall the total number

TABLE 20-2

Change in North Slope Borough Employment
1980-1983

Department/Unit	Number of Employees	
	1980	1983
Public Safety	51	57
Barrow Office of Environmental Health (reimbursable[fed.] construction labor)	6	9
Public Works	42	36
Utilities	41	56
Transit	6	3
Service Area No. 10	59	108
Barrow Roads	36	54
Barrow Sanitation	22	17
Coordinators, Management, & Operations	11	6
Assembly & Utility Board (excluded from total)	5	5
Mayor's Office	20	35
Administration/Finance	40	59
Planning	15	25
Assessing-Physical Plant	16	16
Environmental Protection	5	5
Kaktovik Housing*	22	33
Health Agency	72	114
Housing	21	54
Barrow Housing*	119	98
Barrow Sewage Treatment Plant*	55	44
All Villages Dredge*	0	93
North Slope Village Construction (CIP)*	<u>159</u>	<u>47</u>
TOTALS	823	969

*CIP employees, totaling 356 in 1980 pay period.
CIP employees, totaling 324 in 1983 pay period.

Sources: North Slope Borough paycheck register.
1980: pay period ending July 12, 1980 (McBeath 1981:70)
1983: pay period ending July 29, 1983 (NSB Personnel)

of NSB employees increased from 1980 until 1983. The one significant change in the internal organization of the borough was the consolidation of social service programs under the health department, resulting in a new and expanded department of health and social services. This action explains the large increase from 72 employees in 1980 to 114 in 1983 in this unit. Fiscal support for this increase in employees and expanded services resulted primarily from the expansion of contract programs from the U. S. Public Health Service, and the new state municipal aid program discussed under the City of Barrow.

The number of employees in the NSB Service Area No. 10 which provides waste disposal service to Prudhoe Bay nearly doubled in size. The revenues it earned from the oil industry and other companies which provide support services increased from \$2.8 million in FY 79-80 to over \$13 million in FY 82-83.

The North Slope Borough's interest in environmental protection and scientific research also expanded during this period. A major focus of this effort was on developing biological research of the bowhead whale. The borough also formed a NSB Scientific Advisory Committee to assist the borough in its biological research efforts, and in 1983 it sponsored a scientific conference to review and analyze the most current research finding on the status of the bowhead species.

Other changes were noted in the borough's relationships with external organizations were evident. Their relationship with the state legislature became strained. In 1983, Anchorage legislators introduced legislation to reduce the borough's bonding authority to \$25,000 per capita. At this time, the borough's per

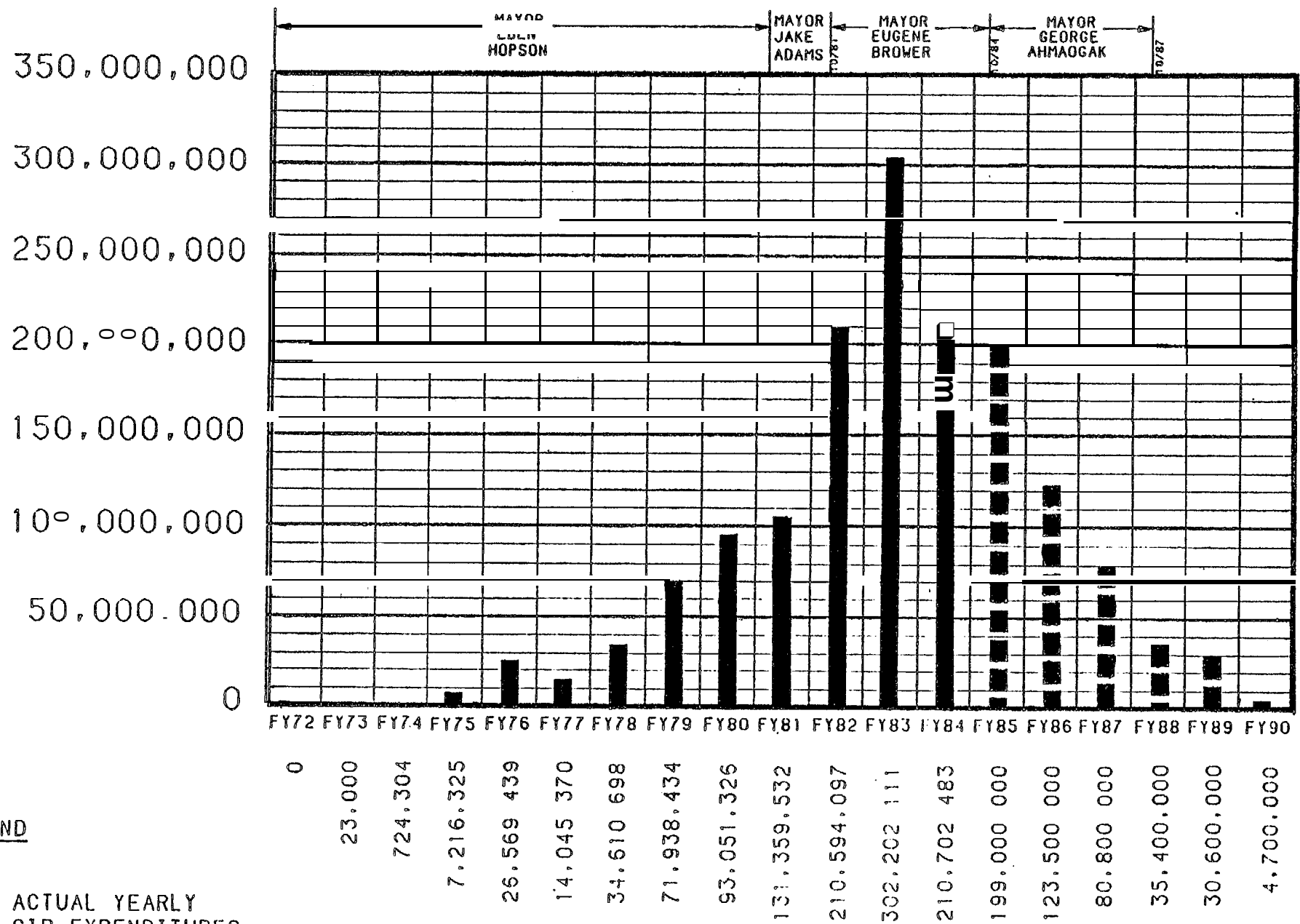
capita bond indebted-less was about \$130,000. It was through the borough's lobbying effort that no legislation which would have limited their bonding capabilities was enacted.

The borough's relationship with the oil industry improved in this period. In 1982, an agreement was signed between the NSB and ARCO Alaska, Inc. on behalf of the working interest owners in the Kuparuk River Units to finance, construct and operate Kuparuk Industrial Center. KIC is governed by the NSB Assembly and is advised by a board of directors and the NSB mayor. The board of directors include representatives from the oil industry and the NSB.

Regarding Native issues, the borough through fiscal support of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, advocated for an examination of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. As previously noted, Thomas Berger was retained by the ICC to examine the impact of ANCSA. Borough representatives were quite familiar with Berger's report on the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline in the mid-1970's.

The most notable change during the period of 1980 and 1983 was the acceleration of the capital improvements projects. In FY80 the CIP expenditure was approximately \$93 million. By FY83 the CIP expenditure jumped to over \$302 million (Table 20-3). Mayor Brower attributed his move to accelerate the CIP to the growing political reaction by urban residents to the borough's bond indebtedness which he felt would result in legislation that would limit the borough's bonding authority. He sold millions of dollars of municipal bonds within this period to accelerate the construction of schools, health clinics, fire

NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH YEARLY CIP EXPENDITURES



LEGEND

■ ACTUAL YEARLY CIP EXPENDITURES

▤ PLANNED YEARLY CIP EXPENDITURES

NOTE: 1) FIGURES FOR FY72 THRU FY84 PROVIDED BY MAIN-HURDMAN, NSB AUDITORS
 2) FIGURES FOR FY85 THRU FY90 PER ORDINANCE 84-10B
 3) INFORMATION COMPILED OCTOBER 26, 1984

stations, homes, water and electrical utilities and a massive underground utilidor system in Barrow.

The increase in CIP expenditures and the process by which the CIP contracts were awarded also gives evidence of the power that is vested in the borough's executive office. The NSB mayor has the authority to award contracts which are under \$300,000 without putting them out for public bid. However, the contractual process is such that the actual negotiated contract amount can exceed the \$300,000 with contract change orders. Table 20-4 outlines the total number of CIP contracts which were negotiated as opposed to those which were put for bid from 1980 to 1983. It also provides a breakdown between the negotiated and bid contracts which went to local contractors and the number which went to nonlocal contractors. It does not, however, give an indication of the amount of the contract.

TABLE 20-4

CIP Contracts, 1980 - 1983

	Local	Non-Local	Total
Negotiated	69 (10%)	357 (57%)	426 (68%)
Bidded	<u>64</u> (11%)	<u>141</u> (22%)	<u>205</u> (32%)
Total	133 (21%)	498 (79%)	631 (100%)

Source: North Slope Borough

Planning and Zoning

The acquisition of local planning and zoning authority was, along with taxation, one of the major considerations in the formation and development of the North Slope Borough, for it was through exercise of these powers that the borough was to be enabled to control the rate of industrial development. A director of planning was among the first staff positions that were filled following the formation of the borough, and the department has always been the largest within the borough government. Rather than describing the actions of the department as a whole, we have narrowed the discussion to several specific activity areas that are concerned with planning responses to and control over industrial and-economic development in the region.

We have identified four specific elements of departmental activity that are analyzed below: haul road, coastal zone management, permitting, and CIP-related land issues. The first three elements are concerned with the development of planning procedures and strategies within the borough vis-a-vis industrial development, and the final issue concerns the changing status of land ownership within the boundaries of North Slope communities.

We have focused on the haul road because it was in dealing with this issue that the borough clarified its planning and zoning authority and developed basic strategies which have figured in the other issues. The borough defined the basic procedures for proper coordination with the planning commission and the development of ordinances concerning major development projects within the region. Also, this case illustrates the

magnitude of inter-governmental coordination that is necessary, and in particular the extent to which the borough is subject to fluctuations in state policy and practice (which may be significant again in the near future if the state reopens the issue of borough taxation and bonding limits).

HAUL ROAD

The gravel haul road stretches for 360 miles between the Yukon River and Prudhoe Bay, providing a link between the paved roads south of the Yukon and the arctic oilfields. The northern half of the haul road, about 170 miles, lies within the boundaries of the North Slope Borough. It was built by Alyeska Pipeline Service Company in 1974 and used and maintained by that company during construction of the trans-Alaska pipeline. Under terms of the federal rights-of-way and construction agreements with the company, Alyeska was to turn over haul road management and maintenance to the state on October 15, 1978. The terms gave the state control over the road and a 200-yard wide ribbon of land through which the road passes over federal lands. BLM manages the federal lands surrounding all but the most northerly 70 miles of the road, which cross state land. Under the federal rights-of-way, a corridor from 12- to 24-miles wide was set aside as a special management zone of federal lands adjoining the road.

The jurisdiction for the haul road area thus lies with the federal (BLM) and state (DOT&PF) and borough (NSB) governments. As a home rule borough, the North Slope Borough has local planning, zoning, and other powers over the portion of the haul road lying within its boundaries. The exercise of borough powers has

been a matter of give and take, a "balancing" between federal, state, and regional authorities and jurisdictions since the mid-1970's. The actions of the borough to assert and exercise its authority over management of the haul road are described below, with particular emphasis placed on the 1979-83 period. The issue continues to be of major significance to borough governmental processes and its administrations, as it was when first presented by Eben Hopson in the mid-1970's.

The borough has consistently expressed opposition to unlimited public use of the haul road area through every administration to the present. In the early 1970's, the state of Alaska's position was that the haul road could be open to general public use (primarily recreation) when the oil pipeline was completed (Morehouse and Leask, 1978, p.124). In 1974, the Bureau of Land Management developed a preliminary management plan for the pipeline corridor which included recommendations for recreational facilities and other land uses based on the assumption that the haul road would be open to full public use upon completion of the pipeline (Morehouse and Leask, 1978, p.126). BLM asked the borough and other governmental agencies for comments on this plan in early 1975.

In 1975 and 1976, the newly elected Governor Hammond took several steps toward reevaluating the state's position that the haul road would be opened for unrestricted public use. He created a haul road task force of state officials and the Alaska Growth Policy Council, a citizens' council mandated to hold public-hearings and offer recommendations for state policy on

development issues such as the haul road (Morehouse and Leask, 1978, p.126). In early 1976, the Growth Policy Council held hearings on the haul road in Barrow, Fairbanks, Anaktuvuk Pass, Allakaket, and Bettles.

Eben Hopson formulated the borough's early position on the haul road. In a letter to Governor Hammond dated October 28, 1975, Mayor Hopson strongly noted "an inequity in the State's highway development and maintenance policy that affects the people of the North Slope Borough. No part of the State's secondary highway system is within the North Slope Borough." On March 12, 1976, three days before Hopson's testimony to the Growth Policy Council, the assembly approved and endorsed a position on the haul road that, before it is opened to the public and the state assumes the extra cost and responsibility, the state has a prior responsibility to build and maintain roads to serve existing communities on the North Slope. Mayor Hopson expanded on this position in the public hearing before the council, suggesting that the council "should place a high importance upon the development of home-rule in rural Alaska, and encourage state growth policy to restrict any development that would result in the political weakening of native home-rule. The haul road is potentially such a development." He cited new pressures on the caribou herds and new, nontraditional community development at Prudhoe Bay and along the road: "We don't want to encourage such new community development."

In taking this position on new communities, Hopson was cognizant of the potential economic costs to the borough of such development. A memorandum from Kevin Waring of the department of

community and regional affairs dated October 29, 1975, cited the high capital expense of such new communities and questioned the economic sense of building new Communities: 'Considering that the population of any Prudhoe Bay community is likely to decline before the amortization period on the capital facilities is ended, the Borough and/or State may be faced with a decreasing personal and real property tax base while amortization costs remain.'

The Growth Policy Council recommended to the governor that the haul road use be limited to support of oil and gas and hard mineral extraction in the immediate future, and that a comprehensive land-use study of the haul road region be completed by the Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission (FSLUPC) before setting a long-term policy on road use (Morehouse and Leask, 1978, p.125). The governor also received an opinion from the state attorney general that the state could not close the road without violating construction agreements between the federal government and Alyeska that would cause the state to lose the federal right-of-way and make it liable for repayment of federal highway construction funds used by Alyeska. But the opinion did say that access to the road could be limited and user fees could be assessed by the state.

Hammond announced a revised state policy on the haul road in September, 1976. The road will be restricted to mining and industrial uses for the short term, until the FSLUPC and local governments have developed a management plan for state and federal lands in the area and until a determination is made whether

the road will be needed for construction of the gas line. In the interim, user fees will be charged to industry (Morehouse and Leask, 1978, p.126). After this announcement, BLM began revising its management plan for the haul road corridor.

In the following year, while the state and federal governments studied potential uses and management' regimes for the haul road and corridor, Mayor Hopson wrote a series of letters to government officials expressing and promoting the borough position on various fronts and began to press for development of a comprehensive plan with participation by borough, state, and federal officials. At this time, the legislature regarded the opening and closing of the haul road as something for the legislature, not the governor, to decide, and a resolution was developed requiring the governor to present more information on the haul road to the legislature. In a letter to the Honorable Sarah J. Smith, Alaska House of Representatives (dated February 23, 1977) in support of this resolution, Hopson reiterated his stance on the haul road and made additional points. Concerning the lack of support facilities for the expected influx of tourists, were the road opened. Hopson pointed to the dangers of arctic travel that "could result in an overwhelming increase in service requests to our Public Safety Department which we are not prepared to bear" (Morehouse and Leask, 1978, p.126). In 1980, the legislature did act on this issue, as discussed below.

On May 26, 1977, Mayor Hopson again wrote to Governor Hammond, continuing his policy of active and ongoing concern. The mayor said he planned to ask the borough planning commission to take up the haul road matter as an important part of their work

over the coming years, and asked the governor if abandonment of the haul road had been considered as a policy alternative. The mayor again expressed strong policy concern about the haul road in a letter dated August 3, 1977, to Guy Martin, U.S. Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Land and Water Resources. The mayor questioned the economic viability of the road "under any circumstances once the gas line has been completed."

Later in the same year, BLM released a set of revised recommendations for land-use management along the haul road and scheduled a series of public hearings on the new proposals. These recommendations "were narrow, single-use proposals and prompted a strong reply from Mayor Hopson which he expressed in letters to Governor Hammond and Assistant Secretary Martin. Hopson called for a halt to the distribution of the BLM plan and for establishment of an interdisciplinary BLM, state, and borough planning team to develop a comprehensive land use and transportation plan. By this time, the U. S. Secretary of the Interior had expressed his opposition to opening the road to the public for a variety of environmental, cultural, and security reasons. Martin directed BLM to postpone public hearings on these recommendations, assess the development of plans by other federal, state, and local agencies, and to consider holding joint hearings in 1978 on future uses of the corridor land. Also, BLM agreed to allow a 'borough representative to work with the BLM haul road planning team. Hammond' responded with a commitment for continued cooperation between his staff and the borough planning department, as well as with the FSLUPC and federal agencies, "based on compre-

hensive land use planning for the Arctic" (Morehouse and Leask, 1978, pp. 128-30).

During 1977, the planning department commissioned a legal analysis of borough powers and options on the haul road and adjacent federal and state lands (North Slope Borough Technical Report Number 2, November, 1977). This report described the extent of borough management authorities on state and federal lands along the corridor and provided recommendations on implementing the powers of a home-rule borough to maximize local control over land use and development along the haul road. On federal lands, this authority was limited mainly to consultation and public participation in land use plan development, which included provisions for "consistency" with local plans and concerns. On state lands, the report suggests an active and aggressive assertion of borough powers of zoning, subdivision review, the official map, and taxation and the assessment of development fees. Zoning powers provide the authority for the strongest types of control to the borough, including adoption of land use and zoning regulations as established by the borough's comprehensive plan, adoption of temporary zoning regulations as interim controls on land use, and assurance of conditional or special use permits by the planning commission for specified zoning districts. Zoning techniques "would allow for establishment of broad districts or sectors within which development might be allowed and areas where it would be discouraged or not allowed" (North Slope Borough, 1977, pp. 23-24). The development of a comprehensive land use plan, modification of the borough subdivision ordinance to include authority over the platting of roads,

completion of a **transportation** plan (roads and airports), and an official map were identified as **priorities**.

Utilizing this report, and often reviewing the work of the planning department and other staff, the mayor developed a set of policies defining a comprehensive approach to the haul road. The policies restated the priorities of meeting road and airport needs of existing communities on the North Slope at least concurrently with needs of energy development, opposed development of new communities along the road, supported opening the haul road for oil and gas and hard mineral development, opposed additional uses such as tourism, sport. hunting and fishing, and remote subdivisions, and called for an overall comprehensive land use and transportation plan for the borough as the basis for a permanent policy on the haul road.

In late 1977, the assembly approved a major resolution and two ordinance amendments based on this legal opinion, the work of the borough's planning commission and planning department., and the set of findings and policies on the haul road developed by the mayor. The resolution approved the mayor's policy plan and requested the state to continue its interim restricted use policy until a comprehensive plan could be cooperatively developed, and to initiate a program for roads and airports in existing communities prior to expending additional resources on the haul road. It also requested state and federal recognition of the zoning and subdivision review powers of the borough and of the need for coordination and review with other review bodies, such as the planning commission, borough planning staff, and Native corpora-

tions, and it requested cooperation from state and federal agencies in the development of a comprehensive land use and transportation plan, not only for the haul road area, but for all of the borough.

The zoning ordinance was amended to establish special development districts along major roadways and distinguished between uses permitted by right and other uses which require special use permits (for a listing, see Morel-muse and Leask, 1978, p. 135). The assembly also amended its subdivision ordinance to specifically address the development and opening of roads and highways.

Other actions and activities were also underway at this time in the planning department. A zoning district in the haul road corridor was defined and a fee schedule and applications for conditional use permits were in process. A study to review national zoning approaches appropriate to protect and enhance traditional land use sites in and around the haul road corridor was contracted. The traditional land use inventory in this region was a continuing high priority work element involving cooperation with Villagers from Anaktuvuk Pass, Nuiqsut, and Kaktovik.

In February, 1978, the borough issued a report on ongoing borough plans, regulations, proposals, and recommendations on haul road planning and development (Proposed land-use management system for the haul road and other highways, Winter 1977-78). The report was prepared for the joint borough-state-BLM planning meeting in that month and included a set of recommendations for planning policies and for a public participation program. A proposal was made for continued industrial use of the road with

longer-range planning geared to a low-intensity use involving a cultural park in the corridor area emphasizing the transportation and cultural aspects of the corridor and with nonroad access or a restricted tour bus operation (the latter was a proposal by the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation).

In March, 1978, a special committee of the legislature was considering whether to override the governor's 1976 policy that the haul road would remain closed to all but mining and industrial uses until the gas pipeline was completed in about 1983. Mayor Hopson testified before the committee on March 9, presenting the borough position against opening the road north of the Yukon to the general public. He provided policy recommendations based on findings of economic, cultural, historic preservation, subsistence, environmental, and wildlife impacts.

The years 1978-1980 were a period of intense planning and consultation efforts by the borough as the planning department coordinated with state and federal planning processes and developed its own comprehensive policy plan for the haul road area (published in June, 1980). By 1978, the borough haul road policy was developed by the mayor and the planning department and approved by the planning commission and assembly in March of that year. The basic policy was a position of restricted public access to the haul road area, limited to industrial use (in support of oil and gas development and mining activities) and a regulated tour bus operation. After formulating the basic stance of an aggressive assertion of its home-rule planning and zoning powers in 1976-77, the borough continued operating in this style

in 1978- 80. Formally, all proposals were subject to review by the borough planning commission and assembly; the borough developed specific new ordinances and amendments to existing ordinances to establish this review process in 1977 and, 1978. In the joint borough-state-BLM planning meetings in 1978, the borough pressed its policies and recommendations. In 1978, the borough signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the state of Alaska regarding management of the haul road, and the borough then negotiated with the Alaska Department of Transportation/Public Facilities on specific road management and maintenance issues.

Bureau of Land Management.

The Bureau of Land Management, as the manager of federal lands in the corridor, participated in the joint borough-state-BLM planning meeting in February, 1978. Throughout 1978 and part of 1979, a borough staff member was working with the BLM haul road planning team as arranged as part of a 1977 agreement described above. BLM held public hearings on the draft management plan in November of 1978. In the Barrow hearing, Mayor Hopson informed the BLM that the plan would have to be formally approved by the borough planning commission consistent with borough ordinances.

The BLM plan did not take a position on public access to the haul road area; it stated only that if unlimited access were permitted that appropriate facilities would have to be provided. In addition to the transportation of goods and supplies for oil and gas development on the North Slope, the major use of the haul

road in the immediate future was expected to be hard mineral exploration. Under the plan, the inner corridor, an area along the pipeline ranging from 1/2 to 10 miles in width, is closed to mineral exploration but the outer corridor is not. The outer corridor, which may extend up to 12 miles on each side of the road, can be used by persons who designate themselves as prospectors without any specific BLM permit. Since the state allows access along the haul road for purposes of mineral exploration and development or related support, this activity has the greatest potential for public access. Regulation of access for this activity by the state is discussed below.

BLM issued its final plan (The Utility Corridor Land Use Decision) in September, 1979. Following this release, the borough issued the Comprehensive Policy Plan for the Haul Road. This plan was a detailed statement of policies on nine topics of concern in the haul road area and was a final response to the BLM management plan and state consultations. After several meetings in Anaktuvuk Pass, it was approved by city council resolution in February. The plan was also adopted by the borough planning commission in March; at the same meeting the commission reiterated in strong terms (unanimous resolution) its opposition to public opening of the haul road north of the Yukon for any purpose other than a controlled tour bus. In June, the assembly also approved the comprehensive plan for the haul road.

Since that date, BLM has not sought to modify or reformulate its plan, claiming it does not have the staff or resources for revisions.

Department of Transportation/Public Facilities.

With the transfer of haul road management and maintenance responsibilities from Alyeska Pipeline Company to the state in 1978, the state began to formulate plans for supporting these activities. The development of highway maintenance camps was of particular significance to the borough, since these would result in a certain scale of settlement and community (infrastructure) development along the haul road. With the cooperation of the communities of Anaktuvuk Pass, Nuiqsut, and Kaktovik, the borough planning department put a special emphasis on registering sites along the haul road in the Traditional Land Use Inventory. Two special studies were commissioned by the borough; one analyzed alternative approaches for the protection of cultural and historical sites along the haul road corridor (An Analysis of Historic Preservation Alternatives Alex. I. C. J. the Alaska Pipeline Haul Road and Utility Corridor) and the other examined the special resources in the Galbraith Lake area (Resource Inventory of Galbraith Lake). The Galbraith Lake region was important in the traditional subsistence pattern of Anaktuvuk Pass.

The issue was also important to the village of Anaktuvuk Pass, whose city council passed three resolutions in 1978 designating the haul road area near the community as an area of critical local concern for traditional land use (subsistence) and seeking special protections for this region from the effects of public access and development from tribal, borough, state, and federal governments. In conjunction with the National Park Service, community members considered declaring the surrounding area

a living cultural park that would have stringent protections on public access.

The borough proposed two sites for state highway maintenance camps at the north (Prudhoe Bay) and south (Chandalar Camp) ends of the road that lies within the borough boundaries. 'The selection of these sites was confirmed in an assembly resolution in September, 1978. However, the state wanted a third camp at a midway point and proposed a camp for Happy Valley. The borough staff took an inspection team and decided to move it to another location, Pump Station No. 3. There was a "quite heated" exchange between the state and the borough on this issue, but after a public hearing in Anaktuvuk Pass, DOT agreed to move it to the borough-approved location. Then, Alyeska Pipeline Service Company objected for security reasons, stating that the location was too close to their pumping facility. The borough compromised and opened a new site close to the pump station.

This agreement, with which the final BLM plan was consistent, in effect restricted development along the haul road to essential 'development nodes" which clustered development in these specified zones. This was consistent with borough planning policy to keep development areas limited in expanse and concentrated in density. A similar zoning concept was implemented in other planning efforts, such as the Kuparuk Industrial Center.

DOT is responsible for the permitting of haul road access. Users obtain permits from DOT/PF in Fairbanks. In the 1978-80 period, the state allowed people to travel north of the Yukon for industrial uses and also for mineral exploration and development

purposes. People who violate their permits, either by going elsewhere than the claim area or engaging in some activity other than the permitted use, are subject to having their permits revoked. Monitoring activities of permittees along the haul road has been problematic and it became more so when the legislature allowed access north of the Yukon in 1980 (see below). Borough staff began taking annual inspection tours along the length of the road in the 1978-80 period to conduct their own monitoring.

1980-83: Public Access to the Haul Road.

In the same month that the borough assembly approved the Comprehensive Plan for the Haul Road Area (June, 1980), the Alaska legislature amended the state highway code (Section 19.40 of Alaska statutes) to allow public access to the haul road north of the Yukon River at least as far as Dietrich Camp (just south of the borough boundary). This contradicted borough policy opposing Unrestricted opening the road north of the Yukon. As recently as March, 1980, the borough planning commission unanimously adopted a resolution stating this policy.

As stated above, the legislature began to consider modifying existing Static policy on the haul road in 1978, following the governor's determination to restrict access north of the Yukon to industrial and mineral development uses. Mayor Hopson testified in legislative hearings and firmly stated the borough's position against unrestricted access in March, 1978. The governor's policy was to remain in effect until construction of the gas pipeline, which was expected to begin by 1983. But the legislature.

decided to take its own action on the matter in 1980, and the state position remains unchanged to the present time (1984).

The borough has continued to assert a restricted access policy on that portion of the haul road lying within its boundaries. All of its policy and planning development work has supported this position since the mid-1970's. This work has included substantial review and comment from the village of Anaktuvuk Pass. As described above, Anaktuvuk Pass adopted several resolutions in 1978 calling for recognition and protection of the area surrounding the corridor from Chandalar to Happy Valley Camps that would be impacted by opening the haul road to the public. During that time, the village was working with members of the National Park Service on the concept of a living cultural park for the area. Under this concept, villages would maintain their traditional and historical use of the area and public access would be limited to foot travel and off-road vehicles along designated routes. In this manner, both the environment and the subsistence use of the area would be protected.

The idea of a living cultural park was incorporated into the 1980 comprehensive plan as the long-term, overall management system for the entire corridor, at least within the borough, for recreational uses and the preservation of historical and cultural resources. Also, the borough commissioned a study of one area of particular concern (for its cultural and environmental resources) to Anaktuvuk Pass, as mentioned above (Resource Inventory Galbraith Lake, May, 1979). In the comprehensive plan, this area was zoned as a special historic and cultural resource preserva-

tion district. By 1980, then, the village of Anaktuvuk Pass had significant input into the plan, and the city council unanimously approved the plan in February of that year.

While the borough planning department was finalizing the haul road comprehensive plan, it was engaged in another course of action to provide legislative support at the federal level for restricted access to the haul road. One potential barrier to regulating the haul road resulted when Alyeska Pipeline Service Company received federal funds to construct a portion of the road (including the bridge across the Yukon). Under the federal highway act, roads built with federal highway monies must remain open to the public, or the funds are subject to reclaim by the federal government (in this case, from the state). This eventuality could preclude the state from regulating access to the haul road. The borough utilized its Washington, D.C., liaison office and attorneys to work up an amendment and lobby to have it attached to the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (passed December 2, 1980). Section 1112, North Slope Haul Road, provides that the state is released from the highway refund restrictions if the haul road "is closed to public use, but not including regulated local traffic north of the Yukon River, regulated industrial traffic and regulated high occupancy buses." This section applied to the haul road north of the Yukon, and required the Secretary of the Interior and governor to consult the head of any unit of local government which encompasses land located adjacent to the route of the North Slope haul road prior to executing a transportation agreement.

The ANILCA provision is another tool for the borough in dealing with the static. Prior to ANILCA, the state had taken the position that it could limit public access as long as it did not close the road completely to the public. However, this position had never been tested in court, and the ANILCA amendment provided specific language freeing the state from federal payback provisions while practicing regulated access. This provision was also to provide a 'back-up' for the borough to ensure its consultative role in the management of the haul road (as discussed in the preceding paragraph). Furthermore, it may assist the borough to press the state to keep the road closed as specified: the waiver of federal repayment for highway funds would be removed if the road is opened with other types of restrictions (since the waiver is conditional only upon the terms of restricted access in the amendment). Thus, when the state opened the road as far as Dietrich Camp, it could have jeopardized its waiver under the ANILCA amendment. According to a member of the planning department, the state attorney general's office disagrees with this position. In any case, this issue remains unresolved and is a component of current **negotiations** with the state.

It is difficult for the borough to monitor the effectiveness of the DOT-permitted access to the haul road. Borough staff have taken annual inspection trips since about 1978. Following passage of the legislation opening the road to Dietrich, DOT installed a check point at that site for logging traffic up and down the road and checking that drivers traveling north have the proper permits. In the summer, 1983, the check point person estimated that 50 to 100 vehicles pass through each day, which

was lower than the usual level because it was during the sea lift to Prudhoe Bay. Most of the traffic was trucks. The inspector said he checks for permits, which are issued in Anchorage and Fairbanks. The largest problem is that people who have prospecting permits are engaging in other activity, particularly hunting. Although hunting with guns is prohibited within 5 miles of the road, bow hunting is permitted from the road. He cited many instances of illegal hunting for caribou and for bearers reported by truck drivers who are often irate at such activity. Such hunting along the road is likened to slaughter because the animals have become used to traffic; they are not frightened away by trucks.

An Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) was assigned to the Checkpoint area in late 1983. Court records show there were no violations that resulted in court proceedings in 1983, but there were four cases involving seven people in 1984 (office of the district attorney, Barrow, November, 1984). The individuals were from Prudhoe Bay, Fairbanks, and Anchorage. Apparently, prosecution of such cases is a recent development, and the incidence of these violations may be a useful indicator of haul road impacts. Another potential indicator is the number of trespass violations (issued to drivers of vehicles without haul road permits). In 1984, there was one case; and there were none in 1983. (Prior to 1983, records are located in Fairbanks under a separate judicial district for Prudhoe Bay and the Haul Road Corridor.) The low number of violations is conditioned by the low number of troopers assigned to the haul road (there are

three assigned between the Yukon River and Prudhoe Bay, including the Prudhoe region as well).

The major issue of the haul road continues to be the question of public access and the efforts of the state to continue a policy of less restricted access. The mayor of the borough wrote to Governor Sheffield on September 2, 1983, to express strongly the borough's interest in maintaining the present restrictions, when the state was going to remove the checkpoint at Dietrich Camp. Sheffield replied with an assurance of the process of consultation with the borough; but at a meeting with DOT officials in Barrow at the end of 1983, the mayor was informed the checkpoint would be removed and replaced with a decal system on January 31, 1984. Mayor Brewer objected strongly to DOT/PF's proposed check point closure "because it is being imposed without consultation with local governments" and because no alternative system has been developed that has a reasonable chance of success or to make the existing system effective. The mayor pledged to work with the state and, in 1984, submitted a draft MOU to the governor's office (no reply was received by the end of that year) .

OTHER PLANNING ACTIVITY

The development of the borough's coastal zone management plan is significant because of its direct relation to OCS activity, and also because of the extensive, multiyear process of inter-governmental and borough-industry review and coordination. When the Alaska Coastal Zone Policy Board did not approve the borough's initial CZM plan, the borough adopted interim zoning

ordinances on January 2, 1980, to ensure that coordination with the borough continued until a full plan could be developed. The initial plan focused on the mid-Beaufort region in direct response to the 1979 state/federal lease sale. During the 1980-83 period, the borough developed a coastal zone plan for the entire coastline and engaged in an intensive review and revision process with state and federal agencies. Hearings on the draft CZM plan have continued in 1983 and 1984.

In the 1979-82 period, the borough developed Comprehensive plan and land management regulations which became effective on January 1, 1983. Subsequently, all development projects were subject to a formal permitting process through the borough. Members of the planning department have indicated that, despite initial misgivings of the oil and gas industry that such regulations would be overly restrictive and would result in opposition and possible litigation by the industry, the process worked smoothly through 1983. The borough delayed the issuance of a few permits for lack of information, but ultimately all applications were approved. Table 20-5 provides a tabulation of permits approved during 1983.

The final element of the planning department is focused on the ownership status of land within village boundaries, as distinguished from land outside the village which is associated with more traditional ownership and subsistence values. Since the 1970's the borough adopted the position that, when municipal powers are transferred to the borough, the borough has the right to ANCSA 14(c)3 land. As described in the village sections, the

TABLE 20-5

Development Permits Approved by NSB Planning Department, 1983

Month	Permit Number of Approvals
January	1
February	3
March	0
April	8
May	7
June	15
July	12
August	10
September	5
October	13
November	13
December	<u>5</u>
Total	92

Source : NorthSlopeBoroughPlanning Department

citycouncils transferred land to the borough in the 1970's, but the Townsite Trustee ruled the village corporation was not entitled to transfer land directly to the borough. The borough brought a suit against the Townsite Trustee over this issue, but after the councils in Barrow and Wainwright collected petitions in 1979, the suit was dropped.

Responding to pressure from village corporations and city councils, the borough modified its position somewhat in December, 1982, and agreed to start paying for some of the lands. For lands to be used for public facilities under powers transferred to the borough (sewage, lagoons, dump sites, airports, school tracts, roads, etc.), the borough continues its policy of not purchasing the land. If the land is to be used for housing, public safety, equipment storage and maintenance facilities (non-

basic services), the borough will pay for the land. The borough began paying UIC for land in about 1980, and other village corporations demanded equal treatment. Also, the borough attorney ruled that the borough could not put CIP's on leased land due to changes in federal regulations, and the borough could not demand clear title **without** offering payment. Thus, after 1982, the borough made direct efforts to acquire clear title to lands. In the summer of 1983, the mayor developed a policy which set a uniform price for a lot at \$1.50 per square foot, in response to difficulties with arriving at price agreements in the villages. The borough began to seek a resolution of 14(c)3 issues in the villages by **pressing for comprehensive final agreements between** the city, village corporation, and borough. Some of the villagers commented that the borough is a "bit pushy" in seeking such **agreements**. There were no final agreements before 1984; the first such agreement was signed in March, 1984, in Nuiqsut.

Environmental Protection

Another area of significance for monitoring institutional change and response to OCS activities is the development of the borough's environmental conservation efforts. In addition to the checks and balances introduced through the formalization of the planning and zoning process described above, Eben Hopson also organized another element in the borough structure which was expressly concerned with environmental protection issues as they related to impacts of industrial development. Organized under the mayor's office, the North Slope Borough Environmental Pro-

tection Office is "that portion of the borough government that has a major responsibility in the areas of 1) working to minimize environmental impacts associated with resource development, and 2) managing fish and wildlife resources so that human use and enjoyment of these resources can continue" (NSB unpublished report]. By 1981, the EPO became the North Slope Borough Department of Conservation and Environmental Protection, although it remained part of the mayor's office. (While the EPO officially became the CDEP, the NSB continues to use EPO to refer to DCEP. EPO and department are used interchangeably.)

The goal of the department has remained unchanged, but the scope of its activities has increased substantially in the 1979-83 period. As mentioned above, the borough actively supported the scientific research efforts of the AEWC to provide meaningful and valid biological data on the bowhead whale and the effects of oil spills and other disturbances (such as noise) associated with oil and gas development. At this time, the functions of the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission were divided between the borough and the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation. It was agreed that the borough would assume the responsibility of the biological research and that ASRC would represent the political interest of AEWC. The AEWC office was actually located in the ASRC office. This support was mobilized through the mayor's office and resulted in the development of the borough's scientific program which is a component of the EPO responsibility. Between 1981 and 1983, the EPO added a scientist and a field biologist to the staff with the responsibility of managing and coordinating the bowhead research program with AEWC.

The funding for the science program has more than doubled since 1981; the level in 1983 was approximately \$700,000 from State sources (primarily the legislature) and well as the borough. In addition to bowhead research, EPO also conducts research on other subsistence species. The focus in the 1981-84 period, in addition to the bowhead, was caribou (subject to impacts from onshore development impacts) and fish (primarily in the Nuiqsut area, where they are subject to effects of offshore development). During this period, a Subsistence research specialist was added to the staff.

A major responsibility of EPO staff is coordinating with and representing the borough in the local (state and borough) fish and game management committees. The state committees (the eastern and western fish and game advisory committees) are comprised of residents from all the North Slope villages. EPO staff also coordinates the quarterly meetings of the NSB Fish and Game Management Committee, which is a borough-sponsored structure created by ordinance in 1976 to achieve local management of fish and game resources. A Caribou Workshop was held in October, 1983, to review the status of the western arctic caribou herd with state biologists and village residents. The actions of these committees were stable at rather low levels during the study period, but recent reprioritizations under the new NSB administration following the 1984 elections suggest that the EPO may assert greater local management authorities in the future.

In addition to the science program, the other major area of activity in the 1979-83 period was in the monitoring and inspec-

ting of industrial impacts, including significant participation in inter-agency oil spill response planning related to the modification of the seasonal drilling restriction. In 1982, a satellite office for the department opened in Prudhoe Bay. This office is concerned with spills of 'hazardous wastes in the Prudhoe area and along the haul road. Routine patrols and inspections are now carried out in these areas; and two seminars for hazardous waste disposal were held for Prudhoe Bay developers and contractors. The department is investigating the possibility for cooperation with the NSB planning department in monitoring haul road permits. EPO added an environmental protection officer trainee to its staff in 1983. .

A priority of the department is the participation in the examination of the seasonal drilling restriction and its modification by the state, to ensure that the borough's interests are represented. This process involves representatives from industry and the regulatory agencies (federal, state, and borough). According to staff reports, their participation has been effective in forestalling unfavorable decisions possible at the outset of the process, and also that relationships with their counterparts in state agencies have improved substantially during the recent past. A degree of professional cooperation and reciprocity has emerged in these relationships indicating that the borough has achieved a certain legitimacy as a local government among (some) state agencies.

During the recent period, then, the staff of the department increased from 6 to 10, and its annual budget rose 127 percent in

three years to a present level of \$1,427,000 in 1983-84. The staff was regularly involved with the following organizations:

Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission
International Whaling Commission
Beaufort Sea Biological Task Force
Advisory Council, Fairbanks District of BLM
U.S. Minerals Management Service
U.S. Coast Guard
U.S. National Marine Fisheries Service
U.S. Environmental Protection Agency
Trustees for Alaska
International Porcupine Caribou Commission
National Petroleum Council
ABSORB
Regional Response Team
RuralCAP
Rural Alaska Resources Association
Alaska Department of Natural Resources
Alaska Department of Environmental Conservation
Alaska Department of Fish and Game
Western Arctic Fish and Game Advisory Committee
Eastern Arctic Fish and Game Advisory Committee

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XXI. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH SCHOOL DISTRICT

One of the primary motivations for the formation of the North Slope Borough was to gain local control of education. The development of a local school district, of quality education of each child in his own village, and of modern educational facilities in every village were major objectives of Eben Hopson's program. An independent school district was formed in 1974, and from 1974 to 1977 the district incrementally took over the delivery of educational services from the BIA and the state operated school system. An ambitious capital improvement program was initiated by the North Slope Borough out of its own budget resources along with state funds to build new community schools from K-12 grades (and thereby to eliminate the necessity for high school students to migrate to distant boarding schools). The desires of North Slope residents for village schools through the 12th grade was supported by subsequent judicial decisions, such as the Molly Hootch case in the state of Alaska.

School construction started in 1976-77; the 1978-79 school year was the last full year of operation with the old facilities. Four new village schools opened in the following year (1979-80), and by 1983-84 all eight villages had new facilities. Funding and administration of the construction projects was the borough's responsibility; the school district provided input in the design stage and consultation during construction. The major construction projects in the 1979-83 period are provided in Table 21-1.

All of the major new school facilities in the North Slope Borough were opened during the 1979-83 period. The development

TABLE 21-1

Major School Construction Projects, 1979-83

<u>Facility</u>	<u>Location</u>
Barrow High School	Barrow
Cully School	Point Lay
Alak School/Addition	Wainwright
Atgasuk School	Atgasuk
Tikigaaq School	Point Hope
Nynamiut School	Anaktuvuk Pass
Nuigsut School	Nuigsut
Kaveolook School - Phase III	Kaktovik

Source : North Slope Borough School District

of improved village school programs brought about a significant increase in the number of non-Inupiat teachers in the communities. The school policy was that three teachers were required for a minimum high school program, and other enlargements brought an increase in the primary programs. For the villages, it was the new teachers accounted for the basic increase in non-Inupiat households prior to 1979 (disregarding the more transient construction laborers), as documented in other sections of this report. The data indicate that nearly all of this increase in school staff was completed by 1979; there was only a 7.5 percent increase in the number of teachers between 1979-80 and 1983-84 (see Table 20-2). According to the superintendent, staff had increased prior to 1979 to accomplish the goals of curriculum development, but the task was nearing completion by 1979 and staff was reduced and has remained stable since that date.

The development of school programs and facilities encouraged the out-migration of Inupiat from Barrow to other North Slope

TABLE 21-2

Changes in North Slope Borough School District Staff, 1979-83

Teachers

	1979-80	1983-84
Alaska Native	22	19
Black	1	0
Caucasian	113	127
Native American	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
TOTAL S	136	147

Administrators

	1979-80	1983-84
Alaska Native	0	2
Black	1	0
Caucasian	<u>22</u>	<u>22</u>
TOTALS	23	24

Teacher Aides

	1979-80	1983-84
Alaska Native	24	37
Caucasian	11	22
Filipino	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>
TOTALS	35	65

Source: North Slope Borough School District

communities, and the in-migration of non-Inupiat into Barrow. According to school officials, the largest movements occurred with the opening of schools in the new communities of Nuiqsut (1974) and Atkasuk (1976). About 125 school children are estimated to have moved out of Barrow to the other villages by 1984. Concurrently the number of non-Inupiat has increased substantially.

ly. Estimates of the proportion of non-Inupiat students were from 1 to 5 percent of the student population in 1975-76, whereas the proportion had grown to 18 percent non-Inupiat by 1983-84. The greatest absolute number of non-Inupiat students is in Barrow, where in 1983-84 nearly one-quarter (127) of students were non-Inupiat. Although the majority of these are white, a rather large number (about 21) are Filipino. As indicated in Table 21-3, the proportion of non-Inupiat (mainly Caucasian) students varies considerably among the villages on the slope. The largest proportion (28.6%) is in Anaktuvuk Pass and the lowest (1.5%) is in Point Hope.

According to a school official, the out-migration of Inupiat students from Barrow has been offset by an equivalent in-migration of non-Inupiat, keeping the total student body count at a constant level. Districtwide figures indicate that the district totals have remained unchanged from 1979 to 1983. However, our data show that non-Inupiat have continued to migrate into Barrow, which suggests that the overall (districtwide) Inupiat student population has declined between 1979 and 1983. Unfortunately, the ethnic composition from 1979 is not readily available to show precise changes. Apparently the number of Inupiat students has declined during 1979-83, and in Barrow this has occurred at the same time they have come in contact with a greater ethnic diversity, including Filipinos, Koreans, Hispanics (mainly Mexican-Americans), and American blacks.

TABLE 21-3

North Slope Borough School District Enrollment, 1979-83

Location	1979-80		1983-84				
	K-12	K-12	Alaska Native	Caucasian	Hispanic	Asian	Black
Anaktuvuk Pass	49	56	40	16			
Atkasuk	25	43	39	4			
Barrow	532	530	403	98	3	23	3
Kaktovik	47	42	34	8			
Nuqsut	64	61	58	3			
Point Hope	" 140	135	133	2			
Point Lay	26	21	16	3	2		
Wainwright	106	99	89	10			
District Totals	989	987	812	144	5	23	3

1. Does not include Early Childhood students because statistics are not required by DOE. 1983-84 total with ECE is 1181.
2. Enrollment numbers are taken from the final attendance report of each year.
3. Ethnicity for 1979-80 available on microfilmed pupil registration forms.

Source: North Slope Borough School District

The rate of attrition rose from 13 percent in 1979-80 to 21 percent in 1983-84. The attrition rate is based on total enrollment figures of 1,162 in 1979-80 and 1,243 in 1983-84, and includes the net total computation of withdrawals, transferrals, and dropouts. In 1979-80, there were fewer students who left school and more who returned than in 1983-84. In the same period, the number of graduates increased by 40 percent from 41 to 69.

Costs of operating the schools rose by 40 percent in the 1979-83 period. The average expenditure per student increased by the following amounts:

1979-80	\$13,984
1983-84	\$23,010

The largest increase was due to the costs of operating the same facilities, and the high costs may have implications for future monitoring efforts, as pointed out below. About \$2 million of the cost increase went to higher costs of administration. Average teacher salaries rose from \$27,700 in 1979-80 to \$43,800 in 1983-84. The average salary for principals increased by \$27,300 from \$46,800 to \$74,100.

The major sources of funding for the school district are federal, state, and borough government agencies. Under P.L. 874, the school district is entitled to revenues based on the number of students residing on federal lands and/or whose parents work at federal installations. In Barrow, this applies mainly to families living on restricted deed lots, and the amount is calculated to be a replacement for state and local tax revenues (of which such lands are exempt). In 1983-84, the school district received about \$4.2 million from this source. The district retains a consultant in Washington, D.C. to track this funding through the congressional appropriation process and to lobby individual senators and representatives as necessary. Additional special programs (Indian Education, Johnson O'Malley, etc.) are funded through federal grants.

The remaining portion of the annual budget is derived in about equal proportions from state and borough appropriations.

District funding is dependent on continued levels of revenue for state and borough governments; any decline in revenues may threaten the ability of the school district to maintain its facilities and programs. The extensive capitalization program in the recent period has implications for future levels of operation, since a large budget is necessary for maintenance and operations and such costs are expected to increase in the future. Analysis of the school board meeting minutes indicates that the potential for short-falls in state-funding sources were discussed in a joint school board/North Slope Borough Assembly meeting in early 1983 as a possibility beginning in the 1983-84 year. Meeting the funding levels of the annual budget may be a problem in the future; monitoring efforts should include this component.

The school board consists of seven members elected in districtwide elections. An analysis of the membership indicates that in most years residents of Barrow have dominated the board, but there has usually been at least two and often three other villages represented. Barrow has elected four members (a majority) in three of the four years between 1980 and 1984. The villages of Wainwright and Kaktovik have been consistently represented on the board through the years; in the 1979-83 period a member from each of these villages had a greater longevity on the board than other members. In the early years (1973-78), Barrow elected one non-Inupiat, but during the study period all members were Inupiat. This development, along with the recent election of younger, more assertive Barrowites, may have contributed to the recent maturation of the board.

The school board elects a president, Vice-president, and clerk from the membership. Monthly meetings are held throughout the year, and one joint meeting between the board and the North Slope Borough Assembly is scheduled in the year. The board regularly considers requests for in-service training, travel, and schedule changes from the schools, requests for leave by teachers/administrators, hiring contract renewals, and promotions, as well as programmatic issues. During regular meetings, a standard agenda item is community concerns in which community members have the opportunity to raise issues and questions to the board and school administrators (the superintendent attends all meetings). Review of meeting minutes in the recent past indicates that the board pursues such issues that are brought before it. In the September, 1983, meeting there was a heated exchange between community members and board members on the one hand and an administrator on the other, over the school policy of not sending out standardized test scores to the parents because they were, in the "professional judgement" of the administrator, too difficult for the average parent to understand without explanation (parents were invited to the school for such explanations). Some Inupiat board members and the parents and students concerned perceived the policy as racist condescension and reacted strongly, but the board did not develop a new policy for the administration to implement. Although the board has, according to some observers, developed significantly as a board in the recent period, it also has a tendency to follow policy proposed by the administrators (Aamodt, 1984).

The school board has created several committees to examine or coordinate certain issues and grant programs. The district curriculum committee and the alternative education committee were formed to assess and develop specific program recommendations. Members are recommended by the school board and the administration at the direction of the board. There is a Barrow Parent-Teachers Association and each village has a local school advisory council which provides input directly into the school in each community. In addition, there is a Federal Programs Parent Advisory Committee, which oversees the federal grant programs in the school district; members are appointed by the village advisory school councils.

The Federal Programs Parent Advisory Committee (FPPAC) was established on May 11, 1976, to serve as an advisory board for all grant-in-aid programs in the North Slope Borough School District. The organization of the committee was encouraged by the North Slope Borough School Board in a document issued in early 1976. This document detailed the process of organization and the duties of the committee.

Since that time the FPPAC has served as an "umbrella" committee whose purpose has been to meet the varying requirements of the several grants awarded to the district. For example, the FPPAC serves as the Indian Education Parent Committee and the Johnson-O'Malley Parent Advisory Committee as required by these grants as well as serving the parent/community requirements of other grants as they are awarded.

On August 14, 1980 the FPPAC adopted bylaws to govern their activities. These bylaws for the most part are consistent with

the guidelines laid down by the board in 1976 and have 'governed the committee to the present time.

The activities of the committee vary somewhat from meeting to meeting depending upon the requirements of grant submission and reporting. Each meeting agenda, however, provides for quarterly reports from each grant manager and public comment to assure the committee up-to-date information. In addition, the committee has established the practice of rotating the meeting site from village to village, thus providing each village a chance to be heard.

One meeting per year (August) has been scheduled to coincide with the district new-hire in-service held in Anchorage. In addition to holding its regular quarterly meeting, the FPPAC has participated in those portions of the in-service intended to assist the new teachers in knowing about and adjusting to the Eskimo culture.

The FPPAC keeps itself informed and aware in several ways. First, it conducts an annual needs assessment throughout the district. This information provides the FPPAC with a basis for advising the district as to the types of programs which should be developed as well as a basis for approving or disapproving funds. Each funded program reports to the FPPAC in written or oral form on a quarterly basis and program managers attend the quarterly meetings in order to answer the concerns of committee members. Lastly, time is allotted during each meeting to allow citizens to voice their concerns.

There are several avenues by which the FPPAC exerts its authority or influence. First, it has direct veto authority on budget as well as program decisions. Second, it advises the coordinator of special projects with regard to items or concerns that it feels should come to the attention of the superintendent and/or the board. Third, it has an obligation to share the proceedings of the committee with its own school advisory council which in turn influences the administration and the board. The FPPAC appears to be functioning appropriately as required by the regulations governing the various grant programs. Meetings are conducted regularly and in an orderly and productive fashion. Attendance is high. Most members have been reelected by their constituents and are becoming extremely knowledgeable of the funded programs and the procedures required to manage those programs. The needs assessment procedure has been closely supported in the villages by the committee members to assure the validity of the process, though the committee has recently voted to review the format of the needs assessment instrument and committed time and energy to the development, of a new and more appropriate instrument.

In the 1979-83 period, the FPPAC absorbed other councils, including the bilingual advisory council (1981) and the advisory council for community schools and adult basic education (1983). The 1983 federal grants included the following programs: Johnson O'Malley, Indian Education, Title VII (bilingual program), Community Education, Adult Basic Education, Chapter I, and Chapter II. The annual grant amounts for the recent period have either remained at constant levels or decreased; the greatest

decrease was in the Johnson O'Malley Program (JOM) between 1982 and 1983. Throughout the 1979-83 period, the FPPAC and community advisory school councils had bilingualism as a major goal. JOM and other grants were devoted to bilingual programs, and Inupiat was compulsory in the schools. This emphasis changed somewhat in 1984; Inupiat became an elective course (parents may choose to put their children in Inupiat class or another). The general school philosophy did not change significantly in the five years preceding 1984.

In addition to providing a center for instruction of children during the day, the schools provide a facility for a variety of community activities. Large public meetings and social gatherings are normally held in the school gym--such activities that involve the entire community and visitors from other North Slope villages would require the space available in the school. Community celebrations and feasts, meetings of the Elders Conference and the whaling captains from all villages, large potlucks and Inupiat dances were some of the events we observed in the schools during our fieldwork. The school gym is also a center for organized sports activities; the city basketball and volleyball league regularly sponsor games and, in Barrow, high school basketball games draw large segments of the community, including an active group of elders. The Barrow High School basketball games are broadcast on TV with running commentary provided by the radio station.

In Barrow, the high school's athletic facilities (indoor track, weight room, swimming pool, exercise rooms) attract a

large proportion of the white professionals in the community who engage in individualized activity or take one of the classes offered in aerobics, dance, etc. In the hours after work, the new high school has become the center for socializing for the large number of non-Inupiat in Barrow. There are occasions in the locker room during which the Inupiat students appear in the minority. The high school has become an institution of intense acculturation for young Inupiat when the work day ends, and in many of the activities adult Inupiat are present in very small numbers or not at all.

The schools are also the center for adult and community educational activities, in which there is significant participation. The following table provides an indication of the level of participation in community education programs for the North Slope Borough in the 1983-84 school year:

TABLE 21-4

Participation in Community Schools, 1983-84

Community School Activities	Number of Activities	Number of Attendees
With registration	37	3,585
Without registration	23	6,925
Agency-sponsored activities	<u>15</u>	<u>844</u>
Totals	75	11,354

Source: North Slope Borough School District

The school board adopted a plan of leaves for its employees in 1976; subsistence leave for classified employees was formally recognized in that plan. The following description of subsis-

tence leave appears in the school district's personnel manual:

Subsistence Leave

The Board recognizes the importance of perpetuating and preserving certain cultural customs traditional to the North Slope. Therefore a subsistence leave of up to 10 days annually without pay for the purpose of hunting or fishing may be granted an employee with the prior approval of the Superintendent. subsistence leave will not be granted an-employee more than twice a year.

subsistence leave will not affect any other leave benefit.

This practice is particularly significant during whaling season, but it is also practiced at other times of the year, such as during the spring duck SEASON. According to the superintendent, the school district recognizes that students may be absent for periods of time during whaling SEASON. This applies to female students, who may be absent to help in food preparation and other activities at home, and to boys who are helping the whaling crew. A whaling captain in Wainwright reported that a captain may ask the school principal to release a boy from school for a portion of the whaling season. In Point Hope, students used to leave school in mid-April and remain away until the close of whaling season, which often extended for the remainder of the school year. In recent years, this time away has been shortened because whaling stops when the village quota is reached, and crews return to the village sooner than in the past.

Another responsibility of the school board is to approve of annual schedules and any schedule changes in the school calendar. Occasionally a village school will seek to modify its schedule to fit the community Subsistence calendar. It was reported that the

Kaktovik school has attempted to move the school to the spring camp near the Brooks Range, to which many villagers move in late spring. In one year, school was transferred for two weeks, but the hardship to the staff was such that it was not repeated in the following year. In April, of 1983, the Kaktovik school applied to the school board for a modification of its calendar to reschedule spring break with the annual spring trip in that year. The school board denied the request and instructed the school to devise a program of outdoor instruction for the 'Village Mountain Trip.' Pt. Lay is another village in which the school has attempted to adjust to community movements during the subsistence year. In this village, it was reported that parents would move to fish camp in the fall and spring, and children would be left in the care of the elderly or others who stayed behind. The teachers tried on at least two occasions to move the school to the fish camps during this period, so that the children would not be deprived of their parents' care. These examples provide instances of institutional response to local cultural practices, and they should be assessed in future monitoring.

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SECTION V: RESPONSE TO OIL AND GAS LEASING PROGRAMS

XXII. CUMULATIVE REVIEW OF OIL AND GAS LEASING ON THE NORTH SLOPE, 1979-83

This review surveys the recent history of state and federal oil and gas leasing programs on the North Slope during the period 1979-1983. (Leasing of private Arctic Slope Regional Corporation lands is described in Chapter X) The principal concern is to identify the avenues through which North Slope institutions and individuals have responded to the leasing programs, as well as the concerns of the local residents as expressed through these avenues. The discussion begins with an overview of the leasing programs, noting in particular the increased scale of leasing activity occurring during the period under review. The body of this chapter then examines the procedures, chronology, and content of the public and institutional responses to the leasing programs, including separate treatment of the litigation which has been directed toward these programs. The final section reviews the protective measures in the leasing programs relating to the concerns expressed in the public involvement process. We suggest an evaluation of the adequacy of these protections in meeting the concerns of the North Slope residents as a component of the monitoring task.

Overview of Oil and Gas Leasing Programs on the North Slope, 1979-83

North Slope oil and gas exploration and leasing entered a new phase in 1979. Prior to 1960, oil and gas exploration was

limited to the extensive program on the Naval Petroleum Reserve #4, now known as National Petroleum Reserve - Alaska (NPRA), while attention during the late 1960's and 1970's focused on Prudhoe Bay and associated developments. Beginning in 1979, leasing activity was extended to the offshore zone, under both State and federal jurisdictions, while the federal government also undertook new leasing initiatives in the NPRA and in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). In other words, the lull in new leasing which followed the state of Alaska's Prudhoe Bay offshore and uplands sale of September, 1969 ended in 1979 when a number of procedural, fiscal and jurisdictional conflicts had been resolved, in some instances on an interim basis.

The paragraphs which follow review the lease sales conducted in each jurisdiction, three of which are federal and one state. The lease sale activities are also summarized in Table 22-1. While leasing activity has been substantial during the period under review, exploratory drilling activity on these leases has been decidedly modest. Activity levels for each jurisdiction are noted below and summarized in Table 22-2. And finally, this section concludes with a general consideration of the amount of land entering restricted status as a result of the lease sales during this period.

FEDERAL OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF (OCS)

The Joint State/Federal Beaufort Sea Oil and Gas Lease sale, conducted in December, 1979, was pivotal in setting in motion the accelerated and broadened programs of the early 1980's. In agreeing to a memorandum of understanding (May, 1978), the state

TABLE 22-1

North Slope Oil and Gas Lease Sales, 1979-83

FEDERAL		STATE	
Acres Offered	Acres Leased	Acres Offered	Acres Leased
OCS BF Sale (Joint State/Federal)			
December 11, 1979			
172,320	85,776		
State BF Sale (Joint State/Federal)			
		December 12, 1979 (offshore)	
		341,140	296,307
		State Sale 31 Prudhoe Bay Uplands	
		September 16, 1980	
		196,268	196,268
NPR-A Sale 821 January 27, 1982			
1,516,257	675,816		
NPR-A Sale 822 May 26, 1982			
3,519,515	252,149		
		State Sale 36 Beaufort Sea	
		May 26, 1982	
		56,862.41	56,862.41
		State Sale 34 Prudhoe Uplands	
		September 28, 1982	
		1,231,517	517,945
NPR-A Sale 831 July 20, 1983			
2,195,845	226,021		
		State Sale 39 Beaufort Sea	
		May 17, 1983	
		211,988	211,988
OCS Sale 71 Diapir Field			
October 13, 1982			
1,825,770	662,861 acres		
NPR-A Sale 841 July 18, 1984 *			
1,600,248	0		
TOTAL	10,829,955	1,902,623	2,037,775
			1,279,370

Notes: NPR-A Lease figures current to June 21, 1984

*Sale 841 was conducted outside the period under review, but the results indicate industry hesitation in response to the NPR-A program.

Sources: MMS, n.d.; DOG 1984b; BLM 1984

TABLE 22-2

Exploratory Drilling Activity on 1979-1983 Leases

Sale	Tract	Well Name	Operator	Season
State BF	75	Sag Delta 8	Sohio	1980-81
State BF	76	Sag Delta 7	Sohio	1980-81
State BF	96/109	Alaska Island 1	Sohio	1980-81
OCS BF	37	OCS-Y 191 No.1	Shell	1981-82-
OCS BF	37	OCS-Y 191 No. 2	Shell	1981-82
State BF	62	No Name Island 1	Amoco	1981-82
State BF	76	Sag Delta 7 (reentry)	Sohio	1981-82
State BF	76	Sag Delta 9	Sohio	1981-82
State BF	76	Sag Delta 10	Sohio	1981-82
State BF	79	Jeanette Island 1	Chevron	1981-82
State BF	95/108/109	Challenge Island	Sohio	1981-82
State BF	111	Alaska State F 1	Exxon	1981-82
State BF	114	Alaska State D 1	Exxon	1981-82
OCS BF	42	Shell Tern Prospect	Shell	1982
OCS BF	43	Shell Tern Prospect	Shell	1982-83
OCS BF	25	Shell Seal Prospect	Shell	1983-84
OCS 71	191	Mukluk	Sohio	1983-84
NPR-A 821	3	Fish Creek	Sohio	1983-84-
Static 36	na	Exxon G-2	Exxon	1983
State BF	47	Shell Seal Project	Shell	1983-84
State BF	54	Cross Island 1	Tenneco	1983-84
State 31	14	Bergland 1	Ak. Crude Co.	1983-84
State 34	na	Leffing Well	Union	1983-84
State 34	na	Alaska State J-1	Exxon	1983-84-
State 39	na	Long Island 1	Sohio	1983-84-
Planned				
OCS 71	Block 280	not available	Exxon	1984-85
NPR-A 831	na	Brontosaurus 1	Arco	1984-85
State 39	na	Colville Delta 1	Texaco	1984-85
State 39	na	Jones Island 1	Texaco	1984-85

Sources:

MMS, 1983a, p. 25; Monkelin, MMS, pers. comm., Dec 14, 1984; Bond, DOG, personal communication, December-10, 1984.

and federal governments suspended a lingering jurisdictional dispute, and arranged a coordinated environmental review and , public involvement program. While the jurisdictional dispute remains under judicial consideration, the agreement permitted the leasing programs to proceed. One of the important results was that mitigative, or environmental protective measures on both state and federal tracts were jointly evaluated in a single environmental impact statement (EIS) with virtually identical stipulations resulting in the final federal and state leases. Moreover, long-term coordination of state and federal efforts in managing this lease area was assured through several coordinating bodies.

Federal OCS lease sales were conducted twice during the period under review. The Joint State/Federal Beaufort Sea Sale area is located in the zone due north of Prudhoe Bay, bounded roughly by the Canning River on the east and the Kuparuk River on the west. The sale area comprised 172,000 federal acres, of which nearly 86,000 were leased in the December, 1979 sale. The next federal offshore sale area, offered in the Diapir Field Sale #71, is located in the federal offshore zone immediately west of the Joint State/Federal Beaufort Lease sale area, centered roughly offshore of Harrison Bay. In October, 1982, lease sale No. 71 resulted in leases on nearly 663,000 acres, out of 1.8 million offered. In combination the two federal OCS sales in this period, the first to be conducted in the US Beaufort Sea, resulted in leases covering 748,637 acres.

Six exploratory wells were drilled on federal OCS leases during 1979-1983, two each drilling season from 1981-82 to 1983-

1984. As detailed in Table 22-2, five of the six were on leases from the Beaufort Sea Sale in 1979. No discoveries or development plans have been announced.

NATIONAL PETROLEUM RESERVE ALASKA (NPR-A)

Under a congressional mandate to conduct an "expeditious program" of oil and gas leasing (PL 96-514, December, 1980), the US Bureau of Land Management held three lease sales offering National Petroleum Reserve Alaska (NPR-A) acreage during the period under review. While extensive federally supported exploratory activity had been conducted on the NPR-A from 1953-1981, leases conducted during 1982 and 1983 represent the first time NPR-A acreage was leased to the private sector (BLM 1983a).

Congress had set a goal of 2 million acres leased in the first two years of the program, and this guideline governed the sales conducted in January and May, 1982. A total of 5 million acres was offered and 928,000 acres were actually leased. Also in the period under review, the BLM reviewed and commenced a five-year program of leasing, with the first lease sale under this extended program conducted in July, 1983. At this sale, nearly 2.2 million acres were offered, from which 226,000 acres were leased. The leased acreage was widely dispersed throughout the 23.7-million acre reserve. The second of the sales under the five-year plan, conducted in July, 1984, offered 1.6 million acres. There were, however, no bids, reportedly as a result of litigation facing the NPR-A program.

One test well has been drilled under leases from this program and was planned for the current drilling season. Sohio

drilled a well in the 1983-84 season near Fish Creek, while Arco plans to drill a well in the 1984-85 season. The new exploratory effort is much less extensive than the work conducted by the Navy and the US Geological Survey between 1953 and 1982: 45 Barrow area wells and 28 exploratory wells were drilled, in addition to 13,455 miles of seismic lines (USGSm 1981, p.44).

ARCTIC NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE

The 18-million acre Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) encompasses the northeastern corner of the arctic slope. Set aside for conservation purposes, the ANWR was nonetheless the object of congressional action in 1981 calling for a strictly controlled exploration program, after which Congress would make a further decision on whether to open parts of the refuge to development and production. The exploration activity on this jurisdiction differs from that in the other three jurisdictions in that, short of new legislation, no development activities are permitted within the refuge (FWS 1983a).

Following a legal challenge over a decision by the Secretary of the Interior appointing the US Geological Survey lead agency on this matter, the US Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) conducted an environmental review of regulations governing the exploration program. Proposals for exploration programs were solicited from the oil and gas industry, and an exploration program was implemented in 1983, with a smaller "infill" effort in the summer of 1984. These results will be returned to Congress for action.

STATE OF ALASKA OIL AND GAS LEASING PROGRAM

The state actually initiated its first offshore leasing proposal in 1978, with a hastily planned offering at Point Thompson. The proposed sale was met with a wave of opposition from North Slope institutions and individuals, as well as from environmentalists. As a result, the Point Thompson sale was withdrawn and the State redirected its efforts to the more elaborate review process for the proposed Joint State-Federal Beaufort Sea Lease Sale. The state's participation in this sale constituted the first successful state oil and gas lease sale since 1969. Nearly 350,000 state acres were included in the December, 1979, Joint State/Federal Beaufort Sea Lease Sale, with leases finalized on 300,000 acres or nearly 87 percent of the offer.

The state conducted four additional sales during the 1979-1983 period. Two of these were exclusively uplands, one was exclusively offshore, and one combined upland and offshore acreage. The leases were concentrated in the central part of the North Slope in close proximity to Prudhoe Bay. Sale 31, conducted in September, 1980, comprised nearly 200,000 previously offered acres in the Prudhoe Bay uplands on which no current leases were in effect. Sale 36, conducted on May 26, 1982, comprised 41,500 acres in the nearshore zone off Prudhoe Bay near the Midway Islands, and about 15,500 acres of on and offshore lands in the Flaxman Island-Canning River region. Sale 34, conducted on September 28, 1982, offered 1.2 million acres of uplands in the Prudhoe Bay region. Sale 39 offered approximately 212,000 acres of predominantly nearshore lands from Gwydyr Bay on the east to the Colville Delta on the west.

In total, some 1.3 million acres of state nearshore and upland acreage was leased on the North Slope during this period, from a total of 2.0 million acres offered.

As of December, 1984, a total of 18 exploratory wells have been drilled on leases from these 5 lease sales. As noted in Table 22-2, three exploratory wells were drilled in 1980-81, eight were drilled in the 1981-82 season, none were drilled in 1982-83, and seven were drilled in 1983-84. Several more are planned for 1984 -85. Tracts from the Joint State Federal Beaufort Lease Sale have seen by far the most interest, accounting for 10 of the total.

Several additional wells have been drilled on older existing leases in the vicinity of sale 31 tracts. Arco's Hemi Spring State 1 and West Sag 26 wells are in adjacent tracts, while the HG&G Sag River 1 well is also near the sale 31 area. Sohio's Sag Delta 11 well, planned for the 1984-85 season is adjacent to the sale 31 area (Bond, DOG, pers. comm. December 10, 1984) .

A single announced development prospect includes tracts from these sales. In May, 1982, Sohio announced plans to develop a prospect in the Sag River/Duck Island area, subsequently known as the Endicott Project. Though most of this holding stems from lease sale 23, conducted in 1969, it also includes tracts from the BF Sale (USGS, 1982, p.12).

SUMMARY

In sum, between 1979 and 1983, 10 lease sales in two federal and one state jurisdiction offered a combined total of 12,867,730

acres for lease. Of these, 3,181,993 acres were actually leased. Exploratory activity included a total of 25 test wells on three jurisdictions, plus a modest exploration program amounting to approximately 800 miles of seismic testing on ANWR.

For a number of reasons it is difficult to extrapolate from these bare figures on the magnitude of new oil and gas leasing to an assessment of the additional quantity of North Slope land and near shore areas on which subsistence activities will become restricted as a result. First, in the exploratory phase, the test wells represent a relatively short-term disturbance. They are relatively few in number, and unless resulting in a find, are dismantled within a season or two. Secondly, more substantial occupation of the land occurs in the development and production stages; however, it is not possible to predict in advance where, and in what quantities producing basins will be discovered. A third complication comes with the lease terms or Stipulations which limit the degree to which operators can place restrictions on access to leased lands. As will be noted in greater detail below, all the leasing programs contain language which seeks to protect the right of the public to enter leased public lands. However, there arises an important ambiguity between the intention of these provisions and the fact that access is reported by North Slope residents to be restricted on extensive portions of the Prudhoe Bay development. The development phase necessarily results in a greater density of facilities than occurs under the exploratory phase. In addition, the operators are reportedly extremely concerned about the security of their facilities, and

seek to limit access to broad zones when possible. Moreover, big game hunting has been prohibited under department of fish and game regulations in the Prudhoe Bay development area. While this differs from restrictions under the leasing operations, the hunting regulations contributes materially to the overall restriction which follows on oil and gas leasing. In short., new leasing necessarily opens the possibility of additional restrictions on subsistence uses of the lands covered. However, the extent and severity of that restriction cannot be estimated without further research. We recommend that the next phase of this monitoring methodology study include the assessment of these restrictions and their effects on subsistence harvest activities by local residents

Public and Institutional Responses

Concern about the consequences of oil and gas leasing on subsistence activities has been at the center of North Slope residents' preoccupations throughout, the period under review. In contrast to the conditions surrounding the Navy's aggressive exploration program in the 1950's and developments at Prudhoe Bay during the 1970's, by 1979, a wide variety of avenues existed and were vigorously used to raise these concerns. The paragraphs which follow review the major dimensions of public and institutional response to the leasing programs during the 1979-83 period. Following a brief outline of the procedures for public consultation, attention is directed to the public meetings. A chronology of public meetings during this period precedes a thematic review of the public reaction to the lease programs.

Separate consideration is given in the final section to the efforts to influence these lease sales through litigation.

PROCEDURES

Federal Jurisdictions

Public response to the oil and gas leasing program on the several federal jurisdictions is invited at several stages. Under present procedures, the federal OCS program is governed by a five-year plan. One of the earliest opportunities, therefore, for the residents of the North Slope to affect the program occurs when the five-year plans are subject to environmental review and public response. In the case of the federal OCS leases under consideration here, the BF Sale was held prior to the formalization of the five-year plan procedure, while the sale 71 in the Diapir field, was included in the five-year plan established in June, 1980.

Each lease sale affords opportunity for public review and reaction, directly or through local and State governments, at four important stages. First, a call for information (formerly the call for nominations) is issued, soliciting reactions from industry and the public to a proposed lease area. Secondly, under the revised CEQ guidelines (July 30, 1980), the environmental review process begins with scoping meetings in the affected communities to obtain an early identification of key issues for detailed examination in the environmental review documents. Scoping meetings were an administrative addition to the NEPA review process, and though not required by statute, were widely used in the three federal jurisdictions during the period

under review. Thirdly, the draft environmental impact statement (EIS) is circulated for public comments and the major round of hearings are held in the affected communities to obtain the public's reactions to the environmental review. The final EIS, including reactions to the public comments, is then prepared and released. A fourth opportunity for public involvement comes when, following the release of the final EIS, the state governor is notified of the proposed terms of the sale and given an opportunity to respond. Also at this stage, the state reviews the proposed sale for consistency with the state, and where applicable regional, coastal management plans. The state submits a coordinated response to these federal initiatives, drawing on input from state agencies, and local units of government such as the North Slope Borough (MMS, 1983 b).

Federal leasing programs on all three jurisdictions follow a similar course, respecting each of the major opportunities for public reactions noted above. In the case of the ANWR exploration program, it is the exploration program and recommended regulations which were the subject of the environmental review and public comments, since no lease program has actually been authorized by the Congress.

In the post lease phase, industry prepares and submits an exploration plan and later a development and production plan. Both of these are subject to full environmental review by the Mineral Management Service. NEPA provides for a truncated environmental review in cases where sufficient data exists to ascertain that the proposed action will not cause significant. addi-

tional impacts. As a result, particularly in the case of exploration plans, an environmental assessment, rather than the more involved environmental impact statement may be prepared. Regardless of the level of environmental review accorded the exploration and development and production plans, both are subject to public review and comment, and both plans are subject to consistency determinations by the State in light of the Coastal Management Plan (MMS, 1983b) .

Also in the post lease phase, exploratory and development activities are subject to a number of federal permit requirements. Generally speaking, these are not subject to public review.

State Jurisdiction

The state's oil and gas program is also governed by a five-year plan, the first of which was submitted to the 11th Alaska Legislature in 1979 and covered sales for the period 1979-1982. Subsequently, the plan has been updated each year, with new lease sales added to the final year of the revised schedule each time. The public and the industry are afforded the opportunity to comment on proposed additions to the annual revision of the five-year plan.

Public reaction to the state oil and gas leasing program is possible at four stages. First, the call for nominations allows industry' to identify its preferences while offering the public an opportunity to suggest deletions. Secondly, while there is no equivalent of the federal scoping meeting, the potentially affected communities are able to participate in the formulation of

the state's environmental review document, the social economic and environmental assessment (SEEA) through an ex officio representative on the governor's agency advisory council on leasing (LLACL), which is responsible for the state's environmental review program. The AACL is made up of representatives from the Alaska Departments of Natural Resources, Fish and Game, Environmental Conservation and Community and Regional Affairs. Thirdly, the draft SEEA is circulated for review in the communities and a series of public meetings are held to receive reactions.

Finally, state statutes require public notice and opportunity to comment on what is termed the "best interest finding", in which the department of natural resources makes a formal determination on whether to proceed with the proposed sale. Mitigative measures are included in the state's "best interest" decision, as is the department's determination about the consistency of the proposed sale with the Alaska Coastal Management Plan. Of particular note is the fact that the consistency review standards (6 AAC 80.120), call for consideration of subsistence uses of the coastal area, including the provision that potentially conflicting uses of identified "subsistence zones" may not be permitted prior to study of "possible adverse impacts" and implementation of "appropriate safeguards."

Procedures for the post-lease phase hinge on preparation and approval of a plan of operations in which the wide variety of terms and requirements of the lease must be respected. Exploration activities are subject to a number of additional permit requirements. The department identifies a total of 23 additional

permits, available from six state and two federal agencies. Among the more important of these are the seismic exploration permit issued by the Alaska Department of Natural Resources, and the National Pollution Discharge Elimination System Permit (NPDES) issued by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (DNR, 1983b) .

Public involvement in the post-leasing phase is extensive, technical, and generally is based on consultation with local governments and agencies, rather than the public at large. The all-important plan of operation is subject to review by the NSB prior to approval by the state. Terms of sale require that the NSB be consulted in the required inventory of archaeological resources of the lease areas. Another provision of the leases provides that the borough and the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission will be consulted regarding state determinations relative to the US Endangered Species and Marine Mammal Protection Acts. Finally, provisions of the leases note that the leaseholders' operations are subject to the North Slope Borough's Zoning Ordinance.

As a matter of statute or policy, the NSB is consulted on a number of post-lease permitting matters. The state has designed a North Slope Issues/Activities Matrix (DNR, 1983a) to systematize management of agency responsibilities in the complex permitting procedures. The borough is included in the notification procedures for many permits and administrative decisions. For example, the borough is routinely notified of seismic exploration

permit applications and is included in determinations implementing the Beaufort Sea seasonal drilling restriction, in both cases without a statutory requirement to do so.

Summary

Summing up, several important contrasts between the state and federal procedures are apparent. First, whereas the federal environmental review procedures derive from the extensive statutory mandate in NEPA, the state's environmental review process stems from executive action, not from legislative mandate. The governor's agency advisory council on leasing was established by administrative order No. 52 in early 1979, while the format and content of the social, economic and environmental assessment were established by administrative order No. 55 in June, 1979. Secondly, whereas an extensive program of original research has been undertaken "for each of the federal environmental review instances, the state's review documents, the SEEA's, consist entirely of contributions from the various state agencies based on their current expertise in the affected area: no program of original research is conducted for the leasing program. Moreover, the recommendations of the AACL based on the analysis conducted in the SEEA are purely advisory; they do not bind the commissioner of natural resources in the statutorily mandated "best interest" finding.

The public participation procedures associated with environmental review also differ. As a creation of the executive branch, the SEEA process may be modified at executive initiative. The public ex-officio member of the AACL was eliminated in 1983.

Further, in early 1985, plans are under way to replace the written SEEA document with a set of informational video-tapes, which would be circulated in the affected communities prior to a workshop at which reactions to a proposed sale would be solicited. Dissatisfaction has been expressed within the department of natural resources with the quality of the SEEA documents, and it is felt that length and the technical orientation of the SEEA have prevented them from making a strong contribution to informed reactions in the communities (DNR, 1984b).

In the post-lease phase, the federal procedures subject exploration and development plans to renewed environmental review and public involvement. The state's post-lease procedures do not include another round of environmental review; however, both the plan of operations and many of the state permit applications are subject to public comment.

CHRONOLOGY OF PUBLIC MEETINGS

Public meetings regarding oil and gas were frequent during the period 1979-1983, when a total of 33 public meetings were held in the various villages of the North Slope. (See Table 22-3.) In addition, 13 public meetings regarding North Slope leasing programs were held outside of the borough, predominantly in Anchorage and Fairbanks although a single meeting, concerned with the ANWR program was held in Washington, D.C. These 49 hearings were concerned with 2 OCS Sales, 4 state sales and modification of the state's SDR, 2 stages of environmental review for leasing in the NPR-A, and environmental review of the exploration program in the ANWR.

The hearings were unevenly distributed during the period under analysis. The first year, 1979, saw hearings relating only to the Joint State/Federal Beaufort Sale, and the following year, the only public meetings were the scoping meetings for the OCS sale 71. During 1981 and 1982, in contrast, the schedule of public meetings became relatively intense with meetings on three decisions in 1981, and meetings on six decisions held in 1982. The final year, 1983, saw meetings concerned with two decisions.

Barrow predominates in the public meetings process, with 11 of the 33 North Slope hearings held in this regional center. Nuiqsut and Kaktovik were sites for 7 and 6 hearings respectively, while Atkasuk and Wainwright were host to only 3 hearings each. Among the hearings on North Slope decisions held outside the North Slope, Anchorage hosted 7, Fairbanks 5, and Washington, D.C., a single 1.

Attendance figures for the public meetings were not generally available; however, such figures as exist, suggest that the public meetings were rather widely attended. For Barrow, figures on five meetings were found, ranging from 45 to 18, and generally declining as time went on.

SYNTHESIS OF PUBLIC MEETINGS

The concerns of the North Slope residents as expressed in the public meetings and written reactions to the environmental review documents are quite wide-ranging in scope. Concerns about the habitat and wildlife upon which subsistence harvests depend are the most frequently mentioned. In the paragraphs which follow,

TABLE 22-3

North Slope Oil and Gas Leasing Program Public Meetings, 1979-1983

Meeting		Location				
		Brw	Nuig	Kak	Atka	Wain Othe
5/79, 6/79	Joint State - Fed BF sale, Draft EIS Public Meetings	44	19	23		Frbks
10/80, 1/80	OCS Sale 71, Scoping Meetings	+	+	-	+	
1/81	Call for Nominations State Sale 39 Villages seek total delay or major deletions.			+		Pt La Anak
1/81, 2/81	Scoping Meetings on NPR-A		+		+	Frbks
7/81	NPR-A Program, Draft EA Public Meetings	45	30		32	7
8/81, 9/81	ANWR Exploration Program Scoping Meetings	+		+		Anch, Fld Arct Vil, Wash
9/81	Public Meetings: Draft SEEA's Sales 36 and 34,	+		+		State
1/82	State Seasonal Drilling Restriction (SDR) Modification Public Meetings	35				Anch 3 2nd Hrg
2/82	NPR-A 5-yr Leasing Program: Scoping document circulated, meetings held	+			+	+
2/82	OCS Sale 71: Draft EIS Public hearings	32	15	13		Frbks Anch
10/82	ANWR Exploration Program: Draft EIS Public meetings	18				Anch
11/82	NPR-A 5-yr Leasing Prgm: Draft EIS Public Meetings	+	+		+	Kotz Anch, Anak
11/22/82	NPR-A 5yr Leasing Prgm: Formal ANILCA 810 Public Hearing with Western Committee, Arctic Regional Council.					
11/82, 1/83	State Sale 39 Draft SEEA Public	+	+			Meetings
6/83	ANWR Exploration Prgm: Public meetings on exploration plans	+		+		Frbks, Anc Arc Vi

* Number testifying noted were available
+ Meetings held

Sources: AACL 1982a, 1982b, 1983; BLM 1979, 1981, 1982, 1983a; FWS 1983a.

the themes or the public response are organized topically, beginning with those relating to habitat protection, followed by concerns relating to the wildlife and subsistence access. Attention is then directed to a variety of other topics.

The discussion which follows is derived from summaries of the public meetings contained in the final EIS and SEEA documents for each lease sale, supplemented by summaries taken from the arctic summary reports (USGS, 1981, 1982; MMS, 1983a). In many cases written submissions reacting to the lease sales are also carried as appendices to the final EIS or SEEA documents, and these have been included in the review. While permitting a thematic review at the level of generality offered here, these summaries are not entirely satisfactory as basic source material. First, they focus on the public meetings stage, and summary data is not always available for the call for nomination and consistency determination stages of public involvement. Secondly, when the summary data are compared with an analysis of primary material on the public meetings (as in Kruse, et al., 1983a, pp. 181-250), it is clear that the summaries have reduced the diversity of themes considerably. Thirdly, the summary data do not generally reveal the institutional affiliation of those raising particular concerns. Finally, summary "data provide only a general indication of the frequency with which the various themes were raised. As a result, in the following discussion, attention can be drawn to those themes which were raised in most or all public meetings, as distinguished from those raised in only a few of the meetings. In each of these instances, fuller analysis would require close

review of the extensive primary source material from these public meetings.

1. TECHNOLOGY AND OPERATING PROCEDURES ARE INADEQUATE TO PREVENT ENVIRONMENTAL CONTAMINATION.

This important theme was raised in regard to each of the proposed lease sales, as well as in reference to the state's proposal and decision to relax the offshore seasonal drilling restriction. North Slope residents and agencies consistently scoff at the view that current technology can withstand the enormous pressures generated by the movement of the pack ice and the weather (e.g. Kruse, et al. 1983a, pp.201-210). Inupiaq testimony is especially vigorous in referring to an ice override phenomena known as Ivoo. In addition, the local residents sharply challenge the view that current spill containment and cleanup technology is sufficient to handle an emergency in broken ice conditions. The common argument is that offshore drilling must be delayed until clear demonstrations of engineering design and cleanup technology adequate to offshore ice and weather have been made.

The adequacy of current technology and procedure also came under criticism for the onshore leasing programs. Village testimony referred again and again to the damage caused by cat trains and heavy transport on the tundra. At the same time, the use of explosives in seismic exploration was criticized for the environmental harm it caused. This theme was raised with particular intensity relative to the lease sales in the NPR-A and ANWR. Local residents recalled vividly the damage they had seen done in the NPR-A in previous exploration activities, and were therefore

highly skeptical of claims that exploratory activity would henceforth be much more closely regulated.

In short, whether in reference to offshore leasing, in areas where an unproven technology is proposed for more difficult environmental conditions, or to onshore leasing, in which the historical experience of the North Slope residents gives rise to deep skepticism, the adequacy of technology and procedure to protect from environmental damage is strongly challenged.

2. LEASING SHOULD BE SEQUENCED WITH ONSHORE TRACT'S LEASED BEFORE OFFSHORE, AND NEARSHORE AREAS BEFORE MORE DISTANT OFFSHORE TRACTS.

Logically related to the concern about technology and habitat is the call for sequencing of oil and gas development, a North Slope Borough policy from 1981, raised particularly in reference to state lease sales 36 and 34. In this view onshore areas should be developed first, since the environmental risks are of lower magnitude and the technology more adequate. Similarly, nearshore areas should be developed before more distant offshore tracts, since the environmental risks increase and the relative adequacy of technology declines in the more distant offshore tracts. Although raised in the public meetings rather infrequently, this policy orientation by the borough governed a wide variety of responses to lease sales during the period under consideration? notably in the borough's response to the annual additions to the state oil and gas leasing program.

3. KNOWLEDGE OF BIOLOGY AND BEHAVIOR IS INADEQUATE TO PREVENT DISTURBANCE OF THE WILDLIFE.

The second dominant consideration in the public reaction to the leasing program concerned the potential for adverse impacts on the wildlife. While often expressed quite directly as a fear that development will disturb the wildlife, an important subtlety is also found. In this view, the knowledge base on which mitigative measures are premised is inadequate and cannot form the foundation of effective mitigation. This criticism is raised consistently for each proposed leasing activity, although the species groups emphasized differ in the offshore and onshore zones.

For the offshore zone, the species most frequently cited in this regard is the bowhead whale. In the initial Beaufort Sea sale and again in the deliberations over revision of the seasonal drilling restriction, residents vigorously criticized the level of knowledge about bowhead whale migration patterns, feeding areas, and physiological and behavioral reactions to an oil contaminated environment. Instead of proceeding with inadequate knowledge and as a result with high, if unknown risks, the residents called for delays and retention of a strong seasonal drilling restriction. Also in the marine environment, and particularly with reference to the Colville River delta, the potential for harm to fish stocks is raised as a problem, again with a view that not enough is known about habits and distributions to effectively mitigate the effects of lease related activity.

For the onshore zone, concerns are most often raised about the caribou, including the Western Arctic, the local Teshekpuk

Lake, and the Porcupine herds. Residents consistently challenge the data presented by agencies on the migration patterns and associated mitigative measures, arguing that the migration patterns vary more widely, and that the response of the caribou to disturbance by industrial activity is not well enough understood to rule out serious adverse effects. The potential for adverse effects on other species is raised in the testimony, with polar bears, moose, and wolverines among the other species mentioned.

In sum, present knowledge about many key species is seen as insufficient to serve as the basis for effective mitigative measures. More research is called for, notably in the call for a systematic wildlife research and monitoring program found in the North Slope Borough's written response to the NPR-A five-year leasing program (BLM, 1983a: Appendix 1). However, the Inupiat challenge of the knowledge base goes beyond the mere call for more research in the conventional scientific practice. As with the skepticism about the assessed adequacy of technical knowledge for the offshore conditions, the concern for greater knowledge about the wildlife reflects the Inupiaq frustration that traditional knowledge is discredited as anecdotal and unscientific, when in fact it embodies a considerable acuity in empirical observation. The calls for fuller knowledge should, therefore, be understood to contemplate a fuller integration of traditional knowledge alongside the results of conventional scientific research.

4. CRITICAL WILDLIFE AREAS AND SUBSISTENCE USE ZONES MUST BE IDENTIFIED AND DELETED FROM LEASE SALES.

Also on the wildlife protection theme, North Slope residents and agencies called for deletion of many particularly important wildlife staging areas, particularly in response to the NPR-A leasing program. Several exceptionally important wildlife habitat areas within the NPR-A had been designated as special areas by the Congress in the legislation calling for leasing in the reserve (National Petroleum Reserve Production Act 1976, PL 24-258. Of these, three drew particular attention in the public response: Barrow testimony called for deletion of the Teshekpuk Lake area, known both for black brant molting and staging and as critical habitat for a locally resident caribou herd. The Wainwright testimony included a call for protection of the Colville River corridor presumably because of the moose, and caribou migrations in the upper reaches of the water shed. (The Colville had originally been designated a special area in reference to its importance as nesting habitat for peregrine falcon, an endangered species.) Considerable concern was also expressed for the migration and calving areas of the Western Arctic caribou herd. Congress had designated the Utukok Uplands special area for this purpose. Finally, Nuiqsut added a habitat zone beyond those already identified by Congress, calling for special protection of Fish Creek, an especially productive subsistence fishing location in the northeast corner of the reserve. "

When public response was sought on the five-year extension of the NPR-A leasing program, these areas were again cited as meriting special protection. Nuiqsut argued as well that drill-

ling under the first two leases had been permitted too near Fish Creek. They sought an enlarged buffer zone as a result. The NSB called for expanded subsistence zones in the Nuiqsut area and south of Barrow.

In state sale 39, public testimony also sought deletion of zones identified for particularly high subsistence productivity. In this sale, the NSB and Nuiqsut called for deletion of tracts on the Colville River Delta, in order to protect the extremely rich fishery and waterfowl nesting habitat.

5. LEASING ACTIVITIES ARE LIKELY TO RESTRICT ACCESS TO SUBSISTENCE AREAS, AND TO INCREASE COMPETITION FOR THE WILDLIFE.

Concerns about restricted access to subsistence areas and Native allotments as a result of leasing activity are raised with moderate frequency. Residents fear that increased leasing activity will diminish their access to important subsistence sites, including those covered by Native allotments. Moreover, concern is voiced that increased development on the North Slope will bring in its wake an increase in nonlocal hunting and fishing, thereby increasing the competition for the local wildlife resources. This theme is clearly associated with the on-shore leasing activities and results from negative experiences in the historic program of exploration on the present day NPR-A, as well as the present day restrictions on big game hunting in the Prudhoe Bay development zone under current department of fish and game regulations.

6. PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN ENVIRONMENTAL REVIEW PROCESS MUST BE RESPECTED, INCLUDING THE CALL FOR CLOSER COORDINATION WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR ZONING AND COASTAL MANAGEMENT PLANS.

Turning from habitat, wildlife and subsistence access questions, the public responses to the leasing programs include concerns about the jurisdictional premises and political principles under which the development decisions are made. The quality of public involvement including the need for coordination with local governments is a theme raised with moderate frequency in the public meetings on oil and gas leasing programs. This theme appears throughout the period under investigation. In effect, this is a call to go beyond the extensive use of public meetings to include the planning processes of the local government agencies in the decision making and administration of the oil and gas lease programs. While many of the remarks on this theme would appear to emanate from borough representatives, this is not exclusively the case. This suggests that the role of the borough in regulating development is viewed as legitimate among some portion of the lay public as well.

The first of two interesting sub-themes on this topic expresses the fatigue which many Communities must feel after the long series of public meetings during the period under review. The elders of Nuiqsut and Barrow are cited in the summary of public input on state sale 39, as expressing their "disgust" with public meetings, since their views have already been extensively documented. Another important sub-theme, indicates that while the borough's prominence in representing the North Slope residents has wide legitimacy, other institutions do not wish to be overshadowed. The Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission urged that

formal notice and consultation include other regional organizations as well as the North Slope Borough.

This call for "democracy" in the development decisions, then, comprises two important aspects. In part the testimony calls for adequate involvement of the relevant groups in North Slope society, and in part the testimony suggests that North Slope residents expect to see action taken on their concerns.

7. THE INUPIAT HAVE NEVER CONCEDED SOVEREIGNTY OVER OFFSHORE AND UPLAND ZONES. OIL AND GAS LEASING SHOULD NOT PROCEED UNTIL THESE RIGHTS ARE SETTLED

Also within the domain of concerns about the political dimensions of oil and gas development, testimony from representatives of the Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope and from villagers asserts an Inupiat sovereignty over the North Slope region. In response to the BF sale, state Sales 34 and 36, and OCS sale 71, public testimony challenges the extinguishment of aboriginal title under ANCSA on the grounds that the Inupiat never agreed to the settlement and further asserts that Inupiat claims to the offshore zone were not covered by ANCSA and are still valid. Under this assertion of Inupiat sovereignty, oil and gas leasing cannot legitimately proceed without accommodating Inupiat claims.

This topic indicates the multifaceted quality of the local response to leasing on the North Slope. While the calls for improved leasing procedures, knowledge base and public involvement would appear to implicitly accept the state and federal jurisdiction over leasing matters, the present theme points out that some local residents differ sharply on this point. This

must be viewed as a reflection of the pluralism of the North Slope residents, as a turn to all available avenues of response, "not dismissed as a matter of illogic. More specifically, as will emerge in the discussion of litigation, the NSB financially supported the ICAS in the legal challenges asserting Inupiat sovereignty, while at the same time working vigorously to improve the quality and extent of borough participation in the state and federal leasing programs.

8. IF DEVELOPMENT MUST PROCEED, THEN THE BENEFITS AS WELL AS THE RISKS MUST BE DISTRIBUTED TO LOCAL COMMUNITIES.

In another theme reflecting political principles, testimony calls for an equitable distribution of the benefits of oil development to the North Slope villages, in view of the fact that these villages alone are exposed to the full brunt of the environmental risks. In reference to the initial Beaufort Sea sale, village testimony called for a compensation program to indemnify residents for their losses in the event of environmental damage. More commonly, expressions of this theme asserted that if development could not be delayed or stopped, as many villagers preferred, then at a minimum, local training and local hire must be vigorously pursued to redistribute some of the benefits of the development to the local residents. Along similar lines, although less frequently, some testimony called for direct subsidy of local living expenses--especially fuel costs--as a way of distributing the benefits of development at the local level.

9. ENVIRONMENTAL REVIEW MUST INCLUDE CUMULATIVE AS WELL AS LOCAL LEVEL EFFECTS.

Turning to a more technical concern, the adequacy of environmental review documents was challenged in several instances. The most notable instance is found in the brief reference to "procedural concerns" raised in relation to the NPR-A five-year leasing program. The written reaction of the NSB to the Draft EIS for this program indicates that these center around the call for a more thorough analysis of both the village level effects of the leasing program and of the cumulative effects of the leasing activities. In this case, the NSB argued that five years of leasing should not be covered by a single environmental review, but that the lease sales for each year should be assessed for their particular and cumulative effects.

The analysis of cumulative effects of development is also a matter of concern in the reaction to OCS sale 71. The second of the federal offshore lease sales during the period under review, sale 71, followed on additional leasing in the state's nearshore zone and indicated the firm intention of both state and federal managers to proceed with leasing programs, without, in the Inupiat view, taking into account the cumulative risks from such broad-based programs.

10. THE MONITORING PROCESS MUST BE IMPROVED, INCLUDING THE FORMAL INVOLVEMENT OF LOCAL RESIDENTS.

A number of speakers expressed skepticism about the value of lease stipulations, given what they see as wholly inadequate monitoring. This challenge was especially prominent in the reaction of the village of Kaktovik to the ANWR exploration program.

Village reaction to this program included a call for the regulations to be translated into Inupiaq, so that the villagers would know the environmental standards to which the exploration parties were responsible. In addition, they sought a formal opportunity to participate in the monitoring process, including a village representative on USFWS monitoring teams accompanying the exploration parties.

LITIGATION

In addition to vigorous participation in the public involvement processes, the residents of the North Slope have also undertaken a number of legal challenges of oil and gas leases on the North Slope. In the paragraphs which follow, eight cases relating to oil and gas leasing during this period are reviewed. Initially, the distribution of the cases in relation to the four jurisdictions is noted, as is the institutional or individual source which initiated the suit. The cases are then briefly outlined in chronological order, and concluding remarks consider some of the broad themes and outcomes. A brief chronology of the litigation is provided in Appendix B.

In the period under discussion, litigation concerning oil and gas leasing programs on the North Slope was brought in seven instances. In addition, a case from the neighboring region of St. Lawrence Island is included here as it bears upon the ongoing administration of North Slope oil and gas lease programs. Of this combined total of eight cases, seven were brought against the federal government, while one major case was brought against the State. Each programmatic jurisdiction has been the subject

of litigation, with the OCS program challenged in four cases, the NPR-A program in two, and the ANWR and state oil and gas leasing programs involved in a single suit each.

As for the institutional and organizational avenues through which these suits were initiated, the North Slope Borough is quite prominent, having initiated three of the eight cases, and joined in two others. Village governments initiated an action largely paralleling the NSB case against the state portion of the BF sale, and village governments initiated the case against the Norton Basin OCS sale, included here for its implications for North Slope leasing programs. In addition village governments have joined in other suits initiated by the NSB and by environmentalist organizations. The Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope, a regional council of North Slope Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) governments, initiated one of the suits noted here. Trustees for Alaska and Friends of the Earth, statewide environmentalist organizations, initiated one of the suits considered here, and joined in a least one other. The state of Alaska undertook one of the suits considered here and was joined by the NSB .

1. North Slope Borough vs. State of Alaska, Superior Court No. 79-57, and Hammond vs. North Slope Borough Supreme Court Nos. 5500, 5556, 5560, 5561.

On November 29, 1979, the North Slope Borough, joined by two individuals, the City of Barrow, and the villages of Nuiqsut and Point Hope filed for a preliminary injunction to stop the state portion of the Joint Federal/State Beaufort. Sea Lease Sale. On December 5, 1979, Kaktovik, an individual, and the villages of

Wainwright, Point Lay, and Anaktuvuk Pass joined in a parallel action. The suits argued that the state's decision to proceed with the sale had not adequately respected state statutes on the best interest finding, and had not considered the action and its consequences for the Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA), the Migratory Bird Treaty Act (MBTA), the state and federal Endangered Species Acts (ESA's), and the Alaska Coastal Management Program (ACMP). Finally, the suit alleged that the leasing method chosen was unreasonable. Kaktovik added the additional argument that the state had not observed the Alaska Public Meetings Act. The Alaska Superior Court denied the preliminary injunction on December 7, 1979, and in the following days, the Alaska Supreme Court refused to review the decision or stay the sale (NSB v Hammond, Supreme Court File No. 5034).

In the trial on the merits, the state filed for summary judgment on February 5, 1980. Cross motions for summary judgment were entered by the NSB and Kaktovik on March 10, 1980. The superior court handed down its lengthy and complex judgment in the case on June 12, 1980, supporting the state's contentions that the MMPA, MBTA, state and federal ESA's, and the ACMP had been respected. The court further ruled in favor of the state with regard to the questions derived from the Alaska Public Meetings Act. However, the court agreed with the NSB and Kaktovik on the matter of the best interest finding, particularly as regards the effects of the sale on the subsistence practices of the NSB residents. The court called upon the state to conduct further review and submit new findings.

In a further order of June 27, 1980, the court prohibited exploration and related activities on the static leases until further findings on the best interest question were made. At the request of the state, this injunction was stayed by the Alaska Supreme Court on July 1, 1980.

On July 16, 1980, the state submitted additional findings on the best interest determination, and called for summary judgment on this question. On September 10, 1980, the court handed down a ruling in which the new findings were found sufficient for the lease tracts inside of the Barrier Islands. However, in light of the uncertainties and lack of information concerning the effects of exploration outside the Barrier Islands on the bowhead whales, the court continued to block any activity on state tracts beyond the islands. A week later, however, the court stayed this new, more limited order, pending appeal.

In further developments, "the state appealed to the Alaska Supreme Court the portion of the earlier judgment prohibiting activity outside the Barrier Islands. Cross appeals were filed by Kaktovik on October 1, 1980, and NSB on October 15, 1980 (Department of Law, December 8, 1980). In a decision on May 7, 1982, the court generally accepted the state's arguments about the adequacy of its best interest finding and affirmed the lower court's decision vacating the injunction on activity inside the barrier islands. The Supreme Court reversed the order prohibiting activity on the leases outside the barrier islands, and remanded certain limited elements of the best interest finding to the commissioner of natural resources for further consideration.

2. North Slope Borough vs. Andrus, 6.42 F. 2nd 589 (USDC, D.C. cir. 1980).

Filed in the US District Court of the District of Columbia by NSB, the Village of Kaktovik and environmentalist groups in December 1979, this case sought an injunction against the federal party to the joint Beaufort Sea Sale. The plaintiffs argued that sale conflicted with subsistence activities, that the Secretary of the Interior had violated the trust responsibility to Natives, and that provisions of National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), ESA, MMPA, OCS Lands Act and others had not been fulfilled. The injunction was denied.

On January 22, 1980, the district court enjoined the federal government. from accepting bids on the federally managed tracts. The court ordered a supplemental EIS and a new biological opinion from National Marine Fishery Service (NMFS) on bowhead whale, because original EIS had not thoroughly examined cumulative impacts and alternatives to the preferred plan of action. Further, through failing to observe the requirements of the ESA, the district court held, the secretary had not met the trust responsibility to the Inupiat. (486 F. Supp. 332 (USDC, D.C. 1980)).

This decision was appealed in March, 1980, and in July, the US Court of Appeals reversed the lower court and withdrew the injunction. A petition for rehearing was denied in November. As the injunction was reversed, the supplemental environmental statement was no longer required.

3. Trustees for Alaska vs. Watt (Civ. No. A81-264).

Administrative arrangements governing the environmental review of the proposed oil and gas exploration program on the

Arctic National Wildlife Refuge were the subject of a suit filed by Trustees for Alaska, Friends of the Earth and the Village of Kaktovik. Filed in May, 1981 in the US District Court, this suit challenged the decision by Secretary of the Interior James Watt transferring jurisdiction over the oil and gas exploration program in the refuge from the US Fish and Wildlife Service to the US Geological Survey. Although seemingly on a procedural matter, one of the plaintiff's main motivations was to ensure that the Porcupine caribou herd would be adequately protected from adverse impacts (USGS, 1981, p.46).

On November 2, 1981, the US District Court held the secretary had indeed exceeded his authority in this transfer of jurisdictions. On December 4, 1981, in a declaratory judgment, the court rejected draft regulation promulgated under the USGS, and called for new regulations, and a new EIS to be prepared by the FWS (FWS, 1983a, S-2).

4. Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope vs. United States,
(Civ. No. A81-019. US District Court, D AK).

This suit claimed full title, ownership and dominion to the North Slope including the offshore lands and waters from 3 to 65 miles and sought cessation of all oil and gas leasing and development. The US District Court ruled in favor of the government on October 1, 1982, rejecting any 'external sovereignty' for Inupiat.

Attorneys for the ICAS filed an appeal in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in November 1982, and the case was heard in Seattle in October 1983. On November 2, 1984, the court of

appeals affirmed the district court judgment, ruling against ICAS claimsto the offshore area. A petition for rehearing WAS denied on February 5, 1985.

5. North Slope Borough vs. Watt, et al., Civ No. A82-42, (USDC, Alaska 1982).

The North Slope Borough, Trustees for Alaska, and the Friends of the Earth filed suit on October 8, 1982, challenging the Secretary of the Interior's decisions revising the offshore seasonal drilling restriction. The NMFS biological opinions were also challenged (MMS 1983a:7).

On January 4, 1984, the US District Court granted the US Department of the Interior's motion for summary judgment, ruling that the NMFS opinions respected Section 7 of the ESA and that the secretary's decisions were not errors of judgment, since based on consideration of relevant factors. Moreover, the court held that a consistency determination under the Alaska Coastal Management Plan was not necessary. Finally, since the previous EIS (on the BF sale) had referenced further study and possible modification of the seasonal drilling restriction, a new EIS was not required.

Attorneys for the North Slope Borough filed an appeal in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals on March 1, 1984, but withdrew this motion on July 13, 1984.

6. Kunaknana vs. Clark (No. 83-4325/84-3623, D.C., Civ. No. A83-337) .

In July, 1983, North Slope residents Sarah Kunaknana and Jean Numnik, with the City of Barrow as amicus, filed for a

preliminary injunction halting lease sale 831 on the National Petroleum Reserve Alaska (NPR-A), on the grounds that the BLM had failed to fulfill the subsistence evaluation and hearing procedures of ANILCA Section 810. On July 19, 1983, a preliminary injunction was issued by the US District Court prohibiting execution of leases, but permitting opening of the bids.

The trial on the merits, which commenced December 12, 1983, hinged in large part on a modified record of decision, submitted by the BLM to further clarify its earlier decisions. The preliminary injunction was reversed in a decision handed down on December 20, 1983. Counsel for the government successfully argued that the bureau had erred in its representation to the court in July. Whereas at that time the agency had acknowledged finding the potential for 'significant restriction' of subsistence harvests and had then failed to meet the ANILCA 810 findings obligations, in the modified record of decision, the bureau found no such potential for significant restriction. The court agreed, holding that the bureau had not been obliged to meet any further 810 requirements. However, pending appeal, the court continued to enjoin the bureau from executing the leases.

Kunaknana and Numnik appealed the in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, arguing on the technical question of the admissibility of the modified record of decision and on the procedural requirements of Section 810 of ANILCA. This appeal was argued before the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals on May 16, 1984, with a decision rendered on September 10, 1984. The appeals court affirmed the lower court's judgment, finding that the modified record of decision was admissible and that the BLM's rule-making

under Section 810 was not arbitrary and capricious. In effect, the court let stand the BLM's judgment that no significant restriction on subsistence harvests was likely under the proposed five-year lease plan and associated mitigating measures. Moreover, the court sanctioned the BLM's clarification of its definition of the threshold at which impacts become "significant", namely, only in cases where the proposed activity precludes central harvest activities by a substantial proportion of the affected community.

7. State of Alaska and North Slope Borough vs. Watt (Civ. No. A83-338).

In a related case, the state of Alaska and the North Slope Borough filed suit in mid 1983 challenging the BLM decision authorizing the five-year leasing program on the NPR-A. Two major grounds are argued. First, the BLM's final decision erred in offering no explicit justification for deleting from the leasing program some, but not, all of the "special areas" established by Congress in the Teshekpuk Lake waterfowl molting area and the Utukok Uplands caribou calving grounds. Second, the BLM failed to observe the ANILCA Section 810 requirements for findings and hearings on impacts to subsistence harvests.

This case was heard in the summer of 1984, and a decision had not been handed down as of January, 1985. However, the Kunaknana decision suggests that the portion of the suit concerning the ANILCA 810 requirements is unlikely to result in a favorable decision.

8. Villages of Gambell and Stebbins vs. Watt.

On March 4, 1983, the IRA governments of the villages of Gambell, on St. Lawrence Island, and Stebbins, on the mouth of the Yukon River, filed suit in US District Court for the district of Alaska, seeking an injunction against the federal OCS sale #57 in Norton Sound. The villages alleged that the sale would infringe on their aboriginal rights to hunt and fish, or alternatively, that it failed to respect the procedural requirements of Section 810 of ANILCA concerning protection of subsistence interests in federal land use decisions. The preliminary injunction was denied on March 11, 1983.

The district court decision of April 14, 1983, granted the government's motion for a summary judgment, finding no aboriginal rights to the offshore areas and no violation of ANILCA Section 810 requirements.

An appeal was submitted and later argued on October 7, 1983. The court of appeals decision was handed down on November 2, 1984, finding that aboriginal rights to the offshore area had indeed been extinguished under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, but that by the same token, the subsistence protections of ANILCA Section 810 extended to cover these lands and waters. The court remanded the matter back to the district court for a determination as to the appropriate remedy.

Summary

Taken together, litigation by North Slope institutions and individuals has raised challenges of several different sorts. The most expansive challenge is that of the ICAS asserting

sewer eighty over the North Slope's of fishery zone. A number of challenges cited 'environmental legislation and focused on protection of particular species, notably the bowhead whale, or habitats, such as the Utukok Uplands and the Teshekpuk Lake area. Three cases raised challenges based on the ANILCA Section 810 requirements governing federal land use decisions, which were enacted midway through the period under consideration. Finally, one case challenged the administrative decision transferring responsibility for the environmental review process within the US Department of the Interior.

Although a full legal analysis is beyond the scope of this discussion, a number of important generalizations can be made about the litigation in response to North Slope oil and gas leasing activities. Certainly the most important event is the failure to prevail in the legal challenges of the Joint State/Federal Beaufort Sea Lease Sale. Despite reference to a wide range of conservation legislation, neither the federal nor the state party to the sale was substantially deterred from the lease program. None of the subsequent legal challenges were based primarily in the broad array of environmental legislation brought to bear in the cases against the BF sale.

Secondly, it is noteworthy that despite considerable expenditure of resources, including extensive appeals, the legal challenges have prevailed only in very limited instances. Only the Trustees for Alaska and Gambell vs. Watt cases show clear victories, and the latter case remains under appeal. The BF challenges, the ICAS sovereignty case, the Kunaknana ANILCA 810 case,

and the NSB vs. Watt case on the federal seasonal drilling restriction all resulted in setbacks.

As for the substantive decisions, several aspects merit attention. First, is the extreme deference shown by the court to agency decision making. Stated another way, judicial review of agency decisions is shown in these cases to be highly restricted in scope. Many of the cases here rested on the assertion that agency determinations were arbitrary and capricious, not fully supported by the documentary record. In a particularly strong reply in the Kunaknana case, the court enunciated a doctrine of extreme deference to agency decision making, and limited its finding review to whether the agency had considered all relevant data and had drawn a conclusion that was reasonable given the documentation. The court explicitly declined to substitute its own judgment for that of the agency, or to review whether the agency's determination was the only, or even the most reasonable, of possible interpretations of the documentary record.

On other substantive matters, the case of the ANILCA 810 requirements merits fuller discussion. Buried within ANILCA, Title VIII Section 810, on its face, establishes a broad requirement that federal land management decisions take into account and protect the subsistence uses of federal lands. However, any parallel between the federal policy governing wildlife and that concerning land is more apparent than real, for Section 810 is strictly procedural in its requirements. No principle of priority for subsistence uses of the land is erected, only the requirement that subsistence uses of the land be considered and, if a proposed disposal of federal land results in significant

restrictions on subsistence uses, that formal hearings with the fish and game advisory bodies be conducted. The proposed action may proceed, regardless of the effects on Subsistence uses of the land, so long as the federal manager determines that the proposed use is in the public interest, that it impacts the minimum land necessary and that all reasonable mitigative efforts have been incorporated. Under the Kunaknana judgment, the threshold for what constitutes a significant restriction is set rather high, with the result that most proposed actions will fall below the threshold, escaping even the procedural requirements of formal hearings and determinations on the record. In this light, the victory in Gambell vs. Watt can be seen to be of limited extent, for explicit consideration of subsistence uses of the offshore waters of Alaska must now be included in the EIS documents. " However, with the current threshold for what constitutes significant, it is improbable that any OCS lease sale will be deemed likely to restrict subsistence uses significantly, and so the further steps of compliance with Section 810 will be unnecessary.

Taken together, the history of these cases and the broad considerations noted above suggest that legal challenges are limited to incremental influences on the oil and gas leasing " programs. While the willingness to litigate has arguably influenced agencies to take North Slope residents concerns more seriously, judicial review based in environmental law and subsistence legislation does not constitute an overriding constraint on the conduct of the leasing programs.

Environmental and Subsistence Protections

The review of public and institutional responses to the North Slope oil and gas leasing programs would not be complete without a brief review of the protective measures incorporated into the leasing programs. As noted throughout the preceding discussion, the prime concern of the North Slope residents was that their subsistence harvests not be diminished". In the paragraphs which follow, the protective measures of the leases are reviewed in terms of five major categories: deletions and deferrals, habitat, the seasonal drilling restriction, wildlife, and access.

DELETIONS AND DEFERRALS

Administrative deletions on deferrals or proposed lease tracts represent an important mechanism through which subsistence habitat, wildlife, and harvest activities were protected. The most notable instance involves the approximately 1.8 million acre "special areas" deleted within the NPR-A leasing program, but there are other smaller deletions and deferrals of note.

In both of the federal OCS lease sales, deletions have been effected at the stage of the call for nominations. In the Joint State/Federal BF Lease Sale, 50 blocks, representing about 36,000 acres at the western end of the call area, were deleted as a result of opposition by Native organizations and environmentalist groups (USGS, 1981, p. 36). In the case of sale 71, in negotiations over the consistency determination, several blocks were dropped at Governor Jay Hammond's request (USGS, 1981: 30).

The case of the NPR-A leasing program is somewhat unusual in that Congress had previously identified a number of "special areas" meriting extraordinary protection due to their crucial role in the life cycle of key Species. As a result, when the truncated environmental review was conducted for the first two lease sales, the BLM simply deleted over 1 million acres in the vicinity of Teshekpuk Lake in the northeast corner of the reserve and the upper drainage of the Utukok River the central eastern portion of the Reserve. As noted above, the Teshekpuk Lake area, which supports a world-class black brant nesting and molting area, is at risk. Also at risk is a major habitat area for the local Teshekpuk caribou herd, and the Utukok uplands which constitute the most important calving zone for the enormous Western Arctic caribou herd.

As recommended in the fuller environmental impact statement prepared for the subsequent five-year leasing program on the NPR-A, 1.8 million acres in the Teshekpuk Lake and the Utukok uplands were deleted, and leasing on a 46,000 acre tract at the Fish Creek Delta was deferred until 1986 (MMS, 1983c, p. 13).

While mitigative measures in the state leasing program have not generally centered on deletions, deletions were made twice on sale 39. At the call for nominations stage in January, 1979, opposition from North Slope residents resulted in deletion of tracts outside of the area between Pitt Point and Gwydyr Bay. Later the combined recommendations of the department of fish and game and the public testimony resulted in deletion of nine on-shore tracts at the mouth of the Colville River delta in view of the exceptional biological productivity and intensive subsistence

harvest activity at risk (Final Notice on sale 39 on March 24, 1983). Together the deletions amounted to approximately 46,000 acres.

The deleted tracts were returned to the leasing program not long thereafter. The offshore tracts, previously deleted at the call for nominations stage, were rescheduled as sale 43 for May 1984, and in a surprising turn of events the onshore delta tracts deleted in March 1983 were returned to the leasing schedule in late 1983 as sale 43a, scheduled for May, 1984. The onshore delta tracts had first been repropounded for sale 54, scheduled for 1988, but oil industry representatives submitted nominations urging that the Colville Delta tracts be offered earlier in conjunction to sale 43. The tracts were added as exempt acreage to sale 43, under AS 30.50.180 (d).

HABITAT PROTECTIONS

OCS Program

Habitat protections in the OCS leases are of several distinct types. Foremost are the requirements concerning design and siting of facilities: zones for gravel extraction are designated and buffer zones are required between onshore fuel storage and fresh or fish-bearing waters. Moreover, collection of data on ice pressures in multiyear pack-ice areas is required as part of the ongoing evaluation of the engineering of offshore facilities. Pipelines are specified as the preferred form of transportation of offshore oil. Some operational aspects are specified, notably in the requirement for an oil spill contingency plan. Disposal of solid wastes, produced waters, and drilling muds and cuttings

are governed by other restrictions. Finally environmental training is required for all employees, to emphasize the environmental risks of offshore development and the importance of mitigative and protective measures.

NPR-A

Although design and siting requirements do not figure prominently in the habitat protection measures of leases on the NPR-A, a number of important operations restrictions are found. Surface transportation of personnel and equipment is strictly regulated to protect the vegetative mat of the tundra. Disposal of solid waste, drilling muds, and produced waters is subject to several restrictions. A general provision provides that the federal manager may identify special habitat areas requiring additional protection, and may call for an environmental survey, at the cost of the operator, to identify additional mitigative measures needed to ensure the integrity of the habitat. Finally, the leases contain notice that operations are subject to the wetlands permitting requirements of the Army Corps of Engineers, and to the terms of the Alaska Coastal Management Program, including the borough regional coastal management plan when finalized.

ANWR

Federal regulations governing the exploration program on the ANWR specify several environmental protections. Transportation vehicles must be operated without damaging the vegetative mat and without damaging stream banks. Minimum setback distances for explosive charges are established to prevent adverse effects in

fish-bearing streams. Disposal of wastes is also closely regulated. Fuel storage locations are prohibited in the annual floodplain of fish-bearing streams (FWS, 1983b).

State

State oil and gas leases often include both uplands and offshore tracts in the same lease. As a result, protective measures appropriate to both habitats are often included. Among the important design and siting requirements are provisions protecting watercourses and wetlands, as well as a prohibition on continuous fill causeways. Operational requirements include prohibition on the use of explosives in open water, minimum setback distances from fish-bearing waters in the use of explosives onshore, restrictions on overland travel to protect surface vegetation, and the mandatory preparation of an oil spill contingency plan. Disposal of solid wastes and drilling muds is regulated to prevent adverse effects, and under a reclamation requirement, habitat must be returned to original conditions following use in the exploration phase.

THE SEASONAL DRILLING RESTRICTION

In addition to the design and operational restrictions noted above, bowhead migration habitat was the subject of additional protection in the form of a seasonal drilling restriction on offshore drilling activities. The restriction was structured to provide an additional measure of safety in preventing an oil spill and contamination and to preclude noise or activity disturbances during the migration period.

The standard established in the BF sale was, however, a compromise between an industry which argued against any seasonal restriction on use of the expensive drilling apparatus brought into the Arctic offshore region and the Inupiat people who expressed the fundamental doubts about the ability of the equipment to effectively prevent a major oil spill. In the initial compromise, the seasonal drilling restriction was relatively extensive, prohibiting drilling activity for seven months of the year, but would only apply for two years, during which the adequacy of spill prevention and cleanup technology would be reevaluated.

As it appeared in the 1979 Beaufort Leases sale leases, the seasonal drilling restriction limited offshore exploratory drilling to the five-month period between November 1 and March 31. In effect this prohibited drilling activity during open water, during the broken ice periods at breakup and freezeup, and during an additional safety margin of several weeks on either side of the broken ice periods. At this initial stage, state and federal leases adopted a nearly identical restriction. The state restriction does make an exception for the tracts inside of the Barrier Islands, in which the risks due to the ice pack and weather are less extreme. On these more protected tracts an extension of the drilling season to May 15 will be considered on application from the operator.

By mid-1982, both the state and federal governments had proposed revised, less prohibitive seasonal drilling restrictions. While the state and federal restrictions continued to share essentials, the state's new seasonal drilling restriction

embodies more distinctions to accommodate a larger variety of conditions on state tracts.

The revised federal seasonal drilling restriction is first found in OCS sale 71. Offshore drilling activity is fully prohibited only on a limited number of tracts during the two months of the fall migration, stipulated as September 1 to October 31. For the remainder of the year, and throughout the year for the tracts not identified in the most restricted category, drilling activity above a 'threshold depth' was permitted year-round. The threshold depth is that above which hydrocarbons are very unlikely, and hence the risks of a blowout are extremely low. Drilling activity below the threshold depth was prohibited during broken ice conditions, until the industry has demonstrated the ability to clean up a spill in broken ice conditions.

On the state side, the new drilling restriction first appeared in sale 36, held in September, 1983. As did the new federal restriction, the state's revised approach reduced the period of restriction and added a new distinction between drilling activities above and below the threshold at which hydrocarbon bearing formations are likely. In addition, the new state restriction provided for a second "tier" of minimal restriction when industry has demonstrated the ability to clean up a spill in broken ice conditions.

Specifically, in tier one of the new restrictions, the unrestricted period of drilling both inside and outside the Barrier Islands was extended to 6 1/2 months (November 1 - May 15) from the five months found in the previous restriction. For tracts at

the mouth of major rivers, in which breakup is earlier, the unrestricted period ends two weeks earlier.

Next, during a 3 1/2 month period of partial restriction (May 15 through the fall migration], drilling above the threshold depth and testing through casing were permitted areawide. Below threshold drilling, was permitted inside the barrier islands, but was prohibited during this transitional period at the mouths of major rivers and outside the barrier islands.

Finally, tier one imposed the strictest restriction only during the period of the fall migration itself, approximately September 1 to October 1, although not specified in the lease stipulation. Above-threshold-activity and through-casing-testing were permitted on and inside the Barrier Islands, including at the mouths of rivers, while new-below-threshold drilling was prohibited areawide, as were all drilling activities outside the Barrier Islands.

Tier two of the revised seasonal drilling restriction provided a procedure for even further relaxation. When industry is able to demonstrate the ability to clean up an oil spill in broken ice conditions, all drilling activity is permitted areawide year-round, with the sole exception that no activity is permitted outside the Barrier Islands during the fall bowhead migration.

WILDLIFE PROTECTIONS

OCS

Among the design and siting requirements included in the federal offshore leases, the prohibition on continuous fill

causeways inconsistent with a stipulation that facilities shall not prevent the free passage of fish and wildlife.

Many requirements governing operations are intended to protect the wildlife as well. Some are species specific, while other are more general in application. Among the general protections is one which provides for the ongoing identification and protection of special biological populations. The federal manager may bring such populations to the attention of the operator, who must then sponsor an environmental survey to identify whatever measures are necessary beyond the minimum lease terms to ensure the protection of this special population. General restrictions on aircraft operation, such as overflight and setback distances, are intended to minimize disturbance to the wildlife.

More specific measures for bowhead whales and peregrine falcons, both designated endangered species, are introduced in sale 71. In addition to the seasonal drilling restriction, discussed separately above, the information to lessees for sale 71, informs bidders that the US Department of the Interior retains authority to suspend seismic and other operations if these disturbances jeopardize the viability of this endangered species. Moreover, the department asks all operators to observe a voluntary standard ceasing drilling operations during the fall migration period. For the peregrine falcon, an integrated set of requirements call for survey and identification of nest sites, coupled with restrictions on aircraft and other operations in proximity to known nest sites.

Coordination of wildlife protection in the state and federal portions of the first offshore sale, the BF sale, is ensured

through the establishment of a biological task force made up of representatives from BLM, USFWS, NMFS, ADFG, ADNR, ADEC, and EPA. The task force is charged with overseeing the wildlife protection provisions of the state and federal leases, and with making recommendations regarding their implementation. In sale 71, the task force retains its oversight responsibilities; however, for tracts under this lease, the state representatives participate as non voting members in the deliberations. It is of significance that local government (North Slope Borough) is not represented on the task force.

NPR-A

The provisions of the leases on the NPR-A include a number of measures oriented to the protection of particular species. As an example, waterfowl are protected by a seasonal restriction limiting activities in the vicinity of nesting, molting and staging areas from May 20 to August 25. Raptors are protected through both seasonal and year-round restrictions. Exploration activities are prohibited within proximity of known nest sites from April 15 to August 31, while aircraft operations are governed by minimum overflight and setback distances throughout the year.

ANWR

In the regulations governing the ANWR exploration program, a number of "special areas" associated with crucial life cycle events for a number of species are identified, and seasonal and in some cases year-round restrictions are designated to preclude disturbance.. The species and activities protected are caribou-

calving and post-calving areas, muskoxen-calving zones, denning areas for brown bear and polar bear-denning areas, and staging locales for snow goose.

Other wildlife related restrictions require that operations not obstruct passage of fish or wildlife, that minimum overflight distances be respected, and that no harassment of wildlife occur.

State

In the first of the state oil and gas lease sales during this period, the wildlife protections are identical to those noted above for the first OCS sale. In subsequent, leases, more specific protections are identified for particular species. Seasonal and other restrictions are created to protect the western Arctic Caribou Herd, polar-bear denning, whistler swans, and peregrine falcons.

ACCESS FOR SUBSISTENCE PURPOSES

OCS

The federal OCS leases contain no explicit reference to the right of public access to the lease areas, presumably due to the fact that the leases cover offshore areas and any entry by the public would be temporary. Access for subsistence purposes is, however, treated indirectly in the item of "Information to Lessees" specifying that operations should be managed to minimize conflicts with subsistence uses. No provisions address access to onshore areas utilized to stage offshore activities.

NPR-A

In the earlier lease sales (821 and 822), access was noted as a subsistence interest to be protected. However, with sale

831 stronger language is included to indicate that subsistence access falls under a larger category of prior existing rights of use of the lease areas. According to this item of 'Information to Lessees':

The rural residents of the North Slope shall have the right of ingress and egress and the right to use the leasehold in conducting their hunting, trapping and related activities in accordance with applicable law provided that such rights shall not be exercised in such a manner as to endanger the safety of Lessee's employees or damage Lessee's equipment or facilities (BLM, 1983b).

The NPR-A leases also includes additional protections of subsistence access. Under 1 stipulation, the lease manager may identify areas of special subsistence interest, in which the lessee must conduct research to identify patterns of subsistence use and modify operations to protect those uses. Under another provision, a subsistence buffer zone of 200 feet either side of Fish Creek is established. In leases under sale 831, this provision is extended to establish a 300-yard buffer zone on all subsistence fishery streams.

ANWR

Since the ANWR exploration program does not involve lengthy occupation of the land, there are no regulations protecting subsistence access. However, several other provisions do protect subsistence activities. Native allotments, which are often based on prime subsistence harvest sites, and lands of the Kaktovik village corporations are given special protection in the regulations. In addition, the important subsistence fishing area on the Sadlerochit Spring and Creek are protected by a year-round

prohibition on exploration (FWS, 1983b p.50; CFR, 37,p .32g). Competition for subsistence game is limited by a regulation prohibiting exploration permittees and their employees from hunting, fishing or trapping in the refuge.

State

State leases establish the most detailed provisions governing restriction on access to lease lands for subsistence purposes. An important term of sale established the general right of access to all the lease area, "except in the immediate vicinity of drill sites, buildings, and other related structures." The areas to be restricted must be identified in the plan of operations and may not block access to navigable and public waters. Moreover, should operations or facilities be located in the vicinity of such waters, easements will be reserved to preserve public access. Another condition provides that surface use by the leaseholder may be restricted in order to "prevent unreasonable conflicts with local subsistence harvests."

Access to and use of Native allotments is the focus of another provision which prohibits the leaseholder from any activity which will "diminish the use and enjoyment of a Native allotment." Although it is not clear whether an abrogation of the strong original principal is intended, the later versions of this provision prohibit activities which "unreasonably" diminish use and enjoyment of an allotment, and direct the leaseholders to contact the BIA or BLM for approval before entering a pending or approved Native allotment.

SUMMARY

Deletions and deferrals have been a mechanism to protect several especially important habitat zones. However, even in the NPR-A where deletions have been the most extensive, these have been scaled down in extent from the original "special areas" identified by the congress. The important case from the state sale on the Colville River Delta demonstrates that deletions can be an unstable solution, particularly when confronted with an aggressive leasing program. More broadly, it is important to note that the NSB's policy encouraging onshore leasing first, followed by nearshore and offshore leasing latter, has not been adopted by either the state or federal governments.

The terms of lease contain a wide variety of design and operational requirements to prevent contamination of habitat or disturbance of the wildlife. These are certainly important protections; however, the larger question of their adequacy remains unresolved. Generally these protections reflect a strong confidence in the technological capacities of modern engineering. The Inupiat, however, have consistently asserted that this confidence is falsely placed: they believe that the rigors of the arctic climate, particularly in the offshore zone, is not adequately understood. More specifically, in the case of the seasonal drilling restriction, North Slope residents argued that the industry's clean up capacities had not improved enough to justify the relaxed standard established in 1982.

Finally, protections for subsistence harvest access to leased lands differ substantially between jurisdictions. The

apparent strength of the state lease provisions from this period is challenged by the reports of broad restrictions on access to the Prudhoe Bay development area. In a similar vein, the strong protections on access within the NPR-A differ substantially from the restrictions which residents report from the exploration programs of the 1940's. It remains to be seen whether the provisions in leases finalized in the period under consideration will, in fact, result in fuller protection of access when actual development begins.

Taken together, the terms of these leases represent a vastly more serious approach to environmental protection than was found in the lease and exploration programs of previous decades. However, based on the public testimony of the North Slope residents, it is unlikely that even this level of protection is viewed as sufficient to protect the animals, and their habitat, and the subsistence activities on which the Inupiat depend.

PART TWO
Methodology
for Monitoring Institutional
Change, Adaptation or Disruption

XXIII. SIGNIFICANT DOMAINS OF CHANGE ON THE NORTH SLOPE

A general review of the literature relating to the North Slope during the 1979-83 period and three study sessions with the four researchers involved in the Sociocultural Methodology and Monitoring Study led to the identification of seven cultural domains which consistently intersect and define the major traditional, informal, and formal institutions in the North Slope. A review of each institution also reveals that these seven components repeatedly arose as major aspects that affect institutional persistence, change, adoption and/or disruption during the 1979-83 period. Although each of the seven domains were not equally significant in every institution, they continue to be a major consideration in influencing the ongoing institutional structure and process.

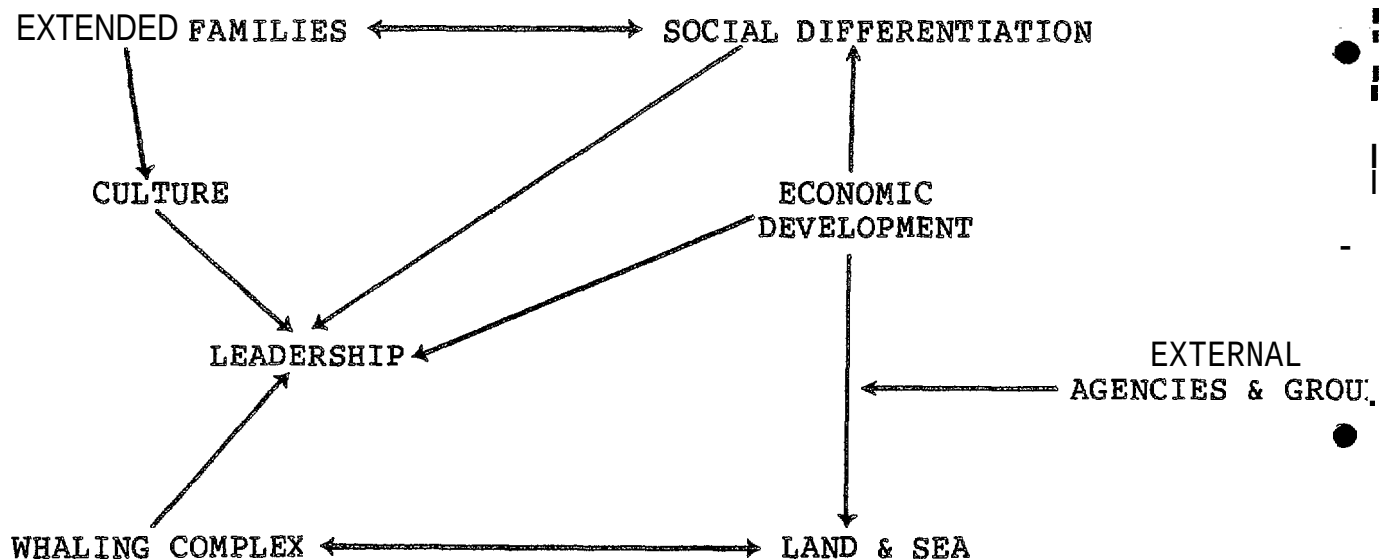
The seven components are interrelated in a dynamic process that makes them a driving force within each institution. They also provide the basis for interaction between the different institutions. (For a list of the organizations and groups to be monitored, see Appendix C.) These seven components allow us to see the mutual relationship in common fields of interest among the institutions. Thus, we are able to assess the significance of traditional leadership patterns or extended families in all institutions. Utilizing the following components to monitor institutional development and change can provide an understanding of the dynamics and the interrelationships between institutions rather than a sterile outline of each institution:

1. Whaling-complex
2. Extended families
3. Leadership and political formation
4. Other cultural institutions
5. Land and sea
6. Economic development
7. Social differentiation

Table 23-1 provides a schematic picture of the dynamic interrelationship of these domains. Each of these domains is discussed in the following chapters. The variables and indicators of institutional change and development are presented in those discussions. The relationships among variables of different domains are defined as appropriate (i.e. when a relationship exists) .

TABLE 23-1

SIGNIFICANT' AREAS OF CHANGE ON THE NORTH SLOPE



In each domain, multiple variables could be designed to measure change. We do not offer variables simply to show change, however, since we believe it is necessary to define variables that 1) measure salient characteristics or crucial dimensions of change, and 2) the meaning of which is evident either on its own terms or in relation to other variables.

To assist us in limiting variables to those measuring significant- types of change in each area, the research team developed a list of types of change that are important" to consider. The final list of political, economic, social, symbolic, and voluntary organizations comprises categories or components of change that were considered significant for each major domain-of-change area. (The significant components are listed for each change area in Table 23-2.)

Variables are defined for each component considered to be significant. Some components are measured by more than one variable; as when there are several dimensions or elements of change that should be treated. For example, the political component of the whaling complex is comprised of several elements, including the continued significance of whaling status for leadership on the North slope, the political development of formal institutions concerned with the regulation of the harvest, and the effects of harvest quota (or other externally-derived activities such as OCS development) on participation in whaling. In addition, the variables in this example include elements of change that are both internal and external to the North slope institutions.

TABLE 23-2

Types of Institutional Change to be Monitored on the North Slope

	Political	Economic	Socialization	Symbolic	Voluntary Organizations
Whaling Complex	X	X	X	X	X
Extended Family	X	X	X		
Leadership	X		X	X	X
Other Cultural Institutions				X	
Land & Sea	X	X		X	
Economic Development	X	X	X		X
Social Differentiation	X	X	X		

Within each component, the institutions and data sources appropriate for the specified variable are identified. The specification of the monitoring interval for each institution varies by the institution and the variable. It is also conditioned by the availability of baseline data. The interval has been identified for specific variables.

Summary List of Variables

WHALING COMPLEX

- continued. significance of whaling status for leadership development of specialized institutions for the regulation of harvest
- effects of changing conditions (external regulations, economics) on participation in whaling
- persistence of socialization practices into whaling complex
- persistence of whaling ceremonials
- continued participation of women (captainrs wives, Mothers Club)
- in distribution of muktuk

FAMILY

- significance of kinship in the distribution of political influence and in the conduct of key institutional roles
- significance of kinship in gaining employment
- structural changes in household composition
- changes in traditional family institutions (extended family networks, visiting, sharing, hunting and fishing groups)
- persistence of family socialization roles
- persistence of family values

LEADERSHIP

- persistence of traditional affiliation (kinship, whaling) among leaders
- recruitment and replacement of Inupiat leadership
- political formation and the proliferation of specialized organizations and departments
- influence of Inupiat in state political processes (legislature)

OTHER CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

- persistence of participation in other cultural institutions (partnerships, namesakes, adoption)
- persistence of Inupiat language

LAND AND SEA

- growth of restrictions on traditional land and sea use by external agencies
- development of local management organizations and regulations
- development of land-use planning and zoning
- incidence of lawsuits
- changes in land ownership and use
- institutional response towards preservation of traditional land use and identity

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- local control authority over development activities
- NSB influence on state and federal development regulations
- NSB taxation authority
- local hire and contracting preference policies
- distribution of Native corporations
- Inupiat entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial values
- changing values of youth
- institutional development among voluntary Organizations

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

- population growth
- increase in ethnic diversity
- permanence of non-Inupiat populations
- institutional participation of non-Inupiat
- differential participation of Inupiat men and women in economic and educational institutions

xx IV. VARIABLES AND INDICATORS OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

Whaling Complex

The bowhead whaling tradition remains a central force in the lives of the North Slope Inupiat. The aboriginal whaling institution involves major social and cultural components and involves economic activities throughout the year. The feasts and ceremonies which occur several times during the year are significant, events in the coastal communities. The annual production cycle initiated by kin-related groups includes preparatory activities and the actual harvest. In addition, it involves other hunting efforts to obtain the material to produce the whale-hunting equipment, such as the skin boat. The cultural value system into which most Inupiat youth continue to be socialized stresses an elaborate system of sharing and cooperative effort that serves to integrate the community as a social unit.

Until 1978, the whaling complex was made up of several units including the whaling crews which were drawn from the extended family members living in different households. The village whaling crews were united through a formal association of whaling captains which regulated the harvest through customary laws governing the hunt and the initial and secondary distribution of whales.

The International Whaling Commission's proposed moratorium on bowhead whale hunting in 1977 and the imposition of a quota system in 1978 stimulated changes in the traditional whaling institution. During the 1979-83 period, a new institutional form

emerged with the creation of the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission (AEWC). The commissioners of AEWC were drawn from the local whaling captains organization. The political and governing authority of the AEWC was drawn from the village Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), tribal councils, and the regional IRA, Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope. Fiscal support was from the North Slope Borough. Current institutional links are to the North Slope Borough and the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation. The AEWC has also established links with the state and federal government and to international bodies including the International Whaling Commission and the Inuit Circumpolar Conference. A study on the impact of the IWC quota (Worl, 1979) suggests that the quota system served to strengthen the whaling institution and Inupiat identity.

POLITICAL COMPONENT

One variable measuring the political component of whaling institutions is the relationship between participation in the whaling complex and the achievement% of political power and influence. The basic question is the following: Is it necessary to be involved significantly in the whaling complex to achieve positions of political power and authority in local institutions? This variable is an important measure of the persistence of traditional institutions and of their significance in formal institutional settings. Whaling captaincy is one of several traditional characteristics that may be significant for leadership in the modern setting; it will be monitored in conjunction with other qualifying factors for leadership in major instiku-

tions including language (Inupiat) ability, membership in other organizations, technical skills, etc. (See below under Leadership)

Another variable is the persistence and development of institutions for self-regulation of harvest activities. Recent actions by associations of the local whaling captains and the AEWG will be monitored through informal discussions with whaling captains about the continued effectiveness of their ability to regulate and control the harvest. The development of regulations to promote efficiency in whale harvest activity from within AEWG and the village whaling captains associations will be an indicator for this variable. Some villages, in response to the IWC-imposed limits on the number of whales struck, have adopted formal regulations to enhance the productivity of the hunt.

The effectiveness of relationships to external agencies and political forces is another component of institutional change and development that will be assessed through discussions with key informants. Relationships between the AEWG and whaling captains associations? on the one hand, and between AEWG and NOAA, IWC, and national environmental groups will be monitored through records and reports (Environmental Impact Statement on the Harvest Quota, Arctic Policy Reviews, correspondence) and informal discussion with AEWG executive director and whaling captains. Necessity for and effectiveness of lobbying and other political actions and relationships will be monitored.

Our data collection experience indicated that effective monitoring of the development of self-regulatory regimes and practices will require cooperation from the AEWG. Whalers are

concerned with the possibility of further whaling restrictions, and one response to the whaling quota is to be suspicious of questions on the subject and to refer inquiries to the AEWC. Discussions with commissioners indicate that this response results from the knowledge that any information provided to researchers may serve the interests of those seeking to impose a ban on whaling. During our research, we noted that an effective monitoring of the cultural institutions and practices associated with whaling could serve the interests of AEWC, since it is concerned with tracking the positive and negative cultural effects of the quota system. We suggest that future monitoring be initiated through a cooperative agreement with AEWC, which serves as the repository of knowledge about village whaling activities .

In our initial methodology, we proposed the extent to which external regulations have decreased the number of crews as another political variable of significance. This element is measured by the change in the number of captains and crews. In at least one village (Wainwright), we found that the number of crews had increased significantly during the five-year study period. Our research indicated that the village whaling captains consciously encouraged the formation of new crews under new captains, as another response to the quota (in order to help ensure that the village would use all of its strikes in the most effective manner). As discussed in the following (economic) component, recent economic trends have facilitated this development. (However, in

some cases, captains have been forced out of whaling because of higher costs.)

It will be important to determine the underlying factors for changes in this index. The reasons for changes in crew numbers should be pursued in informal discussions with whaling captains. In addition to the effects of a harvest limit, there may be economic factors which influence the number of crews in any year such as increased availability of cash and increased cost of living. In any case, change in the number of crews provides a general indicator of the persistence of whaling activity on the North Slope. The AEWC maintains records of active captains and crews which can be utilized to monitor change in this indicator (if cooperation is obtained).

ECONOMIC COMPONENT?

The key economic issue in the whaling complex is the effect of changing economic conditions on the persistence of existing crews and on the formation of new crews. The records of captains and crews discussed in the previous section, will identify captains who have dropped out and new captains who have formed crews since 1979. Through informal discussions, the reasons for any change will be measured. For retired captains, the effects of an increased cost of living (rent, utilities, etc.) will be pursued. For new captains, the source of their boat and necessary capital will be monitored, thus providing the data to assess whether access to increased income in the region has affected the number of crews. It will also indicate the participation of traditional family networks in the whaling complex. Finally, this procedure

will provide information on the incidence of partnerships in the whaling institution.

In order to assess the relationship between the economic conditions and the level of participation in whaling, the cost of "putting a crew out on the ice" should be monitored. In our research, captains expressed to us that they need money to be a captain. In Wainwright, an individual must purchase the requisite equipment before he can be accepted into the whaling captains association. In addition to the cost of equipment, and the food and supplies utilized by his crew out on the ice, a successful captain needs additional resources to provide food for the community feasts and celebrations.

We had planned initially to investigate changes in whaling crew size and composition by utilizing Rosita Worl's data on whaling crew membership collected in 1978 as a baseline against which current patterns and practices could be compared. Unfortunately, the time and resources necessary for this research element were not available. We recommend that, in a more extended (i.e., longer term) monitoring approach, whaling captains be engaged in discussions to determine any changes in crew membership since 1978. Extent of kin relationships between captain and crew should be pursued, as well as the incidence of participation of captains and crew members from other communities. This long-term approach will provide the opportunity to explore the relationship between crew membership and the composition of other subsistence bask groups, as well as the functioning of friendships and partnerships in the whaling context. Van Stone's

(1962, pp. 42-3) statement that "it is necessary for a captain to hire at least some of his crew members" can be tested.

The prominence of women in the whaling complex is evidenced through the role they play in the secondary distribution of whale resources. The wives of whaling captains who were successful in taking a whale traditionally distributed whale meat and muktuk to needy citizens (defined as elderly and families without an active hunter). This practice was extended and formalized by the Mothers Club which distributes other types of food to needy families. The Mothers Club assumed the responsibility of distributing store-bought meats (supplied by the North Slope Borough) during the caribou crisis when a quota was placed on caribou hunting.

Captains' wives are also responsible for making new parkas for their husbands and his crew members for the Nulakataq ceremony (a feast given by captains who have taken whales). In recent years, the wife's ability to earn cash to contribute to her husband's whaling cost has also become significant and in some cases essential.

The persistence or change in a captain's wife's role will be monitored through an examination of her activities. Whaling captains who have taken 'whales during the past four years can be identified from AEWC records, and their wives should be selected for interview.

SOCIALIZATION COMPONENT

The socialization of younger people into the whaling complex will be monitored by the following indicators:

1. incidence of apprentices in whaling crews
2. accommodation of school calendar to whaling activities

In the informal discussions with whaling captains planned for the previous components, the incidence of the participation of young boys (aged 10-12 years) in the crew can be established. This will provide a measure of the persistence of this traditional role in the socialization process.

Village schools will be monitored for the existence of calendar periods during which students are free to participate in whaling activities. In some communities, children are either excused from school, or school is closed for a period of time to permit participation in traditional subsistence activities. The school calendar will provide the data for this indicator, in conjunction with discussions with school principals and whaling captains.

SYMBOLIC COMPONENT

The symbolic significance of whaling is crucial in the maintenance of Inupiat identity as a distinct sociocultural group. Community ceremonies associated with the whaling complex are significant to any assessment of whaling institutions. The importance of a social and ceremonial institution in Situations of change was clearly demonstrated in the literature review. Voget (1981) identifies "a social and ceremonial institution which permits identification with a cultural tradition" as one of five conditions which "appear to favor the successful adaptation of traditional institutions to altered circumstances." He suggests the important elements consist of a distinctive social and eere-

menial calendar which focuses energies internally, the use of social occasions to advance kin and social alliances for public and ceremonial office and to demonstrate generosity, and the presence of a (religious) institution. The religious institution serves to reintegrate the community despite its schisms, and provides a special vehicle for advancing the common good and for living out a cultural identification.

Maintenance of, or changes in the ceremonial calendar and in the celebrations proper will be the indicators of change in this component. The persistence of community ceremonies at specific times (Thanksgiving Christmas and in the spring) will be an element of the discussions with the whaling captains identified in the political and economic components. The persistence of a limited number of specific ceremonial elements will be discussed to determine if changes have occurred. These elements are identified in the protocols.

Assessment of this component should also include an investigation of the extent of community involvement and participation in community ceremonial feasts and, in particular, assisting in pulling the whale onto the ice for butchering. In 1982, Luton (1984) reported that nearly the entire village of Wainwright made a difficult journey across several miles of ice to help hoist a whale out of the water. This indicator will be difficult to research through discussions (i.e. without direct observation)? but it is valuable as a measure of the centrality of whaling in Inupiat cultural institutions.

Family (Kinship) Relations

The persistence and significance of the bilateral extended kinship system among the North Slope Inupiat has been noted in nearly all of the recent ethnographic studies (Spencer, 1959; van Stone, 1962; Burch, 1975; Worl, 1979; Worl, Worl and Lonner, 1981, Luton, 1984). The studies suggest that the extended family has continued to be important socially, economically and politically. In his description of the Barrow Inupiat in the early 1950's, Spencer (1959, pp.62-96) reported that kinship institutions (nuclear family, extended kin relationships, and quasi-kin, or the formalized extensions of kinship to nonkin) were primary in the organization of the Community. In the 1960's, Barrow "may well have been the location of the most highly integrated community organization that operated in any Northwest Alaskan settlement (Burch, 1975, p.290).

The continued significance of kinship in the organization of Barrow and other North Slope communities is noted by Worl (1978), Worl, Worl and Lonner (1981), and Luton (1984). However, as our analysis of other institutions demonstrates, these communities (Barrow in particular) are characterized in the recent (1979-83) period by a multitude of other formal and informal institutions that developed in the 1970's and early 1980's. The saliency of family institutions in relation to other community organizations is a key analytical issue for monitoring family relations. Another analytical problem for monitoring family relations is measuring the continued significance of extended family relationships within the context of long-term trends towards simpler

structures within both domestic and local family units (these trends are summarized in Burch, 1975, p.292). Within the last several years, the extended family organization has been subject to forces of change emanating primarily from the economic sphere. One of the most evident changes is the fragmentation of the extended family into smaller households. While this has been an ongoing process since the turn of the century, the recent construction of North Slope Borough housing accelerated the rate. However, both economic needs and political interests have facilitated a relatively high degree of social interaction and cohesiveness among extended kin members living in different households. Also, households continue to organize themselves to participate together in common subsistence activities which can be maximized through the cooperative efforts of extended family members. The cultural values of the Inupiat place a strong emphasis on sharing among kin. This orientation persists even when kin members are living in different households, and thus encourages continued social interaction.

While subsistence may encourage interaction among extended family members, the cash economy is differentially affecting the extended family. The high cost of the new housing, including rent, utilities and taxes, is limiting the ability, or the choice, of some extended family members to participate in subsistence activities or to financially support subsistence enterprises. There are reported incidents where Inupiat hunters have not sponsored subsistence enterprises? such as whaling crews, because their wages were used to pay for their houses. On the other hand, members of extended families who had been living in a

single-family dwelling are reportedly being forced to move back into extended family households because they cannot afford the high costs of maintaining a household alone.

We initially proposed several measures of the saliency of family relationships in different social, economic, and political contexts as indications of the persistence of the Inupiat kinship system. But we found that while the measures documented patterns of family relationships, they were less useful in determining the degree or magnitude of change in family systems. Also, the time necessary for collecting the information extended well beyond the period available in the fieldwork schedule. We have provided a number of alternative indicators of changing family relations in the sections below; the new measures are rather discrete and less time-consuming to administer.

However, we wish to emphasise that complexities of change and variation in family institutions exist which require other methods of investigation for adequate documentation and analysis. The important dimensions of variation include differences in household structures and composition, variations among different communities and regions, and changes resulting from historical conditions that may or may not be systemic variation. For example, Spencer (1959, pp.360-66) describes a change in extended kinship patterns which he noted in Barrow during the period of oil exploration in the 1950's (which dramatically increased the employment levels in Barrow). In contrast to the preceding period, characterized by poor economic conditions and family relationships that were extended to nonkin in formalized ways,

the period of high employment resulted in a decline in such quasi-kin relations. Apparently, the extensive cooperative relationships between nonkin tended to breakdown with the addition of new wealth (Spencer, 1959, p.362).

However, the family system itself remained unaffected, thus leaving the basic processes of community integration intact and suggesting that families could reestablish quasi-kin relations at some time in the future when conditions changed. We might speculate whether the conditions of reduced cooperative relationships with nonkin (established through bilateral extension of formalized relations to nonkin) was a precondition for the development of new formal institutions in the community, and particularly the new voluntary organizations (which may be a replacement for some of the traditional quasi-kin voluntary associations). The need to organize formal groups (Arctic Slope Native Association) to protect the land base in the late 1960's was a unifying development in the region. More recently, the increase in services for families (Arctic Women-in-Crisis-Center, Childrens Receiving Home, Youth Drop-in Center, etc.) suggest that similar patterns of change are occurring within the family.

The point we are making is that the pattern of variation characteristic of Inupiat family systems should serve to bring caution to interpretation of the quantitative indicators? since short-term trends may be mistaken for long-term structural changes. For this reason, we strongly recommend that additional monitoring methods, perhaps including a long-term ethnographic approach to data collection, are necessary for measuring changes in extended family systems. Analysis of the more discrete indi-

cators described below should be supplemented from time to time with ethnographic research of a three to four month duration in selected communities. These methods are particularly appropriate for examining changes in the patterns of extension of kin relationships and, to use Burch's terminology, strategies of affiliation. The relationship of family membership to institutional participation (in terms of both policy maker and employee) are examples of the type of information that may be derived through long-term methods.

Examination of the membership of policy boards and key administrative positions in the North Slope institutions shows how evident the influence of extended families is. This is not to suggest that the organizing principle of these institutions is based on kinship. The larger formal organizations are incorporated and established under state laws. However, our findings indicate that large kinship networks provide support and affect an individual's ability to obtain leadership roles. They also appear to be significant factors in the recruitment process in employment.

The formal institutions in the North Slope often have competing interests. Social interaction among extended family members who serve on policy-making bodies of different institutions may serve to reduce conflict between the goals and objectives of different institutions. Worl's study of Kaktovik (Worl and Lonner, 1982) noted that kin members would informally discuss different issues during visiting between different households. This informal discussion of issues would allow leaders to develop

a consensus prior to formal discussion during the different organizational meetings. Another prevalent pattern is the interlocking membership of extended family members who serve together on two or more policy boards. While institutional conflict is not totally absent in the North Slope, these patterns of social interaction facilitate a sense of unity and Inupiat control of institutions.

Our analysis of family institutions indicates that household composition is a superior indicator of family structural change than average household density. As discussed below for the village of Wainwright, there has been substantial variation in household densities over the past 40-50 years which is not correlated with significant changes in family structures. We suggest that household composition provides a more direct measure of structural patterns in Inupiat households. We were fortunate to have household-level data available for our analysis of some North Slope communities; however, such data are not likely to be available in other regions. Collection and analysis of this type of data would require a long-term effort beyond the scope of this monitoring methodology.

The family component of the methodology will monitor the persistence of the bilateral, extended family in conjunction with other cultural institutions (such as hunting-task groups, sharing networks, and communication and interaction patterns) and in the setting of a multitude of formal organizations. Both short-term and long-term methods of data collection are necessary to accomplish these monitoring objectives.

POLITICAL COMPONENT "

The persistence of traditional kinship loyalties in newer institutional (bureaucratic) settings has been demonstrated in African societies (Failers, 1955, 1965; Dorjahn, 1960). Although Inupiat societies did not have enduring structures of either a hierarchical or bureaucratic kind as existed in these African societies, the suggestion that kinship relations continue to be of significance in formal institutional environments is relevant. Our examination of development theories also supports the position that "traditional" and "modern" do not have empirical bases and that what results is a combination or interrelation of elements (structures and processes) in particular situations (See Almond and Coleman, 1960; Almond and Powell, 1978; Melson and Wolpe, 1970; Poggie and Lynch, 1974; Hutton and Cohen, 1975.)

For monitoring purposes, the salient political element of Inupiat kinship relations consists of the distribution of political power and influence along kinship (extended family) lines in institutions and boards (North Slope Borough, city council, school board, ASRC, AEWC, UIC, and ICAS). An approach to examining this variable suitable for short-term data collection procedures is to analyze the recent membership of the governing boards and councils of the different organizations for their kinship affiliations. Utilization of this approach which requires a genealogical data base of the key families in the communities under study may require additional data collection efforts. The extent of the local knowledge and previous experience of the investigations in the region would be of benefit to the monitoring analysis.

If a long-term data collection period were available, we would develop more ethnographic measures of the effect of family " relationships on institutional roles. The goal would be to examine how family relationships affect the conduct of duties and responsibilities of individuals in institutional roles. For example, will the ASRC's role in support of AEWC's political actions diminish now that the AEWC executive director has changed (formerly, that individual was the sister of ASRC's president)? The incidence of such cooperative relationships between organizations is an indicator of institutional change and development.

ECONOMIC COMPONENT

In the mixed economic situation on the North Slope, both wage employment and the subsistence activities will be monitored for the persistence of kinship relationships. In the wage work element, the monitoring variable is the importance of family relationships in obtaining jobs. The indicator for this variable will be the significance of family relationships in the recruitment and replacement of Inupiat in key positions. This indication is discussed more fully under the discussion of Leadership below, since the issue of recruitment and replacement of Inupiat is a component of the larger issue of participation of and control by Inupiat of their own institutions.

Three measures of change in the structure of Inupiat households, from which it is assumed that changes in family relations result, will be used to monitor family institutions. The structural indicators are the following:

1. changes in numbers of households
2. changes in household density
3. changes in household type (composition)

The data for these indicators will be derived from census data collected for the variables of social differentiation. The statistical measures of household structure and composition are supplemented by additional methods (informal discussion and observation) which are directed toward the structure and functioning of household and extended family networks.

The flexibility with which kin relationships can be enacted between individuals and groups is a salient characteristic of Inupiat kinship (Burch, 1975; Luton, 1984). This feature increases the difficulty of measuring structural change through short periods of time, since we are working with a pattern of variability rather than a relatively discrete form. Also, this characteristic contributes complexity in the normal fluctuation in household structure throughout the developmental cycle of the family. For these reasons, we suggest that a monitoring interval of 10 years is appropriate for the Inupiat family.

Selection of this interval is in part conditioned by the availability of data. The basic measures of changes in household structure are derived from the national census. The data on changes in family relationships, based on perceptions of change among family members, will have a less precise interval. The ethnographic data on changes in kinship relationships will require more extended fieldwork time than is available for short-term monitoring efforts.

In monitoring the persistence of traditional family institutions, we will examine whether local families continue to operate as such. We accept Burch's (1975) distinction between the domestic and local family. In this definition, a local family would be a family whose members occupy different dwellings but whose members still operate in terms of a single overriding family organization. For the Inupiat family, change is defined in terms of a shift away from stability in bilateral, extended family networks towards increasing nuclearization of family relationships and more complex alternative associations and institutional affiliations.

The trend towards nuclear family formation is consistent with the worldwide literature on culture contact and kinship change (for example, Gough, 1961; also Riches, 1982, pp.64 & 183; Burch, 1975; Chance, 1966; Luton 1984; Riches, 1982). Van Stone (1962) discusses northern Inupiat populations. However, a high level of variability along this dimension exists in Alaskan communities as discussed by Burch (1975), Chance (1966), Fienup-Riordan (1984), and Luton (1984). Also, the point should be made that there is no simple correlation between the formation of nuclear households and the dysfunctioning of extended family networks; in fact, the available evidence suggests the persistence of extended family interaction despite the formation of nuclear households. The monitoring indicators will provide empirical data on this issue.

The results of our investigations indicate that household composition is a better measure of changes in household structure than household density. Census data since 1980 permit the moni-

toring of the incidence of different household types, which in turn will provide an indicator of the trend towards fragmentation of the extended family to the conjugal family and, beyond that, to the single householder. Unfortunately? census data before 1980 did not include this type of information, and thus prevents the establishment of a baseline before that year.

As an alternative measure of changing household structure, we examined the pattern of household density. The historical data available for Wainwright was utilized in an analysis of average household densities from 1944-84. This measure proved to be an unsatisfactory indicator of household structure because of the high degree of fluctuation that was evident. From a low of 4.2 in 1950, average household density rose to 6.4 in 1965 and 1970, but has since declined to 4.2 in 1982 and to a new low of 4.0 in 1984. Low household density appears to be a factor of external economic conditions, rather than an indicator of changing trends in family structure. Apparently, both extremely poor (1950) and very good (1982-84) economic conditions resulted in similar levels of family size per household; interpretation of this data as an indicator of changes in family structure and functioning would be unreliable.

The appearance of child-care centers, foster homes, and women-in-crisis centers suggest that a disintegration of the extended family unit is occurring. However, sometimes the service centers are the result of aggressive CIP planning and may not necessarily be correlated with changing family patterns. Alternatively, communities may make requests for certain care

facilities, as recently occurred in Wainwright, suggesting that villagers are actively seeking nontraditional facilities for meeting their responsibilities in family relationships. In Barrow, the following facilities are present:

Arctic Women-in-Crisis
Childrens Receiving Home (shelter)
Child Day Care Center
Jail Diversion Program (sleep-off center for youths)

Planned CIP facilities:

Barrow Day Care Center
Alcohol Treatment Center
Barrow Group Home
Barrow Senior Citizens' Center

We suggest that future monitoring of the extended family institution be sensitive to these service center developments as an indicator of changing family relations, the assumption by formal institutions of functions formerly carried out by nuclear and extended family networks, and the different (i.e. non-traditional) demands which kin may place on their relations.

Such quantitative indicators should be supplemented with more traditional measures derived from ethnographic interviews and observation. Change will be assessed in the nature and extent of family networks and in key family roles. In the area of family networks, questions will focus on perceived changes in the following networks:

1. visiting, interaction and communication
2. sharing
3. subsistence task group formation

During the informal discussions of stability and change in extended family networks, three factors which may condition some change will be investigated:

1. geographic dispersion of households
2. outmigration and immigration of family members
3. incidence of interethnic marriages

Unfortunately, the time available to implement the methodology during the initial phase did not permit a full exploration of these variables. However, subsequent analysis indicates that migration is a constant feature of community life, and patterns of in- and out-migration change substantially during periods of economic boom and decline. It is also apparent that there are differential rates of migration between males and females; such differences bring about changes in the composition of village populations and affect the dynamics of village life. The migration pattern is related to the pattern of interethnic marriage, since, often, females in such marriages have not returned to the village.

Differences in the number of males and females between specific ages can be utilized as a measure of migration. Comparisons of the sex ratios of village population groups, as for example, those between ages 0-15 years with groups between 16-29 years or between 25-44 years, yield different patterns. Analysis of such data in Kaktovik demonstrates substantial differentials, with males outnumbering females in the adult age groups. Our analysis also indicates that the number of single-person households, excluding elderly individuals, is an indicator of change in family relationships since such individuals, particularly single women, formerly resided with their parents.

SOCIALIZATION COMPONENT

The persistence of family roles will "be included in the ethnographic discussions with families when long-term methods are utilized. The roles of parents and grandparents in the rearing of children and the roles of grandparents in value development will be examined. Perceptions of role changes will provide the data for this component. Potential indicators include:

1. incidence of day care institutions (or problems from lack of such institutions)
2. out-migration of family members
3. interaction among different households

The increasing role of other formal institutions in socialization, such as the schools and Elders Conference, will be delineated.

These indicators of the stability of family structures, roles, and networks provide a means to monitor changes in family institutions. The family network variables also provide an observational indicator of the level of interaction and communication among households in the community, which is a key indicator of successful adaptation to rapid cultural change (Chance, 1966). The availability of baseline data on the integration of households is the exception. For the most part, data suitable for analysis will be derived from observations and perceptions of change elicited from discussants and be augmented by ethnographic data culled from the literature. This limitation applies to nearly all the indicators of family institutional change. In addition, statements of cultural values and of changes in values

will be obtained. Values to be explored include those relating to the following areas:

1. cultural values associated with hunting and fishing in home community, traditional skills and knowledge, and cultural transmission of knowledge in family setting
2. sharing and helping in family and community
3. socialization roles and models from schools, family, elders, churches, etc. (transmission of cultural traditions, import of consumerism tastes, future life in village or beyond)
4. sense of community identity (hunting and fishing on lands near community, trust and personal safety in home community, benefit of formal institutions in community)
5. role changes (SEX differences in family and economic roles, socialization changes, need for traditional or nontraditional skills and leadership abilities)

Our experience indicates that this component cannot be adequately assessed in a short-term period of data collection. The majority of the indicators of the socialization component described above are ethnographic and as such require a longer period of field data collection to ensure accuracy and reliability of findings. The incidence of day care and senior citizens' centers is appropriate for a rapid assessment technique, provided the pattern of use in the community is established and analyzed.

Leadership

Chance (1966), Worl, Worl and Lonner (1981), and Worl and Lonner (1982) found that traditional leadership forms were a significant variable in the ability of the North Slope Inupiat to adjust to ongoing sociocultural change in the 1950's and again in the 1970's. Worl found that the traditional political elites who

were drawn from the ranks of whalers were able to transfer this status to allow them to assume leadership roles in the modern organizations. The Inupiat populace continued to support individuals who speak Inupiat. They must also exhibit traditional leadership characteristics, such as supporting communal hunting activities and sharing wildlife resources.

Inupiat leaders are individuals who are related to large segments of the community and who share a common value system with them. Inupiat leaders were influential in the development of the new organizations, and as such they were able to develop policies and objectives which were compatible with Inupiat interests and values. For instance, Inupiat hire was a priority, subsistence leave was implemented, and the stance generally opposing offshore petroleum development was adopted. Even the Native corporations, which could have gained financial benefits from offshore oil enterprises? elected not to enter these fields because of the intense opposition raised by their shareholders. While these organizations, to all appearance, functioned like other similar institutions, they also have distinct characteristics which were promoted by Inupiat leaders. Furthermore, Inupiat leaders were responsible for the creation of new institutions designed to protect and enhance traditional cultural values.

POLITICAL COMPONENT

This section includes identification of leadership networks, assessment of the persistence of traditional leadership patterns in the current institutional setting, measurement of the prolif-

eration of organizations, and the rise of power bases. The variables and indicators of the different components of leadership are based on a common data base, namely, the mapping of the leaders and board members of the major institutions in the community. This mapping will include the following organizations and offices:

North Slope Borough	mayor, mayors' assistants assembly, school board, health board, department directors
ASRC	chairman of the board, president, heads of departments and subsidiaries
Village Corporations	chairman of the board, president, heads of departments and subsidiaries
City	mayor, city council
AEWC	commissioners, executive director
Whaling Captains Assoc.	president

The political element of leadership on the North Slope will be monitored by the following variables:

1. persistence of traditional affiliations
2. changes in mayoral elections
3. proliferation of specialized organizations and departments

The degree of traditional affiliation among the leaders of the major North Slope institutions will be assessed according to the degree of kinship interrelationship among leaders and the incidence of replacement of Inupiat leaders according to traditional patterns of affiliation.

By using the data collected for the office holders of the key positions in major institutions and boards the identification

of extended family relationships will be possible. This procedure will provide an index of the leadership positions by family membership, which will be the indicator of kinship inter-relationship among leaders. Comparison with the distribution of 1983 leadership positions at an earlier date (1979) will provide a measure of change along this indicator. The identification of previous officeholders will be carried out in the data collection for the following variable on replacement of leadership.

The pattern of recruitment and replacement of Inupiat will be monitored by determining who has replaced whom and what have been their credentials. Key positions will be tracked including those identified above and possibly the directors and deputy directors of departments and divisions of the major institutions (North Slope Borough, Native corporations, tribal organizations). For those who replaced prior individuals, the relative importance of the following attributes will be assessed in informal discussions:

1. traditional status (whaling captain, Inupiat language ability, kinship)
2. language ability (Inupiat, English)
3. technical and management skills
4. holding membership or office in other organizations (such as a church deacon, National Guard member, etc.)
5. personal qualities (forcefulness of character, ability to get things done, organizational abilities)
6. importance of job training (to be received after training)

By tracking the incidence of these elements through time, a shift from traditional statuses will be measured. The field research

for this indicator entails a longer period of time than was available in the initial study.

Changes in the qualities and qualifications of mayoral candidates is an indicator of change and development in the political component of leadership patterns. Observational evidence of the 1984 North Slope Borough mayoral election suggests that traditional leadership patterns (indicated by active participation in the whaling complex) and business and management skills are required for the office of mayor. The new mayor has a background in taxation and local business ventures, and his subsequent actions in support of economic development on the North Slope indicate a significant change in leadership direction in the region towards greater cooperation with external business (oil companies) and governmental institutions. The third variable, the proliferation of specialized organizations on the North Slope, will provide a means to monitor the processes of political formation, aggregation of power, and rise of power bases throughout the institutional setting in the region. The indicator for this variable is the distribution of responsibilities and authorities among the organizations and departments of formal institutions. The changes in organizational form of existing structures and the rise of new organizations and divisions which represent new interests will be measured. A chart showing the different organizational units and the particular areas of responsibility and authority for each will be constructed at two points in time (1979 and 1983) to provide a measure of the changes and developments. Areas of power concentration will be identified through this process.

Our research indicated no major institutional restructuring resulting from changes in power or interest bases. Within the borough, the only structural rearrangement during the 1979-83 period was the consolidation of services under a new department of health and social services. The department of public safety underwent a major reorganization, but this was the result of internal redirection and policy change, rather than a consequence of new political interests. Our results indicate that adequate measurement of this indicator would require a longer field research period, since it is difficult to assess the significance of election results and changes in internal administration without more extended discussions with key informants.

SOCIALIZATION COMPONENT

The persistence of traditional leadership training will be measured by the continuation of the whaling apprenticeship institution. Boys aged 10-12 years of age are invited to participate in whaling crews, and as they grow older, progress up through different statuses in the crew in preparation for becoming a captain. This variable will be measured in the examination of whaling institutions (see above).

The development of administrative and management skills in the youth and middle-aged populations is another area under this component. The different modes of acquisition of skills, through either formal education and training or on-the-job training, can be monitored through informal discussions in major institutions. A limited list of six to eight key leaders and administrators, who have held several important positions in different community

and/or regional organizations, should be developed for in-depth discussion prior to the interviewing.

SYMBOLIC COMPONENT

The symbolic significance of traditional leadership elements " (whaling captaincy, knowledge of Inupiat language, kinship membership in large family) in present leadership patterns will be assessed in the political component of leadership (see above). The significance of traditional elements is an empirical question which the indicator of Inupiat recruitment and replacement will measure.

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION COMPONENT

The linkages between the leadership positions in the more significant voluntary organizations (Whaling Captains Association, Search and Rescue, National Guard) and the major political and economic organizations (North Slope Borough, Native corporations, city governments) will be measured under the political component of leadership (see above). The data on leadership networks and replacement and recruitment of Inupiat will provide measures of this component.

Other Cultural Institutions

The Inupiat culture has changed dramatically from its aboriginal form, but just as significant as the change, is the persistence of elements of the Inupiat cultural element despite the extensive socioeconomic developments in the past several years. The most recent studies describe the presence of a set of cul-

tural practices and beliefs which set the Inupiat apart from the larger society. These cultural attributes give and reinforce the Inupiat sense of identity. They also play a significant role in the perpetuation of the traditional economic system and have affected the development of the new institutions.

The cultural values and norms of behavior which stress sharing subsistence resources and cooperative efforts in subsistence production remain in force. These values and norms of behavior also serve to promote social interaction among extended family members and to maintain their social cohesiveness. Young hunters give the first catch of the season to their grandparents and the initial and secondary distribution of whale meat and muktuk are still customary.

Several cultural components have been formally instituted and have been established as overt symbols of Inupiat culture. These invented traditions, which include such elements as the Elders Conference and the community dance groups, give the Inupiat a continuity with the past. They allow the Inupiat to integrate the knowledge and traditions of the past into modern institutional settings.

The concept of an "Inupiat" which signifies that they are distinct and different from other people is increasingly used by the elders in socializing the young and reaffirming Inupiat identity among the younger adults. The Inupiaq language also serves to establish the boundary maintaining mechanism setting off Inupiat versus non-Inupiat.

SYMBOLIC COMPONENT

The cultural institutions and behaviors included in this section provide additional sociocultural components to the monitoring methodology. They consist of several intermediate institutions and practices of significance in North Slope Inupiat cultural systems including the following:

1. partnerships
2. namesakes
3. adoption
4. Inupiaq language

The monitoring data for these institutions will be developed mainly through informal discussions. Archival ethnographic information will be utilized to provide designation of some of the key terms and categories used during data collection. Due to the lack of baseline data from a specified date in the recent past, precise monitoring of change is not feasible. As a result, the monitoring interval cannot be predetermined and it can be specified only through the informal line of questioning

The English word 'partnership' subsumes several different types of partner relationships each of which is identified by a separate term in Inupiaq. In the 1950's, Spencer identified the different types of partners that were traditional elements of Inupiat society:

Angunqatigik	hunting partners (male, female)
Tuyuqtuqtuq	partners who send things to each other (inland/coastal)
Nulaqatigik	two who exchange wives

Pigatigik	two persons who help each other (less permanent; can be between men & women) (pitgatigich - plural)
Suuraqatigik	real partner (have things together, divide total take in half) (suuraq -- together, each other; qatigik -- thing, wealth, treasure)
Nyuuvereyik	trading partners (singular -- nuuviq)
Iilyoreyik	joking partner, friend (singular -- iilaaruq)

Each category of partnership designates a particular behavioral relationship between two individuals. We proposed to assess the persistence of each of these different types in terms of the maintenance or change in frequency of each type of partnership, as noted by different age groups. However, this degree of detail in our research was not possible in the limited time available for the fieldwork. Our results indicate that a form of partnership exists in the whaling-context, but other forms were less prevalent or no longer practiced. A longer term field effort would be necessary to examine this question with reliability, an effort not recommended here. As an alternative, we suggest that fieldworkers be sensitive to these potential relationships in carrying out other monitoring elements and note them as they occur.

The practice of "namesakes" consists of naming of a child after a deceased individual. Usually this individual is a distant relative in bilateral kinship reckoning, and the result of such naming practice is to bring the distantly related family members closer, bringing changes in frequency and intensity of interaction. The indicator for this cultural institution will

be the incidence of namesakes in the family, and change will be measured by an increase or decrease in the occurrence of namesakes. The results of our investigation indicated that naming children after others continues to be practiced among a large proportion of the population.

The frequency of adoption is a distinguishing characteristic of traditional Inupiat kinship relationships (Burch, 1975). The practice of adoption establishes fictive relations between the family of the adopted child and the members of the family into which the child has been adopted, bringing previously unrelated households together or intensifying relations between related households. As in the previous measure, change in this cultural institution will be measured by changes in the incidence of adoption.

Language provides basic distinctions and categories for organizing and conceptualizing the social and natural environments. It also provides cues for behavioral interaction with and orientations towards other individuals and things. Persistence of the Inupiaq language implies the continuity in the traditional world as perceived and codified through the language. Changes in the language use, i.e. the loss of distinctions and the associated knowledge of behavioral cues and relationships are significant to monitoring sociocultural change.

Condensation of domains of meaning suggests that behavior is likewise modified and simplified. The loss of cultural distinctions through language change and the adoption of another language with different conceptual emphases and refinements indicate

that traditional behavior and institutions are becoming modified. For example, less frequent use and knowledge of the different "types of partners discussed above indicate that partnership relations (a traditional mechanism of cultural and social interaction, communication and exchange] are becoming more uniform and restricted in meaning and decreasing in overall cultural significance. It may indicate also that interaction and communication patterns are changing and that traditional statuses are disappearing.

Indicators of language change can be developed for use in monitoring change in this domain. The change in the knowledge and use of partnership terminology is one possible indicator of this type of change that will be tested during the fieldwork period. Other areas that might be measured are the persistence of the 50 or so terms for "ice" and certain kinship terminology applied to distant kin. As described above for partnership terms, research in this element would require a more extensive allocation of fieldwork time. However, we wish to emphasize that utilization of the ethnoscientific approach suggested in this section is of value in monitoring change in domains of meaning transmitted and maintained through cultural processes.

An alternative measure of the persistence of Inupiaq language is an assessment of the Inupiaq-speaking ability among the younger population. This can be accomplished through discussions with the bilingual school teachers who would be able to indicate any differentials in the level of Inupiaq language ability in the younger grades, in comparison with older grades and adults in the

community. We were not able to field test this approach due to constraints on our time in the field.

Land And Sea

The development of a regionwide group which became known as the "North Slope Inupiat" grew from efforts to protect aboriginal territory. This new collective identity evolved from the Inupiat's world view of their land and homeland. In response to activities which they perceived as threatening their land base (state land selection and petroleum development), the Inupiat who occupied the area north of the Brooks Range organized new formal regional organizations to pursue their land claims and to protect their environment and wildlife resources. Once a land claims settlement had been achieved, the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation was incorporated to receive the lands awarded under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. The Inupiat organized the North Slope Borough in part because of the taxing, zoning, and planning authorities and land entitlements granted under state law to borough municipal governments. With the establishment of the new institutions, the Inupiat homeland was clearly demarcated with an established fixed boundary under the North Slope Borough and the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation.

The Inupiat have traditionally designated themselves conceptually and linguistically as "inhabitants" of particular geographic regions (ICAS, 1979). For example, the inhabitants of Ukpeagvik (the Barrow region) called themselves "Ukpeagvinmiut" "or inhabitants of Ukpeagvik. Instead of using the traditional names, these communities were given new names by the first wes-

terners who visited them. After ANCSA, the villagers adopted the traditional names for their village corporations which hold title to corporate lands. The modern communities developed around the ancient habitation sites and areas that provide them access to marine and terrestrial wildlife resources. Traditional forms of organization, such as the extended family, remain significant. The Inupiat socioeconomic units are essential in the production and extraction of wildlife resources. The utilization of land and resources leads to social exchanges and obligations to other members of the group which serves to solidify social bonds in the traditional institutions. If an Inupiat hunts or fishes, he or she is encouraged by cultural values to share the wildlife resources with other Inupiat. Cooperative hunting efforts also strengthen social relations and the cohesiveness of social units. Their cultural heritage and the traditional economic system are grounded in the land and sea.

Our analysis of North slope institutions indicate that since the 1970's, the Inupiat have developed different conceptions of land (including the marine environment). In addition to the traditional views of land as both habitation and subsistence production sites and as holding the cultural and spiritual values, it has become a commodity that can generate capital for the Inupiat or tax revenues for the NSB.

Land within the community boundaries under the jurisdiction of the city council are treated differently from the lands outside the community city limit. Through the city council, communities focus considerable attention on land or lots within the

city. City councils, through their control over lots, control population development. The councils, particularly in the villages, limit the number of houses that can be built in the community by limiting the number of lots that are conveyed to the NSB (which constructs houses under the CIP). The council identifies the individuals and families within the community who need houses and then advises the NSB the number and size of houses needed. Nonpermanent residents (comprised primarily of school personnel, public safety officers and construction workers) in the community generally rent borough houses which are concentrated in one locale.

The focus on land outside the city limits is on the habitat of wildlife populations both on and offshore. The council expends considerable effort to insure that the environment and wildlife populations are protected and that the Inupiat have access to wildlife resources. By 1984, a shift in the attitude toward petroleum development was noted. North Slope institutions appear to be accepting the idea that onshore development can be compatible with subsistence production. This was particularly evident in Kaktovik. The Kaktovik City Council was opposed to the initial Beaufort Sea offshore lease sale in 1979 and initiated legal action to stop development activities. Our review does not indicate that any extensive opposition which parallels the Beaufort Sea effort has been initiated to halt development activities just 14 miles away from the village. This may in part be attributable to the fact the development is occurring on village corporation land. The council's concern and interest in habitat and wildlife appears to be just as "intense. A prominent

village hunter is on contract to the oil companies to patrol the development area to insure that the wildlife and habitat are protected from any adverse effects.

Our analysis of institutional development and change during the 1979-83 periods indicates that land was increasingly viewed as a commodity during this period. This is evidenced in the activities of the Native corporations created under ANCSA and the sale and lease of city lots and allotments. Prior to the 1970's, land was communally owned and occupied under traditional norms. The individualization of land had previously been initiated in the 1960's and 1970's with the allocation of town lots to Inupiat residents and later the land allotments. The first loss of land began with the military's (U.S. Navy and Air Force) appropriation of land and later the state's selection of land under the Statehood Act. After the 1970's, alienation of land by the Inupiat became more common. Land was increasingly used by individuals, governments and corporations to generate capital. Land was sold or leased. The borough tax revenues were derived largely from the oil industry. As our study indicates, the cumulative effect of North Slope oil and gas activities resulted in a significant decrease of the land base formerly available to the Inupiat. The most prominent, of course, are the industrial development areas. Coincident with these are the tracts where exploratory and development activities occur. The primary significance of development activities is the effect the decreased land base and associated activities have on subsistence activities.

Changes in land ownership and utilization together with the petroleum development activities are affecting traditional institutional forms and the growth and development of formal institutions. Land utilized as a commodity generates capital for corporations, while land utilized for subsistence creates social obligations in traditional institutions. The increasing number of Inupiat involved in the sale and lease of lands suggests that land has taken on new meanings which may precipitate further change in traditional institutions.

POLITICAL COMPONENT

The political element of land and sea is of major importance on the North Slope, since the largest institutions (North Slope Borough and Native corporations) derive their powers from the recognition (static and federal) of specified rights of local control and ownership. Although many of the political issues in the North Slope are ultimately related to the land base, we are restricting this component of the monitoring methodology to those issues relating directly to the management of land and sea areas and wildlife resources and ownership of the land. The broader political issues related to nonrenewable resources will be included below under economic development.

The crucial political component of land and sea is the maintenance of local control of land and sea use. The indicators for this variable include:

1. incidence of restrictions on land and sea use by external agencies and groups
2. incidence of local management regimes and regulations

3. development of land-use planning and zoning capabilities

4. lawsuits over control of land and sea

The incidence of restrictions on land use will be tracked in the following areas:

1. subsistence wildlife extraction

2. trespass

3. roads

The development of restrictions can be quantified for federal (National Park Service, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, BLM-NPR-A), state (ADF&G, DNR) private industry (Prudhoe Bay and other areas), North Slope Borough, and Native corporation lands (regional and village). A distinction can be made between those restrictions promulgated by local institutions and those instituted by external agencies and institutions.

Our review of oil and gas leasing programs indicates that subsistence harvest activities are prohibited in the vicinity of industrial development areas. This restriction results in specific tracts of land being removed from the corpus of potential subsistence use areas, such as in Prudhoe Bay, along the TAPS corridor, and additional areas. In many cases, the restrictions include the prohibition of access, which in turn may limit villagers access to additional subsistence lands and occasionally their own land allotments. The subsistence indicator should monitor the geographical expanse of these industry-related land-use restrictions and their growth over time. The indicator should classify the basic types of restrictions and measure their location in relation to subsistence harvest areas, and it should

be sensitive to the issue of restricted access to other land areas not directly bounded by industry prohibitions.

It is necessary to monitor those development areas in proximity to village harvest areas; we do not suggest a detailed mapping of all restricted areas. To monitor such restrictions, we initially proposed a regionwide compilation of all restrictions on subsistence wildlife extraction, including a measure of their total acreage. Our analysis suggests this measure would be expensive and possibly ineffective, since much of the restricted land is beyond the subsistence ranges of North Slope villages. As an alternative? we recommend an indication based on an assessment of community-specific harvest areas and access restrictions. This indicator would involve examining a data base of village subsistence harvest areas derived from the Alaska Department of Fish and Game's subsistence division and other agencies. It would also involve periodic monitoring (data Collection) from agency and industry sources to assess changing regulations, and from community residents to identify the affected resources and land areas.

In addition to focusing on land restrictions that are directly affecting village subsistence patterns, the community-level monitoring indicator could be designed to monitor the specific resources and resource areas that were identified during public meetings concerning development projects in the recent past. Our research indicates that several special concerns were consistently expressed by North Slope residents and institutions, including marine areas. These concerns included whale migratory routes and Colville River Delta fishery and waterfowl nesting

areas and terrestrial regions (caribou calving and migratory routes for the Western Arctic herd, particularly in the Utukak uplands, Porcupine, and local Teshekpuk Lake herd. Also of concern are a black brant nesting-and molting-area, the Colville River corridor inland from Wainwright, Fish Creek, and polar bear, moose, and wolverine areas. Our analysis of lease area deletions indicates that deleted areas tend to be included in subsequent sales, which underscores the significance of monitoring these sensitive areas. Similarly, the season drilling restriction has been weakened in subsequent determinations, whereas the concerns of local residents for the safety of the bowhead whale (and over the interference with whale-hunting activity) have not diminished.

In this methodology, we have restricted analysis of subsistence issues mainly to those developments related to formal institutions. A full monitoring approach to the effects of industrial development on subsistence is beyond the scope of this study, which is focused on institutional components of the issue. We recommend that full-scale monitoring of subsistence activities, as impacted by industrial development, be developed as a separate additional component of an overall sociocultural monitoring methodology. Furthermore, the cooperation of existing local organizations should be pursued in these efforts, particularly the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission and the North Slope Borough. The AEWK is significant as the Inupiat management organization of the bowhead whale. Due to the pressure surrounding the imposition of the IWC quota and potential ban, much

information is purposely kept out of public awareness. We found it necessary to work through AEWC, by seeking the approval and cooperation of the organization for our monitoring work, to collect information on any aspects of whaling. In addition, the AEWC is becoming an arena for expression of conflicts and concerns over OCS development, making it the logical repository of relevant information on effects of drilling on migrating whales.

Any general research work in the region is assisted through the cooperation of the North Slope Borough. Through the Environmental Protection Office, the borough is becoming more active in monitoring for the effects of development on subsistence species and critical habitats. The EPO has recently added to its staff a social scientist who would be the contact person. Another potential resource available in the borough government is its Geographical Information Service. Through a cooperative effort with the borough, this technical resource could be integrated into a subsistence mapping and monitoring effort. GIS offers the ability to produce maps of resource use areas in relation to other variables; we examined the potential for mapping subsistence in conjunction with resource development areas. Harvest area data have been entered from subsistence division sources, and some industrial development data are on the system. More current industry mapping data are maintained through AOGA, however. To utilize GIS, it would be necessary to develop templates of codes and formats to access data in its system and present it in maps suitable for monitoring purposes (such as area data, time markers, etc.). Once this is accomplished, GIS would be able to produce (on demand) maps in time series formats of the location

of development areas in relation to village subsistence harvest areas, allotments, etc., and thus to establish an effective indicator of the growth of restricted areas in proximity to areas of village use and occupancy.

The incidence of local management regimes and regulations is a measure of institutional growth and development. It is also an indicator of the strength of local control. The indicator will be limited to the development of management regimes and regulations for renewable fish and game resources. This indicator is comprised of three elements:

1. specific management regimes and organizations
2. other locally derived fish and game regulations
3. activities of the fish and game advisory committee

On the North Slope, specific management organizations include the AEWC and the International Porcupine Caribou Commission. The participation of individuals and institutions (North Slope Borough, ASRC, whaling captains associations) in the management organizations will be determined. The development of regulations by other organizations and departments in the borough will be monitored. The activity of the NSB Fish and Game Advisory Committee will be tracked to determine whether this body was more or less active in 1983 than in 1978.

Related to the incidence of locally controlled management regimes, the incidence of local land-use planning is a measure of local control and of institutional change and development. On the North Slope, this indicator will monitor the development of

land use, environmental protection, and coastal zone management planning capacities in the North Slope Borough. ,

The North Slope Borough and other organizations and individuals on the Slope have brought lawsuits over specific issues of land-and-sea use and control. The incidence of these lawsuits will be monitored during the period from 1978-83. The lawsuits will be classified by the issue and organizations involved (plaintiff and defendant].

All four of these indications will also provide a measure of external relations involved in each area. This element is discussed more fully under the economic development section. The local institutions to be monitored by this indicator include the North Slope Borough, the school district, ICAS, ASRC and UIC.

ECONOMIC COMPONENT

The major variables to be monitored in the economic component include changes in land ownership and land use. Land ownership refers to an area of land held by individuals and organizations in a community and region. The indicators will measure the privatization of land, defined as the net transfer of federal land into control of individuals and institutions. The amount of land subject to taxation and the loss of land through inability to pay rent or taxes will be tracked. Land use will be monitored by measuring the geographical extent of development activities and the growth of restrictions on land use by various agencies (public and private) and individuals.

Changes in land ownership will be measured by changes in the following indicators:

1. total acreage of land held by individuals and regional organizations and institutions
2. number of village lots subject to taxation (unrestricted)
3. incidence of foreclosure

The following categories of land ownership will be monitored:

1. Private land -- held by individuals, businesses, churches, and other organizations (unrestricted title)
2. Native townsites and allotments (restricted title)
3. North Slope Borough land--- house lots, development lands
4. UIC (and other village corporations) -- townsites, reconveyances, developed land areas, other (undeveloped) corporate lands
5. ASRC -- corporate lands conveyances, exchanges and transfers, reconveyances, developed land areas, other (undeveloped) corporate lands

For each of these categories, the acreage total will be determined for 1978 and 1983, yielding a figure of net increase or decrease in acreage. Presently (i.e. prior to fieldwork), we cannot be definitive on the existence and availability of appropriate data sources for all categories.

Within each study community, the number of restricted and unrestricted lots will be determined. These numbers are relevant for borough and city tax revenue purposes, since only unrestricted lots are subject to taxation. They are also of significance to the school district, since it receives federal funding on this basis. The number of restricted lots is available from the BLM Townsite Trustee Office.

The loss of land through foreclosure (for lack of ability to pay rent or taxes to the appropriate government agency) will be monitored. For the 1978-83 period, this indicator applies to the North Slope Borough as the owner of substantial housing projects.

After 1991, it will apply to all Native corporations (unless ANCSA is amended).

Changes in land use will be monitored according to changes and developments in the following areas:

1. percent of land developed or proposed for development
2. restrictions on land use

Indicators of land development will be:

1. acreage of land set aside or proposed for industrial development
2. miles of roads built for access to areas of industrial development (summer and winter)

These indicators have implications for changes in the regulation of subsistence, in wildlife movements, and in inter-ethnic interaction. Data will be collected from the government (borough and city) and private businesses (ASRC and the village corporations).

The restrictions on land use are an indicator of the political component of the land and sea, discussed above. In terms of economics, the indicator will be examined in relation to changes and impacts on traditional land use and the harvesting of non-renewable resources.

SYMBOLIC COMPONENT

The symbolic component focuses on Inupiat identity with the land and sea, on the maintenance of cultural ties to and knowledge of the land and sea, and on the preservation of the environment and the living resources within it. Because of the complex interaction between the traditional Inupiat land-based resource acquisition patterns and their cultural institutions and belief systems, we are not defining indicators of this component

in final form prior to the fieldwork and analysis task. Potential indicators of this element will be developed during the ' North Slope analysis task.

It may be feasible to design indications which measure the persistence of the symbolic value of land. The persistence of knowledge of historical sites, and of special use or avoidance of sacred sites, may possibly be developed as indicators. Whether people continue to visit sacred sites, or avoid sites known to be the locus of spirits, would measure this latter element. Other components of traditional identity with land are examined through the monitoring of values transmitted through the family (see discussion of Family Relations above).

Institutional behavior directed at the preservation of the Inupiat special relation to the land will be measured. Hobsbawm's (1983) concept of 'invented tradition' may be useful in interpreting this indicator. Institutional programs and actions directed towards the maintenance and preservation of traditions can be seen as "movements for the defense or revival of traditions," which in Hobsbawm's definition is invented tradition. Without going as far in claiming that the old ways are no longer alive before movements for the revival and preservation of traditions appear, we suggest that the incidence of such programs in institutional settings provides a measure of the conscious activity under way in the region to protect and promote traditional values and cultural orientations. Such activity is revitalizing (cf. Wallace, 1956) and is classified as "symbolic" for monitoring purposes.

The following indicators will be tested to monitor this symbolic element in cultural identity with the land and sea:

1. programs focused on the special relationship to the land
2. lawsuits arising from perceived threats to this relationship
3. sale/lease of land to non-Inupiat

North Slope Borough programs have developed which are concerned with recording, preserving and protecting Inupiat relationships to the land, including the Traditional Land-Use Inventory, the History, Language and Culture Commission (of which the Elders Conference is a part), the Fish and Game Advisory Committee, the Environmental Protection Department, coastal zone planning, and school programs on teaching survival skills, subsistence skills, etc. (Indian Education, etc.). These programs will be monitored to measure changes and developments between 1978-83.

Lawsuits brought by North Slope institutions and individuals against external agencies will be monitored to derive a measure of the incidence of those cases involving perceived threats to traditional land use and occupancy. Such cases as the challenges to the federal offshore lease sales and the ICAS suit claiming right to the sea from 3 to 65 miles out from shore will be indexed. This data will be derived from the monitoring indicator described above in the political component of land and sea.

Some Inupiat have pursued the individualization of lands formerly held or claimed under common (Inupiat) title. They maintained that their campsites, to which they claimed title under the 1906 Alaska Native Allotment Act, were necessary for their subsistence needs (ICAS, 1979). More recently (including

the 1979-83 period), an undetermined number of Inupiat sold or leased their allotments (as well as townsite lots obtained under the 1926 Native Townsite Act) to non-Inupiat. The sale of land is a new pattern and represents a change in the Inupiat's relationship to their land.

Economic Development

Economic development associated with resource extraction in the Arctic has perhaps been the major force stimulating extensive development and change in the political, economic, educational, and traditional North Slope institutions.

The most evident institutional development resulting from resource development has been the North Slope Borough. The borough itself expanded with the addition of new officers and staff. Tax revenues stimulated a proliferation of smaller institutional components within the larger borough bureaucracy. The borough created a host of commissions, boards, and committees to focus on single issues. The borough also established offices outside of the geographical boundaries of the North Slope. These offices in Washington, D.C., Anchorage, and a lobbying firm in Juneau provided direct contact with federal and state legislative offices and agencies and with firms doing business on the slope. Borough revenues were also utilized to support an international body, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference.

Although the regional and village corporations were formed as a result of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, resource development in the North Slope provided opportunities for the corporations to invest directly or through the creation

of subsidiary companies and joint ventures in resource development industries. The corporations were also able to contract for NSB capital improvement projects. The corporations were also able to form new businesses to capitalize on the expanding consumer market, i.e., retail stores, gas stations.

The expansion of the capital economy, the Socialization of Inupiat into the capital economy through their occupational experiences in the corporations and the NSB (rather than formal education in business), and an accumulation of surplus capital stimulated the development of a class of Inupiat entrepreneurs in the North Slope. In the late 1970's, Inupiat-owned businesses were limited to small family stores in their homes, a bakery and taxi company (with the exception of one Inupiat who inherited a business enterprise formed by his father who was not Inupiat). Today in Barrow alone there are nearly 100 businesses, many of which are owned by Inupiat.

The North Slope Borough and the school district, the ANCSA corporations and Subsidiaries and private businesses have increased employment opportunities throughout the communities. Their employment opportunities have also affected the traditional social units and subsistence socioeconomic units. As noted, the establishment of nuclear family households accelerated both because the NSB could construct housing and because nuclear families have the wage income to establish separate households apart from extended family members.

The increase in the number of whaling crews was coincident with increased wage opportunities. In addition, actual crew

sizes increased. This increase can be attributed to the need for crew members to alternate among themselves as they rebated between the whaling camps and their jobs. This trend is examined in the Whaling Complex section discussion, above.

POLITICAL COMPONENT

The political component of economic development is the ability of local governing bodies to regulate development activities and to protect the environment wildlife resources, and culture from adverse impacts. Other significant aspects associated with economic development are the powers the North Slope Borough has to obtain revenues (tax) from development and whether the governing entities are able to ensure maximum local (Inupiat) employment. and contracting to local enterprises. Protection of the environment? wildlife resources, and culture is examined in the section on land and sea. The remaining elements of this component will be monitored according to the following variables:

1. NSB zoning and planning authorities
2. NSB influence in state and federal regulations affecting development activities
3. NSB taxation authority
4. Policies and ordinances relating to local hire and local contracting preference
5. Distribution of NSB contract revenue

Since the North Slope Borough is the centralized governing body in the region, possesses the zoning and planning and taxing powers, and controls the distribution of all the major construction and operations contracts it is the appropriate institution to monitor for this variable.

Change in the NSB's ability to control economic development and to maximize benefits for the region will be measured by the following indicators:

1. incidence of NSB zoning and planning, history of planning relationships with external agencies
2. incidence of lawsuits contesting resource development activities
3. changes in taxation policies
4. areas of regulatory conflict (haul road, CZM)
5. change in the rate of Inupiat hire and contracting

The distribution of borough contract revenue will be measured by a gross indicator of total local and nonlocal contract revenue provided by the borough. This indicator will provide a measure of direct economic linkages between the borough and major external firms. Major construction (capital improvement projects) and operating contracts (such as school district maintenance) will be monitored for amount and firm name. The data are available from borough records. By classifying firms as local (Barrow or North Slope region) or nonlocal (Anchorage, Fairbanks, Seattle), the relative amounts of revenues passing to local and nonlocal businesses can be determined.

ECONOMIC COMPONENT

The major economic variables of economic development are the following:

1. Patterns of employment
2. Integration of organizations
3. Native corporations
4. Entrepreneurship

Access to stable year-round employment has been cited as a major factor in successful adaptation to rapid culture change (Chance, 1966; Voget, 1981). This literature suggests that access to employment and a relationship of autonomy to external agencies, in which traditional roles and statuses are maintained, are crucial factors in successful adaptation. The indicators of employment designed to measure several dimensions of participation in economic institutions, are the following:

1. Availability of permanent employment, CIP projects
2. Differential participation (age and sex)
3. Ethnicity of employment
4. Recruitment/ replacement of Inupiat in key positions

Data for these indicators will be collected from the major employers (North Slope Borough, school district, city, ASRC, village corporations) and the smaller organizations and entrepreneurial enterprises in each study community. For full-time, year-round positions, the age, sex, and ethnicity of the individuals employed will be compiled. Changes will be determined for the study period (1979-83) in the total number of positions available, the relative proportions of different age groups represented, the incidence of male and female employment, and the distribution of such positions among ethnic groups. This data " will be useful for the indicators of social differentiation (see discussion below).

In addition, the type of job will be recorded. Jobs will be classified in the following categories:

Executive/Administrative/Managerial
Professional
Technical and Related Support
Sales
Administrative Support
Private HH Service
Protective Service
Other Service
Skilled Trades
Machine Operator
Laborer
Crafts

This data will provide the indicators of differential participation of ethnic groups and of Inupiat men and women. Changes in these patterns can be related to changes in traditional roles and statuses.

The pattern of recruitment and replacement of Inupiat will be monitored by determining who has replaced whom and what have been their credentials. This variable has significance for leadership patterns, and it has been discussed in the leadership section above.

Two other indications of Inupiat recruitment will be monitored:

1. policies of restricted hire (Inupiat preference) and of requiring specific job qualifications for vacancies
2. practices of modifying work rules to conform to traditional subsistence behavior patterns

The existence, persistence, and practical outcomes of such policies will be monitored in the institutional setting (North Slope Borough, ASRC). This measure also provides an index of measures Inupiat have taken to modify and adapt formal institutions to their cultural environment.

The integration of organizations will be measured by the incidence of cooperative agreements, joint ventures, etc., among

the institutional units. This indicator will provide a direct measure of institutional development and change. The important business and governmental institutions will be monitored on this indicator, including ASRC, village corps., Pingo, borough and city governments. At a minimum, all business and joint development agreements will be monitored? but other types of cooperation (such as the city of Barrow giving a lot to Search and Rescue) will be sought. The data will be available in the records of the designated organizations (annual reports, minutes of shareholder meetings] and supplemented through informal discussion.

The continued existence and solvency of Native and village corporations in the region will be tracked. Significant changes in relationships among the Native corporations will also be monitored. The following indicators will be used to monitor change and development in Native corporations:

1. change in net worth
2. incidence of formation of subsidiaries
3. incidence of mergers, joint ventures, and cooperative agreements

The data will be obtained from corporate records (annual reports, minutes of annual shareholder meetings) and through informal discussions with key corporate officials.

The formation and persistence of entrepreneurial enterprise is another monitoring variable. In a review of theories of economic development, Brookfield (1975) suggests that entrepreneurship is a crucial variable in 'a dynamic theory of regional development even more applicable to the open, regional economies of subnational areas than to the relatively closed economies of

whole nations." In addition to providing a direct measure of economic development, this variable will be used to measure ethnic differentiation (see below) and the persistence of traditional values and cultural institutions in changing institutional settings.

Entrepreneurship will be measured by the following indicators of change and development:

1. incidence of entrepreneurship
2. ethnicity of entrepreneurial enterprises
3. formation of Inupiat entrepreneurial enterprises
4. incidence of entrepreneurial values

It has been suggested that entrepreneurs appear in clusters (Schumpeter, in Brookfield, 1975.): "Entrepreneurs respond to opportunities, and this tends to occur in waves after one surge of innovation has been absorbed and/or as new demands are created by some new situation. Entrepreneurs then appear in clusters, the appearance of one facilitating the emergence of others, hence development is jerky, entrepreneurship and the adoption of innovations occurring in 'swarms' at points in time when profit opportunities are greatest and risks least...and when the 'social climate' is right."

The number of entrepreneurial enterprises can be derived from the list of business licenses in the region. This can be obtained from the chamber of commerce in the regional center or the department of revenue. This indicator will be supplemented with information on the type and size of each enterprise which together with the number will offer a more substantial indicator.

Each enterprise can be classified by key informants into the following typology:

- Construction
- Nonrenewable resource development and related service
- Renewable resource harvest and/or processing
- Store
- Restaurant
- Other service

The size of each enterprise can be measured by number of employees and gross receipts, which will involve data collection from each entrepreneur. The collection of information on the type and size of each enterprise may not be feasible without a long field effort.

The ethnicity of each business owner can be determined through key informant discussions. The Inupiat businesses will be identified through the list of business licenses. Change in the number of Inupiat entrepreneurs will be measured in this way. In 1977, there were few Inupiat entrepreneurs (Kleinfeld, 1981 p.25). Preliminary field observations suggest that Inupiat entrepreneurship has increased since that time.

Literature on the development of entrepreneurs in Melanesia suggests that indigenous cultural institutions are manipulated by entrepreneurial individuals and the result is emerging forms of inequality in those societies (Strathern, 1982; Rodman, 1984). Growing socioeconomic differentiation is indicated by inequalities in land ownership and unequal distribution of membership and resources in local communally based business groups. The issue of growing socioeconomic differentiation on the North Slope is an empirical question that may require the development of indicators and data collection procedures. We will be examining this ques-

tion throughout the course of this study; the participation of Inupiat in entrepreneurial enterprises may be a potential measure.

The formation and persistence of Inupiat entrepreneurial enterprises will be monitored through informal discussions with three to five such entrepreneurs. The purpose is to measure two key areas of business operation:

1. capital accumulation for the business
2. employment

The need for capital as a means to the ends of entrepreneurship is essential (Brookfield, 1975), and a set of efficient employees is also a key to success. In examining these components of the business, the extent of family, partnership and whaling networks in the operation of the business will be determined. Alternatively, it may be established that salient forms of relationship and influence are operating outside of these traditional networks. The questioning will also provide an indication of changes in values among this group.

Research on entrepreneurs in Melanesia suggests this group displays a syncretic formulation of traditional forms of network building with business goals (which are less concerned with the social well-being of the community as a whole) (Mahner, 1967; Strathern, 1982). In the example given by Mahner, the businessman demonstrates effectiveness in the traditional obligation system but also concentrates on his own objectives, "building a solid base of influence which included a new variety of obligations, those owed by the men who had benefitted from his com-

mercial leaders hip." In this new role, the businessman does not have the social responsibilities of traditional village leaders.

Recent work (Greenfield, Strickland, and Aubey, 1979) indicates that the crucial variable in the success of entrepreneurs is the ability to form a network of individuals who can be trusted and who can be mobilized to provide critical resources. The network is based on situational variables, sometimes built on kin and ethnic ties, sometimes on church or school affiliations, and other times are formal and contractual. On the North Slope, family ties, National Guard affiliations, and other relationships will be examined.

SOCIALIZATION COMPONENT

It is important to monitor the perspectives and values of the youth in the North Slope, since they will become the institutional actors and leaders in the near future. The significance of the youth group is recognized by the older generations? who express the understanding that present institutions and organizations should operate to benefit their children and their children's children (see Kruse et al., 1983b).

Changes in values and motivations in this group will be monitored in part by measuring salient aspects of the school socialization process and through informal discussions with members of the youth group. Are students being prepared for adult roles in the village, or in a society beyond, outside, the village or region? The indicator for this variable will be the level of funding for programs of Inupiat language in primary and secondary grades and vocational education. Another significant

question concerning educational institutions is "how intensely does the school function to provide an orientation to the society beyond the village". The annual expenditure on student travel outside the village will provide an indicator of this element.

In a discussion of intermediate adaptation, Paine, Skalniak and Wadel (1969) suggest that changes in traditional values are related to shifts in cultural barriers to emigration, "as children may be trained for an urban culture from an early age, be sent away to school, and be motivated by educational planners who decide whether to orient their educational system toward preparing people for niches in the local community or in the society outside the community." Such barriers may differ significantly between the generations as children are influenced by the educational system.

Another important variable in the long term, also suggested by Paine et al., is "the transmission of norms and values of consumption from the industrial society to the rural social and cultural setting," and in particular, "the need to impose some limit on the level of consumption and need for cash," without which rural residents may find they must migrate to urban centers to be able to generate the cash to meet their higher expectations and needs. The effects of television in generating norms of consumption is probably greatest among the youth group.

Members of the youth group will be engaged in informal discussions to elicit attitudes and value orientations in the following subjects:

1. Do they want a job after completing school?
2. Do they want to go to college?

3. How do they see themselves living when they have a family?

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION COMPONENT

Key voluntary organizations will be monitored for institutional change and development. On the North Slope, the whaling captains associations, the mothers club, and search and rescue organizations will be tracked. Change in the funding process for these organizations will be monitored. Traditionally, these organizations were funded through bingo games. The number and frequency of bingo games is a measure of regular community activity. As these organizations develop and require additional resources and revenues for their activities, however, bingo no longer provides a sufficient means of maintenance.

Preliminary fieldwork suggests that there has been a change in the source of operating revenues for these organizations. The Mothers Club in Barrow distributes turkeys donated by Blackstock Construction Company at Thanksgiving. The Barrow Search and Rescue obtained a powerful boat last year through an appropriation from the state legislature after lobbying the local representative. Currently, members are awaiting transfer of a lot (the second) from the city on which they plan to build additional facilities. Items of property (land, buildings) and expensive technology (boats, helicopters) are indicators of this change and development. In pursuing this indicator, an underlying question is suggested concerning the necessity for such organizations to change and develop institutionally, in order to establish their

legitimacy in the eyes of the external world and/or the local region.

Social Differentiation

During the 1979-83 period we saw the dramatic emergence of ethnic populations first noted in 1981 (Worl, Worl, Lonner, 1981). Of note are the Filipinos, Koreans, and Spanish-speaking populations. They came primarily as laborers seeking employment. While there have been a few interethnic marriages between Filipinos and Inupiat, the ethnic groups appear to be maintaining a social isolation from the larger Inupiat population.

Kruse, Kleinfeld and Travis (1981) noted a differential rate of change between Inupiat men and women. Inupiat women were participating in wage employment in a rate exceeding that of males. Kruse et al. also noted that Inupiat women who were working were speaking English more often on the job than men. Women were also seeking higher education at a rate that was three times greater than men.

The expansion of the capital economy has created significant economic benefits for the Inupiat population. These benefits have not been accrued equally among the Inupiat. Differential levels of wage income among the Inupiat are evident. A cadre of Inupiat hold top administrative and executive positions which command top salaries. A greater number of Inupiat hold general administrative jobs. The primary jobs open to villagers are laborer jobs which are high-paying but seasonal and temporary. The ethnic populations tend to hold the lower paying jobs. While

economic and class differentiation may exist, it is not readily observable.

This section is concerned with two processes of social differentiation: 1) growth and differentiation in the ethnic diversity of the North Slope population and 2) incidence of social and economic differentiation within the Inupiat population along the dimensions of age and sex. Social differentiation within the Inupiat population indicates changes in traditional roles and statuses between generations and between men and women. These changes will be classified under the economic component, since the major source of these changes is in the economic sphere. Political elements will be pointed out in the discussion.

ECONOMIC COMPONENT

Demographic variables will measure basic changes in population size, ethnic composition, and household structure. The following structural variables will be used for the region:

1. Village population
2. Ethnic population
3. Number of households
4. Household type

Some of this data are available for past decades and it is possible to derive the following measures of historical change:

1. population growth
2. changes in ethnicity

However, more detailed information is only available in the 1980 census; consequently, the following data trends will be limited to the period commencing in 1980:

3. increases in number of households

4. changes in household type by SEX

These measures will monitor basic changes in population dynamics which, in combination with other data, will be related to conditions of economic change and development. The trends will then be analysed in relation to cultural and institutional change. The indicators will be compiled at the village and regional levels. Some of these indicators have also been used in the Bristol Bay Cooperative Management Plan Study and were helpful in identifying characteristics of subregional variation, or community clusters (Nebesky, Langdon, and Hull, 1983).

The data are derived from national census figures; the interval is 10 years. The census data are available from the Alaska Department of Labor and the University of Alaska Institute for Social and Economic Research. Other sources of census data may be available for shorter intervals unspecific regions or communities, but the level of comparability will vary. On the North Slope, detailed household censuses were conducted in 1980 (for Barrow) and in 1983 and 1984 (for all villages except Barrow) and are available from the North Slope Borough and the University of Alaska. These data provide more detail on household composition.

Although the size of non-Inupiat populations can be derived from the national census data, the 10-year interval is too long for proper monitoring of the growth of non-Inupiat ethnic groups. An appropriate interval is three to four years, but this is subject to the availability of data. As described above, the borough has sponsored household-level censuses in the region, but

ethnicity is not always marked in these data. In communities that receive state revenue-sharing funds, the municipal government will collect census data on which the allocation of funds is based. As a last resort, fieldworkers will have to identify non-Inupiat families (through employers, school, or voter registration roles) and conduct an informal census count.. For monitoring purposes, the crucial elements are changes in population ethnicity and household composition.

Change in Ethnicity

Growth in non-Inupiat populations has substantial implications for the political and economic development of the region and additional data sources and indicators of change are necessary for adequate monitoring. The growth of ethnic heterogeneity in communities which historically have been homogeneous has important implications for the development of economic and political institutions and for the persistence of traditional cultural institutions. Honigmann (in McElroy, 1981) suggests that the maintenance of ethnic homogeneity and a large Inuit majority encourage a high degree of Inuit involvement in "town life" (institutions), along with the transience of non-Natives (so they do not become entrenched and monopolize enterprise or local government).

The major economic and political institution on the North Slope (the North Slope Borough) has consistently hired a large proportion of professional and technically skilled whites. The economic development in Barrow has stimulated the immigration of white, Filipino and Mexican populations. The large resource

d evelopment enclave populationat Prudhoe Bay hasserious implicationsforthe maintenance of local Inupiat control over North Slope political institutions.

Growth of non-Inupiat populations will be monitored for the following groups:

- a. White
- b. Filipino
- c. Mexican/Latino
- d. Other

The permanence of non-Inupiat populations will be measured by indicators of institutional participation, including the following:

- 1. political activity
- 2. employment (jobs)
- 3. entrepreneurial activity
- 4. school attendance
- 5. interethnic marriage
- 6. buying homes and lots

In measuring the level of political activity for the non-Inupiat population, separate sets of figures will be compiled for non-Inupiat residing in the communities and villages of the region and the members of development enclave's such as Prudhoe Bay. This procedure will enable the tracking of political behavior of enclave populations independent of other non-Inupiat. Three indications of political activity will be used:

- 1. voting in local elections
- 2. running for office

3. organization of political blocs or parties

Incidence of voting' and of running for office (borough assembly, mayor, school board, etc.) can be obtained from the organization holding the election (North Slope Borough, school, etc.). Last names can be used as an adequate indicator of ethnicity, although there will be minor inaccuracies due to interethnic marriages. The organization of political blocs or parties can be examined through examination of campaign and voting activity and informal discussions with representative group members.

The employment of non-Inupiat will provide valuable indicators of the institutional participation of non-Inupiat. Jobs will be classified into permanent or temporary, yielding an indicator of permanency of residence. The skill level of the job will indicate the Socioeconomic level at which the non-Inupiat ethnics are participating in the work force. For the low-status jobs, this information may provide a measure of incipient social differentiation in the region. The entrepreneurial behavior of non-Inupiat ethnics will be quantified as a proportion of small businesses in the communities, which will be another measure of the participation of non-Inupiat.

School attendance will be measured by changes in the ethnicity of non-Inupiat students and in the incidence of non-Inupiat bilingual programs/ instruction. Student attendance records will provide the numbers of non-Inupiat being served in the schools. When there are eight students of a nonwhite ethnic group, the school can apply for state funds and develop a bilingual program for that particular group. The development of such programs is a

salient indication of institutional participation and of non-transient status in the community.

The incidence of interethnic marriages is an indicator of non-Inupiat participation in family institutions. Since the Inupiat family is such a significant component of traditional cultural institutions, an increase in interethnic marriages has significant implications for the roles and functions of traditional social units.

The number of houses and lots owned by non-Inupiat is an indicator of the permanency of non-Inupiat populations and of a process of loss of local control. The issue of land ownership and control is discussed in greater detail under the domain of Land and Sea, above. The small number of fee simple lots in most villages increases the importance of this variable.

Differentiation Within the Inupiat Population

The census data described above will be used to monitor trends in household composition. Changes in household type will provide data on the changing proportion of single households, single parent households, married couple family households, and nonfamily living arrangements. With the exception of married couples, the data are provided by sex, enabling the measure of relative changes between males and females. Differences in household composition would show new trends in migration and changing social roles of men and women. Finally, changes in household composition may indicate trends in extended family relationships (as discussed in the domain of Family Relations,

above) and should be analysed with data derived through other methods.

Differential participation of Inupiat men and women in wage employment will be measured in the employment indicators for full-time, permanent jobs (see discussion of Economic Development above). The proportion of men and women in these positions will be determined. The types of jobs held by men and women will also be compiled. Finally, the relative ages of jobholders will be collected. Data from 1977 indicate that age was not a significant factor for male employment, and was only slightly important for females (Kleinfeld, 1981, p.17). This data also indicate that Inupiat women were primarily white-collar workers in permanent positions and showed a slightly greater tendency than men to hold year-round employment (Kleinfeld, p.10). Other comparable data from this earlier period may be unavailable for some of these indicators, however.

Preferences for permanent and part-time work will be assessed for men and women. The results of this inquiry can be compared with data collected in 1977 which show that while Inupiat men and women preferred intermittent work in equal degree, slightly more Inupiat women tended to hold permanent positions (Kleinfeld, p.10). However, this earlier work suggests that the pattern may change, since a larger proportion of female high school students than male students said they would prefer permanent employment (Kleinfeld, p.11). This aspect is suggested for monitoring in the socialization component section (below).

Differential rates of high school graduation, college entrance, and college completion between men and women is an indicator of social differentiation. The availability of data is 'uncertain at present for an analysis of change.

Along with the development of a multitude of organizations and jobs since 1970, significant income differentiation among Inupiat families is now apparent in Barrow. The distribution of Inupiat family income on the North Slope widened considerably during the 1970's as it grew in magnitude, as demonstrated in Table 24-1. In 1960, the income levels were relatively homogeneous, with 100 percent of Inupiat families reporting incomes of under \$10,000. Changes in the distribution of incomes began to emerge in the early 1970's and accelerated during the latter part of the decade. In this period, the distribution of income reversed itself: whereas about two-thirds of Inupiat families had incomes of under \$10,000 in 1970, by 1980 three-quarters reported an income of \$15,000 and above.

The pattern is quite pronounced in Barrow, where three-quarters of the (Inupiat) families had incomes of \$20,000 and over in 1980. The figures in Table 24-1 mask the magnitude of the growing differentiation, however. As can be seen below (Table 24-2), the proportions of Barrow families in the different income ranges are significant. One-quarter of the families were receiving \$50,000 or more in 1980.

Historical data indicate that social stratification is not new in Barrow and other Inupiat communities; however, the process appears to be much more rapid and intense in the recent period

TABLE 24-1

Distribution of Income among Inupiat Families
(% of North Slope Inupiat Families)

	1960	1970	1977	1980	1980 (Barrow)
Under \$10,000	100	68	27	17	14
\$10,000-14,999		21	16	9	8
\$15,000 & Over		11	57	74	78
	100	100	100	100	100
Median Family Income	\$ 3,438	6,923	17,347	32,113	32,515

The 1980 median family income figure for the borough is based on the total population of households; a separate figure for Inupiat households is not available.

Because there are inconsistencies in the income level categories, comparisons of incomes over \$15,000 cannot be readily made. However, the data demonstrate that the proportions of Inupiat families with incomes in the higher brackets have risen substantially in the recent period. In 1977, 12 percent of Inupiat families had an income of \$40,000 or more. By 1980, there were 20 percent with an income of \$50,000 or more. In Barrow, this element was most pronounced; 25 percent of Inupiat families reported incomes of \$50,000 and over.

Sources: 1960, 1970, 1977: Kruse, Kleinfeld, and Travis, 1981;
1980: U.S. Census

TABLE 24-2

Distribution of Income among Inupiat Families in Barrow
(% of Barrow Inupiat Families)

	1980
Under \$10,000	14
\$10,000-19,999	12
\$20,000-24,999	10
\$25,000-34,999	20
\$35,000-49,999	19
\$50,000 & Over	<u>25</u>
	100 percent

Median Family
Income \$ 32,515

Source: U.S. Census

(1975-85). Measures of household income derived from the U.S. Census and state department of labor sources provide an indicator for this trend. In addition, ethnographic methods of informal discussion and observation can be employed to investigate the emergence of family stratification and to describe the dimensions of economic and social differentiation in the community. These methods can be used to investigate variations among Inupiat families as well as to document new behavioral patterns that have emerged with the growth in income and available cash. For example, a number of young, and middle-aged female residents of

Barrow now wear expensive designer clothes and travel extensively. Some of these individuals are well-educated and hold leadership positions in the community.

SOCIALIZATION COMPONENT

Several of the questions to be asked of the youth pertain to future plans after high school (discussed in Economic Development above). The monitoring of this group will include a question about preference for a job or college education after graduation. Change in the preference for permanent or intermittent work among high school students can be determined because comparative data exist from the 1977 survey (Kleinfeld, 1981 p.11).

XXV. FIELDWORK METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The objectives of the fieldwork investigation are to describe and analyze the recent history and development of Inupiat institutions and groups, particularly during 1979-83, and to test and refine the standardized methodology for monitoring institutional change, adaptation or disruption. An underlying goal is to add to the scientific body of knowledge an understanding of how indigenous populations maintain and adapt their traditional institutions in modern settings and incorporate western institutions. This assumption differs from classic modernization theories which pose a dichotomy between modern and traditional societies and assume an ultimate assimilation of traditional value systems and integration of autonomous societies into the state and national societies.

The fieldwork plan is interrelated with investigative areas and questions outlined in the monitoring methodology. The fieldwork plan outlines a procedural process for data gathering while the monitoring methodology elaborates and identifies more specifically the data which should be gathered for monitoring socio-cultural institutions. The monitoring methodology also provides the rationale and intellectual framework for data gathering in both formal and informal institutional settings. Due to the twin objectives of the fieldwork described above, data collection in the communities is guided by both the fieldwork plan and the monitoring methodology.

The field research is oriented to uncover the cumulative changes generated by the interaction of new and traditional institutions. In the current setting, institutions exist which can be described as neither modern nor traditional. The fieldwork and the monitoring methodology are oriented towards gathering data which reveal how traditional groups sustain their growth and reorganize themselves in modern settings. Also, data collection will be initiated to discover interrelations between institutions.

Selection of Communities

The field research communities were selected because they offer contrasting circumstances and reflect the diversity among the North Slope communities, including such characteristics as size, organizational complexity, development activities and immigration of non-Inupiat. The period, extent, and type of previous ethnographic research and availability of data were also major considerations in the selection of the research communities. The following briefly outlines the basic characteristics considered in their selection.

BARROW

Field research will be conducted in Barrow since (1) it is the largest North Slope community; (2) it is characterized by a diverse population; (3) it contains numerous formal and informal institutions of varying size and complexities; (4) it has sustained intensive contact with intraregional communities and external institutions at the state, federal and international

level; and (5) it has been subject to the most extensive institutional change during the 1979-83 period.

Barrow is most often perceived of and described as a modern regional center. Absent from the description is Barrow as a traditional village with the largest concentration of Inupiat in the North Slope. The Inupiaq language is the most viable in Barrow; participation in traditional economic (subsistence) pursuits, cultural activities and ceremonies are extensive; traditional kinship, families, and organizations remain strong and many traditional cultural ideological subsystems persist. Indications are that several subcultural groups of Inupiat exhibiting all or varying degrees of the traditional characteristics may exist in Barrow .

Barrow serves as the regional base of the three centralized institutions, namely the North Slope Borough, Arctic Slope Regional Corporation and Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope. While these institutions themselves have changed during the past several years, they have also variously stimulated the emergence of subgroups in Barrow and the extension of structural components to other North Slope communities. The growth and expansion of Barrow-based institutions have also encouraged the formation of new communities adjacent to Barrow. The North Slope Borough, the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, and, to a lesser degree, the Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope maintain intense and direct linkages to external political and economic interests.

The political and economic development within Barrow has stimulated the proliferation of new institutional groups within Barrow during the 1979-83 period. It has also stimulated changes

in the traditional institutions in Barrow. To research and analyze the introduction of new institutions in Barrow, their extension to other communities, and their influence on traditional institutions is essential.

KAKT OVIK

Kaktovik shares the same basic institutional structures and processes as other North Slope communities. However, a number of distinctive characteristics and variables exist which offer an opportunity to examine the variances as well as similarities in the overall regional institutional development and change.

The location and size of Kaktovik and the homogeneity of the population are the most apparent factors which may contribute to institutional differences. Kaktovik is located over 350 miles east of Barrow and 90 miles west of the Canadian border. Its distance from Barrow, and high transportation costs have removed Kaktovik from the most immediate and direct sphere of institutional influence and change which characterize Barrow.

Kaktovik's close proximity to Canada has allowed the Kaktovik Inupiat to maintain social contact with their Canadian kin. The social interaction may have served to strengthen the bonds between the American and Canadian Inupiat in the international organization, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference.

The social and traditional economic ties to Anaktuvuk Pass are also important. The interrelationships apparent in the traditional institutions may have fostered the integration of the North Slope's centralized regional organizations formed in the late 1960's and early 1970's.

While Kaktovik is located 130 miles west of Prudhoe Bay, the data do not suggest that its relative proximity to the industrial enclave affected institutional development there. Preliminary investigations suggest that contact and interaction between Kaktovik and Prudhoe Bay appears limited to the one or two residents who have occasionally worked for Pingo Corporation at Prudhoe Bay, and Walt Audi Air Taxi which flies between Kaktovik and Prudhoe Bay twice a week.

The land classification of areas surrounding Kaktovik appears to have affected the institutional development of Kaktovik. The community and the land selections of the village corporation are located within the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. The 1979-83 period appears to be characterized by high levels of external contact with the federal government to obtain village ANCSA land entitlement. This issue also necessitated intense contact with the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation because of the division of surface and sub-surface land selections and ownership between the two corporations. Beaufort Sea petroleum development activities during the same period also facilitated intense and direct contact with external institutions.

Kaktovik has also been selected as a field research site because of the diachronic data that are available from a series of studies from 1958-82 (Chance, 1966; Jacobson and Wentworth, 1982; Worl and Lonner, 1982). In spite of the periods of rapid change within the community the studies suggest a successful and positive integration of Kaktovik's economic, political, and social institutions.

WAINWRIGHT

Wainwright also exhibits the same basic institutional structures and processes as other North Slope communities. It has been selected as a field research site, however, because it offers some distinctive contrasts to Barrow and Kaktovik.

In terms of size, Wainwright is smaller than Barrow, but larger than Kaktovik. It is also closer to Barrow and other communities than Kaktovik. The frequency of scheduled airline flights and lower airfare costs make Wainwright much more accessible than Kaktovik. Increased contact with Barrow, which has experienced significant institutional change, may affect Wainwright's institutional development.

Wainwright's non-Inupiat population is smaller than Barrow's. This difference may allow for examination of the formation of non-Inupiat groups and their influence in institutional development. A recent study of Wainwright also suggests a mobile population which may affect institutional change.

Wainwright has experienced greater economic (capital) development as a result of the North Slope Borough's Capital Improvement Program. The expansion of the capital economy has affected institutional development.

Another difference of note is that both Wainwright and Barrow have dance groups. These groups perform for traditional occasions and for public events outside of the ceremonial setting. Kaktovik, on the other hand, does not have an organized dance group. The significance of these dance groups and their

acceptance or rejection by some western religious institutions should add to our understanding of institutional development.

The availability of a recent ethnographic study (Luton, 1984) which has direct application to the research period of this project was also an important consideration in the selection of Wainwright as a field research community.

On the North Slope, the villages are frequently the subjects of research and survey by city, borough, state and federal agencies. The North Slope Borough has conducted housing surveys in all villages nearly every year for the past six to eight years, and the subsistence division of ADF&G has been engaged in ongoing subsistence research in Kaktovik and Nuiqsut for the past five years. The selection of communities must be made in order to take advantage of the results of this work and also to avoid duplication of effort. In addition, it is necessary to coordinate the scheduling of site visits so that village residents are not overburdened with the tasks of researchers. This coordination may require the selection of alternative sites if substantial research efforts have been recent in a given village.

Although the existence of previous research is beneficial in the conduct of subsequent fieldwork, the extent of prior work may also be an indicator of the response of the community to new research. Wainwright has been the subject of substantial long-term research and several major community studies by social and natural scientists in recent years: a multiyear, multidisciplinary study of the human biology of the Inupiat population (sponsored in part by the U.S. Air Force Arctic Aeromedical

Laboratory and the Office of Naval Research, Naval Arctic Research Laboratory, under the aegis of the International Biological Program) during the 1950's and 1960's involved the village of Wainwright in studies of genetics, cardiovascular disorders, dentition, physiology, nutrition, growth, epidemiology, genealogical matrix, demography, and social culture. Several social Scientists conducted community studies under this program including Frederick Milan in 1955, Richard Nelson from 1964-66, and Jens Brosted during 1970. A more recent intensive research project was conducted in the community in 1982 under the sponsorship of the U.S. Minerals Management Service. In addition, the village has been the subject of numerous household surveys and study projects sponsored by local and regional government agencies since the mid-1970's.

Brosted (n.d., pp. 1-3) provides a sensitive account of his encounter with community disaffection towards research in the village in 1970, and he points out that it caused him to limit his research activities. Some residents expressed a similar response during our fieldwork on this project; they felt that the results of previous research should be adequate for current project requirements. For these reasons, we suggest that another village be selected as a site for future monitoring on the North Slope. We recommend the village of Nuiqsut because of its close proximity to onshore and offshore development areas. Another reason is that the Haul Road will soon be extended to this village.

In our experience with this and other research projects, we have noted that communities will vary in their responsiveness to being the subjects of intensive study. In another example, the community of Unalakleet reacted negatively to proposed research because citizens were not informed until after the project had begun (Jorgensen, 1984, pp.1-16). In selecting communities as subjects of the monitoring methodology, provision should be made for identifying those communities in which, for different reasons, research would be less productive. The opportunity to evaluate community response to planned field research is incorporated into this fieldwork plan (see below under Phase One).

The personal relationships between the contractors selected to do the monitoring and the community members in the villages selected as subjects are important for maximizing the results of the monitoring efforts. In describing an aspect of community response to his research, Brosted (n.d., p.2) reports that, in an Inupiat perspective, "participation in a project creates an involvement (sic); maybe not in in the project, if this is not understood, but definitely in the person behind it. An Inupiak (sic) does not forget a person he has known." This insight into the personal relationships that are inherent in successful fieldwork is familiar to anthropologists and one that should be considered in the decision to implement the sociocultural monitoring methodology in the future. The existence of such relationships between potential contractors and the communities under study should be a criterion for the selection of monitoring contractors .

Implicit in the task of monitoring sociocultural institutions is that the methodology will be carried out repetitively in the same communities on successive occasions. Consequently, implementation of the methodology entails the establishment of a long-term relationship between the sponsoring agency and the community. This may take place directly through contact between agency personnel and the selected communities or indirectly by means of interaction between the villagers and the researchers performing the monitoring data collection. We suggest that this element be considered carefully by the agency prior to the actual implementation of the monitoring methodology in each region. Similarly, with each formal organization and institution to be monitored, it may be valuable for the agency to establish direct links to ensure a productive relationship over the long term. It is possible that memoranda of understanding may be developed between MMS and certain organizations, such as the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission, for the monitoring of politically sensitive, but culturally salient, arenas.

Methods of Data Collection

Field research techniques are designed to provide a descriptive study of the interrelations between structure and "processes. The field research methods are also developed to elicit an historical analysis of North Slope institutions and their changes during the 1979-83 period. Data collection in the research communities will employ a basic anthropological approach including participant-observation, unstructured interviews, and archival research. The data obtained from one technique will be

cross-referenced and verified with other techniques to insure accuracy. It is anticipated that each research technique will provide data which may necessitate further data gathering utilizing one of the two other research techniques.

Prior to initiating data collection, key individuals in the formal organizations and communities will be advised of the research project. Permission will be obtained to review archival material which is not of a proprietary or sensitive nature.

PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATION

The researchers will attend every formal event or meeting which occurs while they are in the community. In these instances, data collection will be limited to observing and recording the number and role of the participants, their general category of age, sex, and ethnicity, the objective of the gathering or formal meeting, decision-making processes, and interaction among the participants. The investigators will obtain any written documents which may be distributed during the course of the meeting.

Observations made during the field period will be assessed each evening. The researchers will clarify any questions which may arise and also determine and verify their relevance to the 1979-83 period through unstructured interviews with the actual participants or by identifying and questioning others who were active during that period.

The first major event which will be observed is the Elders Conference scheduled during August 6-10, 1984, in Barrow. This meeting is essential to assess the emergence of invented tradi-

tionasdescribed by Eric Hobsbawn (1983). The data obtained from this conference will be assessed to determine its applicability to the 1979-83 period. This will be achieved through interviews with a select number of participants at the conference. Contact with the elders should also enhance access to the research communities

Data collection in informal organizations will be more conducive to participant-observation techniques. This approach will be particularly useful in gathering data about the household and extended family networks and interrelationships. Living in a private family home during the field research period will allow the investigators firsthand observations of interpersonal interactions and allow the investigators to pursue different topics through open-ended conversations. Data obtained during the participant-observation period will be reviewed daily to identify areas which should be pursued further in unstructured interviews.

UNSTRUCTURED DISCUSSION

Initially, key individuals in the formal institutions and communities will be identified from the available files in Anchorage, (i.e., North Slope Borough mayor, assembly members, administrative department heads, ASRC board of directors, management officers, etc.). A representative number from each of the organizations (including those expressing divergent views and positions) will be selected for unstructured interviews.

If time permits, another group of individuals from each of the organizations will be selected for interviews. These individuals will not be directly involved but will be those who have an

interest in the general organization or are affected by the activities of the institutions.

Unstructured interviews with members of informal organizations will not begin until after the first phase of the field research. During the first phase, general interviews will be initiated with select individuals to ensure that all informal groups have been identified. •

The unstructured interviews will consist of specific topics and questions which have been formulated prior to field research. They will generally adhere to the monitoring methodology framework of the North Slope institutions. Questions will be posed through open-ended conversations. Protocols were developed for each of the major formal institutions and for some of the key areas identified in the monitoring methodology. (See Appendix B.) Time limitations did not allow for a detailed investigation of several of the components discussed in the monitoring methodology. No attempt will be made to restrain respondents who may wish to expand or pursue other topics related to the institutions. The discussions will be recorded in a narrative form. Follow-up interviews may be initiated after a review of the data with particular individuals to clarify or to obtain further information as necessary.

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

Institutional data for each of the identified organizations will be collected from published and unpublished documents. Major actions and issues during the 1979-83 period will be identified during the first phase of the field research. Relevant

public records, including census data, household composition, policy statements, and organizational minutes will be reviewed and catalogued for the 1979-83 period. Basic variables which measure institutional change, such as size, increasing complexity of the structural components, and relationships with other organizations, will be recorded during the archival research. Data which reveal linkages to institutions external to the communities will also be recorded.

Fieldwork Design and Schedule

The fieldwork is designed to take place in three stages. The first field visit is planned as a preliminary site visit, with a duration of three to four days. The major field research will be conducted during the next phase. A period of two weeks in each of the villages, and four weeks in Barrow, is planned. The final phase of fieldwork consists of focused data collection concentrated on refining the specific indicators proposed in the initial monitoring methodology for short-term monitoring.

PHASE I

The objectives of Phase I are to advise key individuals personally in the formal and informal institutions about the project, to obtain the necessary approval to review public documents, to cross-check the institutions which have been identified in the North Slope literature review, and to identify any institutions which may have been overlooked in the literature review. This phase will also provide to the investigators an opportunity to make direct observations of recent changes and developments

and to make preliminary assessments of the magnitude of available " institutional records and data sources.

A second objective of Phase I field research is to evaluate the selection made prior to the initiation of the fieldwork of communities for subsequent monitoring. This assessment is to be accomplished in the course of exploring the monitoring tasks through informal discussions with key informant leaders and officers of the community organizations. By carefully examining their responses to a description of the project and requests for information planned in Phase II, an evaluation of the extent of participation can be made.

Preliminary site visits were planned to Barrow, Wainwright, and Kaktovik by the principal investigators. In the actual conduct of the task, the investigators found that the estimate of field time was inadequate, especially for Barrow. The complexity of institutional life in Barrow had increased beyond expectations, and the investigators devoted all the allotted time for Phase I in that village. In future monitoring research, we recommend that Phase I fieldwork be scheduled for 7 to 20 days in Barrow and 4 to 5 days in the smaller villages.

PHASE II

The objective of Phase II is to gather descriptive data on the North Slope institutions, including their organization and development and their linkages to other institutions, and to record data on the variables which have been identified in the methodology, to monitor change during the 1979-83 period. Phase II will be oriented towards intense data collection on formal and

informal institutions, families and population groups, and on elements of Inupiat perceptions, beliefs and values which will have been outlined in the monitoring methodology.

Review of the North Slope institutional data, and the experience of Phase I of the field research indicate that institutions have increased in number and complexity and that the years 1978-83 represent a period of extensive change. In Barrow, we observed a high level of institutional participation and involvement by community members. Also, the initial compilation showed that variables used to collect descriptive data and to assess change during the 1979-83 period are numerous and complex. The archival review of Worl's personal collection reveals that data collection will require a significant effort to review the voluminous files of the political institutions and population data which are located in Barrow and in Anchorage. Previous research indicates that the North Slope Borough's central files are not always systematic or complete.

The initial estimate of the fieldwork duration in Phase II was two weeks each in Wainwright and Kaktovik, and four weeks in Barrow. For the reasons described in the previous paragraph, we extended the research period in Barrow 'by two weeks, and hired a research assistant from the village to collect information from the records of various organizations. In addition, subsequent research of data sources available in Anchorage, including directed discussions with key individuals, was carried out. In all, the total fieldwork time in Phase II was 12 weeks.

In this project, the purpose of Phase II was more extensive than a direct performance of the monitoring methodology. As mentioned above, the major purpose of the field research was to develop an historical description and analysis of institutional development and change on the North Slope since the 1960's, with a particular concentration in the 1979-83 period. The time actually spent in Phase II, then, is not an accurate estimate of the length of field research time necessary to carry out the monitoring methodology. However, we should point out that not all of the monitoring indicators were included in the field research. The proper length of field time to follow the monitoring methodology is dependent upon the size and institutional complexity of the communities to be monitored? and upon the number of variables and indicators to be included in the monitoring assessment. We recommend a minimum of 2 weeks for communities of less than 200, 3 to 4 weeks for communities of 200-800, and from 4-12 weeks for larger communities.

PHASE III

The objective of Phase III is to test and refine the standardized methodology for monitoring institutional development and change.

It was proposed that the principal investigators would return to their respective research communities for a period of one week in each community (three weeks in total). The time available for Phase III was expanded in Phase II, including a return trip to Barrow to coordinate the work of the local field assistant. We recommend that, in a performance of the monitoring

task, a subsequent visit to the study communities during the analysis of result should provide for refinement of key data elements. Some of this work can be accomplished over the telephone, but if the Phase II effort were restricted in some manner, a field visit may be called for. This consideration represents a change in the initial estimates of fieldwork dates.

North Slope Institutions

Institutions are not always defined as "economic," "political," and "religious." Even in western formal institutions these spheres of influence overlap. For example, the North Slope Borough has been classified in the following outline as a political institution, but one of its major structural components is economic. Traditional institutions, such as "kinship and whaling networks, also appear to be a major sphere of influence in the North Slope Borough. The monitoring methodology is designed to allow the investigators to assess each institution and its interrelationships. The monitoring methodology identifies the variables (i.e. boundary-maintaining mechanisms, decisions making processes, etc.) that will guide the collection of data to provide a descriptive study of the institutions and their interrelationships. The methodology also outlines the variables and indicators utilized to assess institutional change during the 1979-83 period.

TRADITIONAL SOCIAL GROUPS

The monitoring methodology briefly describes the significance of extended family relations and their influence in other

major institutions (i.e., whaling complex, political and economic institutions). It also suggests that in spite of a rapid movement of extended family members into nuclear family dwellings, extended family networks and relationships remain viable. A minimum of 5 households in Kaktovik and Wainwright and 10 in Barrow will be randomly selected from the 1980 NSB housing census. They will be surveyed to determine current size and population. These same household members will also be interviewed to assess existing networks and relationships with kin members and friends living in other households and communities. The interviews will also be directed to determine extended family influence in other formal and informal institutions (i.e., whaling complex, NSB, ASRC).

Invented traditions, which are discussed in the literature review and monitoring methodology, make their appearance in the North Slope in the form of Elders Conferences and village dance groups. In addition to the current data the investigators have gathered, the 1979-83 history of these two groups will be obtained through archival research and interviews with members and staff of the NSB History and culture commission and each of the formal organizers of the dance groups. The administrative and appointed staff will be interviewed to determine current activities. The investigators will interview at least four members each of the elders and dancers (two of whom are a drummer and a singer). In addition, the single non-Inupiat male who is a member of the Barrow dance group will also be interviewed.

FORMAL INSTITUTIONS

For each of the formal institutions listed below, the elected policy board members (assembly, boards, councils) for the past two or three terms (dependent on the length of term) will be identified from archival records within each institution. The appointed members of each of the major commissions, committees or subsidiaries will also be identified for the same period. In addition, the elected or appointed administrator (mayor, president, director) and the headstaff of each major department will be identified for the same time period. The monitoring methodology outlines the leadership characteristic and the relationships of these individuals to extended family members which will be assessed during the fieldwork period.

Data gathering will be initiated to describe institutional structures, actions, and their focuses of interest. Data on significant changes and events during the 1979-83 period will be gathered from archival sources. Many of these events have been identified from sources in Anchorage. Interviews will be initiated with the key individuals in leadership positions to discuss these major issues and changes. The interview results will be cross-referenced against archival material.

Organizational records will be reviewed to determine, if possible, the number of individuals the organization employed during the research period and a breakdown by ethnic groups. Employment policies and recruitment patterns will be investigated through archival review and interviews with managers. A minimum of five employees (who may also have been selected and interviewed as extended family members) of each institution will also

be interviewed to discuss their roles and the social climate of the institutions.

Interviews with client/patrons (other than direct employees) of the different institutions will also be initiated primarily to gauge their participation and perceptions of effectiveness of the insitutional activities and services. An objective of the interviews is to determine if the institutions have been responsive to changing needs of the population.

POPULATION

Census data will be reviewed to determine growth of ethnic populations and their sex and age during the research period. Employment records will be reviewed to determine the types of positions they occupy. The investigators will interview a minimum of five from each ethnic grouping to identify the reasons they migrated to the North Slope and whether they view the North Slope as their permanent residence. Their participation in political activities (elections, public hearings, etc.) will also be evaluated. The investigators will also assess subjects' interrelationships with other ethnic and Inupiat groups.

SUMMARY OF NORTH SLOPE INSTITUTIONS

1. TRADITIONAL SOCIAL GROUPS

- A. Household (domestic)
- B. Extended Families (Local)
- C. Elders
- E. Dance Groups

2. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

A. North Slope Borough

1. Administrative Bodies
 - a. Office of the Mayor
 - b. Departments
 - c. External offices
 - (1) Anchorage
 - (2) Washington, D.C.
 - d. Contractors, consultants.
2. Legislative
 - a. Assembly
 - b. CUMunssicnls/Committees
 - c. Ordinances
 - (1) Authorities
 - (2) Powers
 - (3) Major Actions and Issues

B. Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope

1. Administrative
 - a. Executive Director
 - b. Departments
2. Legislative
 - a. Board of Directors
 - b. Committee
 - c. Codes
3. Judicial (Indian Child Welfare Act, judicial decisions.)

C. Local IRA Councils

1. Administrative
2. Legislative

D. City Councils

1. Administrative
 - a. City manager
 - b. Departments
2. Council

E. Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission

1. Commission Members
2. Scientific Office (NSB)
3. Political Office (ASRC)

F. AKOUNA-TC (association of North Slope villages)

G. Political Groups

1. Democratic/Republican Parties
2. Womens Organizations

3. ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

A. Subsistence

1. Family
2. Extended Family Hunting Groups
3. Partners
4. Whaling Crews

B. Local Whaling Captains Association

1. Captains
2. Codes

C. Village Corporations

1. Board of Directors
2. Management
3. Shareholders
4. Subsidiaries
5. Joint Ventures
6. Affiliates
7. Land Status

D. Arctic Slope Regional Corporation

1. Board of Directors
2. Management
3. Shareholders
4. Subsidiaries
5. Joint Ventures
6. Affiliates
7. Land Status

E. Private Businesses

F. Inupiat Entrepreneurs

4. EDUCATION

A. School Boards

B. Parental Advisory Committees

C. Administration/Faculty/Aides

1. Inupiats
2. non-Inupiats

D. Student population

APPENDIX A

Haul Road Actions 1978-83

1978

North Slope Borough, February
Proposed land-use management system for the haul road and other highways, Winter 1977-78, a report of borough plans, proposals, and recommendations prepared for the joint borough-state-BLM haul road planing meeting in Fairbanks.

NSB Planning Commission and Assembly Resolutions, March
opposing any opening of the haul road north of the Yukon to the general public, except for a controlled tour bus.

NSB Assembly, April
unanimously approved a tour bus franchise for Tundra Tours (ASRC subsidiary) for haul road use

City of Anaktuvuk Pass Resolution, August 31, 1978
designating haul road area of critical local concern and notifying NSB, ICAS, ASRC, state and federal governments.

City of Anaktuvuk Pass Resolution Number 78-5
declaring critical subsistence caribou problems in the haul road area and seeking assistance from state and federal governments, Alyeska and Northwest Pipeline Companies, and NSB.

City of Anaktuvuk Pass Resolution Number 78-6
declaring a local district around village designated for subsistence use and asking the borough Planning Commission for special zoning of the area.

Memorandum of Understanding between state and NSB on haul road management.

NSB Assembly Resolution Serial Number 21-78, September
recommended sites for state highway maintenance camps at north (Prudhoe Bay) and south (Chandalar Camp) ends of the borough lands and basic maintenance camp policy

NSB Planning Commission, October
approved maintenance camp at Chandalar, proposed alternative site at mid-way location (Pump Station 3).

Public Hearing on BLM's Utility Corridor Management Plan, Barrow, November 20, 1978
Mayor Hopson stated that their plan would have to be formally approved by the NSB Planning Commission (as provided in the new borough ordinance 78-21 on transportation passed in earlier in the month).

19'79

NSB Planning Commission, February
approval of a special Historic District overlay zone in the
Galbraith Lake area.

NSB Assembly, March
approval of a special Historic District overlay zone in the
Galbraith Lake area.

North Slope Borough, March
Publication: An Analysis of Historic Preservation Alternatives
Along the Alaska Pipeline Haul Road and Utility Corridor.

NSB Planning Department, May
Publication: Resource Inventory Galbraith Lake, including survey
of history, traditional use, archeological and ecological
resources.

Joint State/Federal Fish and Wildlife Advisory Team, August
Construction-Related Impacts of Trans-Alaska Pipeline System on
Terrestrial Wildlife Habitats report.

Bureau of Land Management, September
The Utility Corridor Land Use Decisions were issued, the final
BLM management framework plan

Arctic Slope Regional Corporation? November
through its subsidiary, Tundra Tours, applied for a hearing on
application for a tour bus franchise to the Alaska Transportation
Commission.

1980

NSB Planning Department, January
Draft Comprehensive Policy Plan for the Haul Road Area.

Tundra Tours, February
requested the ATC to postpone further action on the granting of
tour bus franchises until 1981.

City of Anaktuvuk Pass Resolution No. 80-5, February 21
unanimously approving the NSB Planning Department Comprehensive
Plan for the Haul Road Area.

NSB Planning Commission Resolution Serial No. 80-4, March 4
unanimously opposing any public opening of the haul road north of
the Yukon for any purpose other than a controlled tour bus.

NSB Planning Commission Resolution No. 80-2, March 4
adopting a Comprehensive Policy Plan for the Haul Road Corridor.

Bureau of Land Management, May 2 ,
reported to the borough that the Sagwon area would be examined in
the summer (for presence of abandoned equipment, gear, and trash)
and the lessee required to rectify any discrepancies.

NSB Planning Department, June
Publication: NSB Comprehensive Policy Plan for the Haul Road
Area.

NSB Assembly Resolution No. 18-80, June 4
approving a comprehensive Policy Plan for the Haul Road Corridor.

Alaska State Legislature, June
amended Section 19.40 of Alaska Statutes to allow public access
on the haul road north of the Yukon at least as far as Dietrich
Camp.

Alaska State Legislature
passed legislation to start replacing culverts along the haul
road with bridges.

United States congress, December 2
passed Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA),
Sections 1112 (a), (b), and (c) pertaining to the haul road,
which releases state from payback of federal highway funds with
haul road access restricted to industrial traffic and regulated
buses.

1983

North Slope Borough, January 1
adoption of Comprehensive Land Use Plan which did not reference
special haul road district or policy.

Alaska Department of Transportation and Public Facilities
proposed removing public access checkpoint at Dietrich Camp

1984

NSB Planning Department
development of revised Comprehensive Policy Plan for the Haul
Road Area for inclusion in the NSB Comprehensive Plan, review and
comment by Anaktuvuk Pass

APPENDIX B

Selective Chronology of Litigation Concerning
North Slope Oil and Gas Lease Programs 1979-1983

- 11/79 NSB v. Hammond filed. (NSB joined by City of Barrow, and Villages of Nuiqsut and Point Hope).
- 12/5/79 Kaktovik, Wainwright, Point Lay, and Anaktuvuk Pass joined in an parrallel NSB v. Hammond.
- 12/7/79 Superior Court denied preliminary injunction in NSB v Hammond.
- 12/79 In NSB v Andrus, NSB, Kaktovik and environmentalist groups filed for an injunction against federal part of the BF sale. The injunction was denied.
- 1/80 US District Court, in NSB v Andrus, enjoined the federal government from accepting bids on the federally managed tracts, citing need for a new EIS and a new biological opinion on bowhead whales.
- 3/80 Department of Interior appealed decision in NSB v Andrus.
- 6/12/80 Superior Court judgement in NSB v Hammond, finds for the state except with respect to best interest finding on effects on subsistence practices.
- 6/27/80 Court prohibited exploration on State Leases under BF Sale, pending new best interest finding.
- 9/10/80 In further ruling on NSB v Hammond Court held that state's data were sufficient to support best interest determination inside the barrier islands, but continued prohibition on activity outside the barrier islands. Stayed pending appeal.
- 7/80 In NSB v. Andrus, US Court of Appeals overhurred the lower court ruling, finding for the Department of Interior.
- 10/80 Appeals and cross appeals filed on Superior Court decision in NSB v Hammond and related cases.
- 11/80 In NSB v Andrus, petition for rehearing denied, Appeals Court decision sustained.

- 1/81 Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope (ICAS), joined by the Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation (UIC) filed suit asserting sovereignty over the offshore waters of the North Slope in ICAS v. Watt.
- 5/81 In Trustees for Alaska v Watt, environmentalists joined by Kaktovik, challenged Secretary's transfer of responsibility from USFWS to USGS, contending that wildlife would not be sufficiently protected.
- 11/2/81 US District Court, ruling in Trustees for Alaska v. Watt, held that Secretary erred, and that new regulations and a new EIS must be prepared under USFWS auspices.
- 5/82 Alaska Supreme Court decision on State's appeal in NSB v Hammond and related cases. Sustained lower court decisions in favor of the State positions.
- 10/82 In case of ICAS v Watt, US District Court judgement handed down, rejecting claim of external sovereignty for Inupiat over offshore lands.
- 10/8/82 NSB v Watt filed to challenge the process by which the federal offshore seasonal drilling restriction was revised.
- n/82 Appeal filed against decision in ICAS v Watt.
- 1/83 Summary judgement granted to Department of Interior in NSB v Watt,
- 3/4/83 IRA councils for Gambell and Stebbins file suit against Norton Basin OCS Sale in Gambell v Watt. Allege that Secretary failed to protect subsistence rights under ANILCS Sec 810 or, alternatively, under federal trust responsibility. Preliminary injunction denied.
- 4/14/83 In Gambell v Watt, the Department of Interior was granted a summary judgement.
- 7/83 Kunaknana v Clark filed contesting NPRA 5 yr leasing program for failure to observe ANILCA 810. Preliminary injunction issued.
- 10/83 Appeal filed by ICAS in ICAS v US.
- 10/83 Villages appeal in Gambell v Watt.
- 12/83 At trial in Kunaknana v Clark, District Court decided in favor of BLM, overturning preliminary injunction.
- 3/84 Summary judgement in NSB v Watt. (Appeal filed but withdrawn on July 13, 1984).

- 9/84 Court of Appeals decision on Appeal in Kunaknana sustained lower court decision exonerating BLM.
- 11/2/84 Court of Appeals decision in Gambell v Clark (formerly Gambel v Watt). Judgement held that aboriginal hunting and fishing rights in the offshore area were extinguished by ANCSA, but contrary to the lower Court's view, held that requirements of ANILCA Sec 810 extend to the offshore zone. Remanded matter of remedy to lower Court.
- 11/2/84 In ICAS v Watt, Court of Appeals affirmed lower Court. Petition for rehearing denied.
- 12/84 Decision in State of Alaska v Watt still pending.

APPENDIX C

Organizations and Groups to be Monitored for Institutional Change and Response on the North Slope

FEDERAL

U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Arctic National Wildlife
Refuge (Anchorage)

Bureau of Land Management, NPR-A and Native Allotment/Townsite
Trustee Offices (Anchorage)

National Park Service, Gates of the Arctic National Park
(Anchorage)

Minerals Management Service, Alaska OCS Region (Anchorage)

U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Solicitor
(Anchorage)

National Oceanic and Atmospheric Agency (Juneau)

STATE

Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Subsistence Division
(Juneau)

Alaska Department of Natural Resources, Division of Minerals
and Energy Management (Anchorage)

Office of Coastal Zone Management (Juneau)

Alaska State Legislature (Juneau)

NORTH SLOPE

North Slope Borough: Mayor's Office, Departments, External
Offices, Contractors and consultants, Assembly, Commissions and
Committees, Ordinances and Authorities, Employees

Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope: Executive Director's
Office, Departments, Board of Directors, Committees, Codes

Village IRA Councils

Village City Councils: Mayor's Office, City Manager,
Departments

Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission: Membership, Scientific
Office (NSB) , Political Office (ASRC)

Village Whaling Captains Associations: President, Membership

AKOUNA-TC

Arctic Slope Regional Corporation: Management, Divisions and
Subsidiaries, Board of Directors

*

Village Native Corporations: 'Management, Divisions and
Subsidiaries, Board of Directors

Entrepreneurs

Political Parties and Organizations

North Slope School District: Administration and Programs,
School Board, Parental Advisory Committee, Students

Population Characteristics: Ethnicity, Household Structure

Extended Families: Visiting, Sharing, Subsistence Task Groups,
Networks, Family Roles, Adoption, Partnerships, Namesakes

Voluntary Organizations: Dance Groups, Mothers Club, Search
and Rescue, National Guard

churches

All of the above were contacted in the course of this research,
with the exception of National Park Service, National Oceanic and
Atmospheric Agency, Office of Coastal Zone Management, and
AKOUNA-TC.

APPENDIX D

St. George and Navarin Basin Methodology for Monitoring Institutional Change and Response

Introduction

The purpose of this appendix is to review the monitoring methodology for institutional change developed for the North Slope component of the study. This review, necessary to determine requisite changes, will extend the methodology's application to the St. George and Navarin regions of western Alaska. The communities and populations considered relevant for purposes of this review were the southern Bering Sea and the western Alaska Peninsula including the Pribilof Islands (St. Paul and St. George), Unalaska-Dutch Harbor, Akutan, False Pass, Nelson Lagoon, Sand Point, King Cove, and Cold Bay. These selections were based on our judgment that these communities had the highest probability of experiencing change due to oil exploration and development activities.

In the remainder of this technical appendix, basic distinctions between the communities of the St. George and Navarin Basin regions and the North Slope will be identified. The distinctions among St. George and Navarin Basin communities will then be noted in order to establish three different groupings of communities for subsequent analytical purposes. Finally, an assessment of the areas of modification in the monitoring methodology designed for the North Slope area for each of the three groupings of communities will be made. Since application of the methodology to these communities is not a part of this study, it was deemed

beyond the scope of work to design specific protocols as part of the appendix.

General Differences Between the North Slope and the St. George and Navarin Basin Regions

A number of economic, political and cultural differences of substantial magnitude distinguish the North Slope communities from those of the southern Bering Sea and western Alaska Peninsula. First, the ethnicity of the indigenous residents is different in that Aleuts are the primary Alaskan Native residents of St. George and Navarin Basin communities as opposed to the Inupiat of the North Slope. From this ethnic difference and its historical development since contact with Euro-American populations emanate a number of crucial differences between the indigenous residents of the respective areas.

One major source of difference between the two groups has been their history of contact. Unlike the North Slope Inupiat, who did not suffer a direct colonial experience, the Aleut populations of the southern Bering Sea endured a traumatic and devastating Russian occupation which reduced their numbers substantially, altered their cultural existence, and established the permanent Aleut population of the Pribilofs. One critical component of contemporary Aleut culture is the Russian Orthodox faith which continues to have considerable vitality in many of these communities.

During World War II, the Aleuts of the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands endured a refugee period when they were relocated to camps in southeastern Alaska. Upon returning to their communi-

ties, they found their homes and much of their personal property missing or destroyed. Claims for those damages and the relocation experience are presently before the U.S. Congress.

Both a review of the literature and the researcher's personal knowledge of communities of the southern Bering Sea and the western Alaska Peninsula indicate that these communities cannot be treated with a single revision of the methodology. In part, this impossibility stems from the lower degree of integration among Aleut communities than those found on the North Slope. Several institutions overlap all or many of the communities under discussion to some degree, (the Aleut Corporation, the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association and the Aleutian REAA); however, the area lacks the political unification and identification which has arisen on the North Slope and which is reinforced by the correspondence between the political boundaries of the North Slope Borough and the ICAS and by the economic boundaries of the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation. Consequently, change tends to be more community-specific in the St. George and Navarin Basin areas than it is on the North Slope since there are no broad regional institutions to define, structure, and respond to changes.

Perhaps of greatest significance in distinguishing between these communities and those of the North Slope are the recent experiences with economic development. The borough's ability to raise revenue and create jobs through taxation of oil development on the North Slope has no parallel in the southern Bering Sea. The crab boom of the mid-1970's to the early 1980's produced sub-

stantial growth and investment in Unalaska-Dutch Harbor and Akunatan but has petered out dramatically in the last two years. Perhaps more importantly, these activities were generated by the private sector with little or no indigenous control over them (Impact Assessment, 1983a). The hoped-for-revolution in the Bering Sea bottomfishery has yet to achieve expectations for relieving the economic downturn in Unalaska. The North Slope parallel to these private sector enterprises would be the actual operation of the oilfields at Prudhoe Bay, activities which the Inupiat have virtually no involvement in and little control over. The existence of the North Slope Borough creates a radically different political and economic climate on the North Slope from that in the southern Bering Sea.

The economic situation in the Pribilofs is probably even more tenuous than that of Unalaska-Dutch Harbor following the pullout of the federal government from subsidization of the fur-seal harvest in 1983. The shock of this dramatic turn of events and the struggle to build a harbor and an economy based in part on fishing will tax the ability of the Pribilof Aleuts to survive.

Even the prosperous salmon and crab-fishing communities of the western Alaska Peninsula have slumped economically due to the collapse of crab stocks, lack of regulatory protection from non-local fishing boats, and the drop in salmon prices and run size in the past two years.

Taken together, these factors alone indicate a tremendously different socioeconomic and sociocultural environment for the St. George and Navarin Basin communities from that found on the North Slope.

Subgroupings in the St. George and Navarin Basin Areas

Despite the community-level specificity of change in the southern Bering Sea region, subgrouping of communities with at least some common characteristics make them amenable to similar kinds of analysis. Literature and personal knowledge suggest that three different modifications appear to be in order to apply the North Slope methodology to the southern Bering Sea communities. The two Pribilof Islands Communities are distinct from the other communities under discussion due to a number of factors including their isolation, their long-term dependence on fur-seal harvesting for economic and cultural purposes, the recent dramatic changes in the political and economic status of the residents and the pending political and economic developments in the islands (which require separate attention as a distinct subgrouping) .

The communities of Unalaska-Dutch Harbor and Cold Bay are distinct from the other communities in that they are white-majority communities with populations of vastly different histories, cultures, and aspirations from the Native-dominated communities which the methodology was designed to monitor. In addition, these two communities have sharp differences between them in terms of their history, economic foundation, and ethnic mixture which requires supplementary attention in monitoring sociocultural change. Akutan falls most easily into this grouping because of the importance of processing as opposed to harvesting as the foundation of the community and its linkage to Unalaska

(Impact Assessment, 1983a). It, too, however is distinctive in its own way, being a small Aleut community dominated by a massive transient fish-processing industry (Impact Assessment, 1983a).

Finally, the Aleut-dominated fishing communities of the western Alaska Peninsula are distinct from the other two groups of communities in their composition. Three of the four contemporary communities are composed of a population which combines Scandinavian and northern European with Aleut ancestry. Their 20th century heritage of commercial fishing as a way of life and an economic foundation is also distinct from the other communities. In addition, the new political initiatives presently under consideration as possible sources of future direction also set these communities apart from others in the region.

Modifications in Monitoring Methodology

This section will discuss specific modifications necessary in the methodology in order to apply it to St. George and Navarin Basin areas. The basic outline of the monitoring methodology document will be followed as the applicability of each of the seven cultural domains and the six types of change are considered.

WHALING COMPLEX

Of the seven domains identified as important to the understanding of cultural change on the North Slope, the one with the least applicability to the St. George and Navarin Basin areas is the whaling-complex. Two comments should be made about the role of the whaling-complex in North Slope Inupiat culture in order to

consider the implications of the institution for these communities. First, the whaling-complex is a cultural institution which has persisted for hundreds, perhaps even thousands of years and as such is a major source of cultural identification and nutritional well-being. Second, it is a central institution which links together the Inupiat population and orients many aspects of daily living. The first question which should be considered is, Are there similar institutions which accomplish these ends in the communities of the southern Bering Sea? This report looks at each of the subgroupings of communities to address this question.

The centrality of the fur-seal harvest to the lives of the Pribilof Aleuts is the clearest candidate for a one-for-one replacement of the Whaling-complex in the methodology. Although the fur-seal harvest is central to the life and culture of the Pribilof Aleuts, its functional role is not precisely congruent with that of the whaling-complex. First, it has certainly been more central to the economic well-being of the Aleuts in the recent past than has the whaling-complex for the North Slope Inupiat. The reason is that the vast majority of cash income on the Pribilofs was linked either directly to the harvesting, processing, and utilization of the fur-seals or indirectly to federal positions maintained on the islands in support of the harvest. The whaling-complex did not provide the majority of the cash to North Slope Inupiat. Second, although an important subsistence resource to Pribilof Aleuts (Veltre, 1982), it does not appear to be as large a component in the Aleut diet as whale meat is in the Inupiat diet (Orbach and Holmes, 1982; also Peterson, 1978). Thirdly, although the fur-seal harvest activates

substantial networks' of cooperation and interaction, it tends to be more in the context of work-related duties than in the context of volitional self-defining activities as is the case with the whaling-complex. The whaling-complex with its emphasis on giving, sharing, joint-work, and its reinforcement through the round of seasonal celebrations (each calling forth whale products for consumption) appears to integrate the Inupiat in more ways than does the fur-seal harvest for the Pribilof Aleuts. A final point of departure is that the fur-seal harvest may not be quite as central to the identity of the Pribilof Aleuts because throughout its history it has been an administered hunt, that is, controlled first by Russians and then by Americans, and because it is not linked to a substrate of indigenous beliefs and values about the relationship of the human population to the animal population. At the same time, the 200-year history of the islander's relationship to the fur-seals is certainly substantial and the present 'threat being posed to the conduct of the hunt by the "human-iac" element of the conservationist movement may raise its importance in the identity of and cultural importance to the Pribilof Aleuts.

The fur-seal harvest does represent an institution of sufficient centrality among the Pribilof Aleuts to warrant a separate domain of consideration; however, due to its functional role in Pribilof Aleut culture, the monitoring methodology would have to be adjusted to reflect these differences.

In the fishing communities of the western Alaska Peninsula, there is neither a whaling-complex nor a fur-seal harvest. There

is, however, commercial fishing, particularly salmon, as a way of life. This activity is central to the identity and 'economy of residents of these four communities and if there is any complex which could be broken out as a separate domain for consideration parallel to the whaling-complex it would be commercial fishing. However, this domain is even further removed from the whaling complex in the culture of the western Alaska Peninsula Aleut communities than is the fur-seal harvest. Two reasons for this difference are the comparatively more recent appearance of commercial fishing as a way of life than either of the other institutions, (it is only a 20th century phenomenon], and its heavy commercial/economic importance. To the extent that it merely provides a way to earn money, it is less central to the cultural identity of the residents. Despite its commercial/economic significance, it is also a cornerstone of the identity of western Alaska Peninsula communities and residents. It is also less central in that it does not activate the degree of cooperation on a community level found in either the whaling-complex or the fur-seal harvest even though it does call upon kin and friendship networks which often extend beyond the boundaries of any community. On the other hand, the requirements for any intercommunity political organization (the Peninsula Marketing Association) to address commercial fishing regulations at the state board of fisheries level provide a different dimension to commercial fishing as a way of life than for the whaling-complex and the fur-seal harvest.

In seeking a central cultural institution parallel to the whaling-complex in Unalaska-Dutch Harbor, it must be borne in

mind that the community is ethnically heterogeneous with a white majority, a substantial minority of non-Native Filipino, Vietnamese, and other groups, and a lesser Aleut minority. The Aleut minority has been overrun by a community built on the comparative advantage of processing seafood from the productive waters nearby. There is no such central institution for the white majority and it is unlikely that there is one for the nonwhite majority. Downs (1984) has recently suggested that subsistence activities in general have become a major focus of ethnic identification among the Unalaska Aleut population as a means of distinguishing themselves as distinctive and shoring up an identity eroded by the forces of culture change.

The community of Cold Bay is quite simply a transient site with a small core of residents attempting to create a more stable community (Impact Assessment, 1983b). As such, it has no central cohesive institution which mobilizes the population and links the people together into a relatively cohesive population.

In summary, the whaling-complex domain requires total and different modification to be applicable to the Pribilof communities and to the commercial fishing communities, but there is no such central institution for Unalaska-Dutch Harbor and Cold Bay and it must therefore be deleted in monitoring cultural change in those communities.

FAMILY

Families (i.e. kinship) play important roles in the maintenance of human societies. Kinship, however, as a determiner of economic, political, and social position in human societies tends

to decline with industrialization and wage labor, primarily due to the fact that kin groups no longer control the means of production. Consequently, the degree to which families continue to be significant in determining who fills job positions, political positions, and other positions in the society is an important indicator of the degree to which a local community is integrated into national and international economic systems. .

In terms of the importance of family as a domain in each of the community subgroupings identified above, it is likely to be more salient and more indicative of the nature of sociocultural system in the Pribilofs and the western Alaska Peninsula than in Unalaska-Dutch Harbor and Cold Bay. It would be important in Unalaska, however, to differentiate the importance of family as a sociocultural determiner for the different ethnic groups--namely the white majority, the Filipino and other Oriental minorities, and the Aleut minority.

In summary, the family domain and the variables identified under it should have broad applicability to the Subgrouping of southern Bering Sea communities. It is expected, however, that there will be substantial differences between the communities on the role of family (kinship) in the community and the content of such variables as family socialization roles and family values. The latter are likely to diverge along ethnic and cultural lines.

LEADERSHIP

Leadership and the directions leadership pursues will be critical in the next decade or so in determining the future characteristic of many rural Alaskan communities. At the same

time, the comparative advantage of location and proximity to resource development will probably be even more significant.

'This should not, however, diminish the importance of considering the process of establishing leaders and the direction and efficacy of that leadership.

In conceptualizing the category of leadership of the North Slope study, we emphasized the Inupiat character of that leadership by identifying as variables the importance of Inupiat values in the selection of leaders and in the relationship among leaders. Implicit in that selection of variables were the values of Inupiat leaders which would determine the directions they sought to take for the Inupiat people. A substantial modification of the variable-set of the leadership domain will be required to make this domain relevant to the three subgrouping of southern Bering Sea communities. But the greater importance of this domain in the southern Bering Sea communities, at least in the short-term, stems from the political evolutionary process underway in these communities as the present time. The questions of political organization and structural relationship among organizations is much more structured on the North Slope than it is in the southern Bering Sea; consequently, greater emphasis should be placed on monitoring political organization and its change than is required on the North Slope.

This domain should be expanded dramatically for all of the three subgrouping of communities in the southern Bering Sea but with different emphases. The survival of the Pribilof Island communities depends on the ability of the leaders to obtain

funding for infrastructural development, to negotiate access to fisheries with the regulatory regimes, to protect the fur-seal harvest, and to insure the flow of economic resources necessary for their survival of the islands by establishing appropriate and successful relationships with national and international private enterprises. The emphasis in the Pribilof Islands on leadership should thus stress monitoring the directions chosen in these areas and the process of leadership identification. As Orbach and Holmes (1982) have noted, a key characteristic of life in the Pribilofs is the dominance of administrative culture and the political interaction among different organizations for centrality in the economic and political life of the islands. Another critical element in the leadership of the Pribilof communities will be the ability to transcend factionalism and mistrust to establish between the people the cooperation and trust which will likely be necessary to their survival. Since the most important cultural institution in the islands is the Russian Orthodox Church, the importance of the affiliation of leaders with this institution will be necessary to monitor.

In the western Alaska Peninsula area, leadership is presently important in developing regional integration at a higher political level than has heretofore existed. The East Aleutians Coastal Resource Service Area, created in 1982, brought the communities of Sand Point, King Cove, Cold Bay, Nelson Lagoon and False Pass into a joint political alignment for the first time. A workshop at which visitors from the Shetlands Islands explored their experience in working with oil development in the North Sea appears to have spurred a new interest in examining the possibil-

ities for borough government in the western peninsula area. The leadership which emerges to consider this new direction and the actual direction developed will be crucial to the future of this subgroupings should oil be discovered either in the St. George Basin or the North Aleutian Shelf, and should that sale ultimately take place. A major factor to be monitored is the degree to which the traditional fishermen continue either to mandate or to have major influence in the directions which are taken.

Leadership and political development are less important in Llnalaska-Dutch Harbor than in the other subgroupings in the southern Bering Sea due to the relatively stabilized political structure. Of importance in this setting, however, are the characteristics of and the directions taken by the minority Aleut leadership. It must negotiate a positive path for the corporation and its minority shareholders who face a majority hostile to the land assets and objectives of the Aleut minority (Impact Assessment, 1983a).

In summary, the leadership domain, particularly as it pertains to political organization and evolution in the Pribilofs and the western Peninsula requires substantial modification from the North Slope methodology. This requirement is due to the greater degree of instability in this domain in the southern Bering Sea at the present time and the importance of the outcomes of activities in this domain to the future of the communities.

OTHER CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

In the North Slope methodology, the other-cultural-institutions domain was specifically identified to monitor the continu-

ity of Inupiat culture in the lives of North Slope residents. As such it must be completely redefined to be applicable in the southern Bering Sea. Since its purpose on the North Slope was to monitor the continuity of the indigenous culture, it may even be eliminated as a domain of consideration in certain southern Bering Sea locations.

The Pribilof Aleuts are distinct among the communities of the southern Bering Sea area in the importance played by the Russian Orthodox church in the community (Orbach and Holmes, 1982; also Smythe, 1982, 1983). Given the importance of the Russian Orthodox faith, its associated ceremonial and ritual cycle, its leadership and governance institutions, its establishment of norms for behavior and sanctions for violations of those norms, it would be appropriate to demarcate the church as a separate domain of cultural change for monitoring. Its centrality to the lives of the people and its stabilizing influence in the face of stress and hardship make it a crucial cultural institution. A separate set of variables should be identified to monitor the place of the church in the lives of the Pribilof Aleut communities.

There are other elements to the Pribilof Aleut culture which should also be identified for separate treatment. These include subsistence activities which are important identity-reinforcing activities and the use, both symbolic and functional, of the Aleut language. One additional dimension that could be added to this list is the proportion of the population literate in the Russian Aleut orthography in which church materials have been written for centuries.

In Unalaska-Dutch Harbor the dilemma posed by this category is the heterogeneity of the population. Since the continuity of the indigenous culture cannot be made a major monitoring objective for this community, it might be appropriate to delete it as a separate, communitywide domain of cultural change. Some attention should be directed, however, to the cultural institutions and vitality of those institutions among both the Aleut and the other nonwhite minority populations in the community.

In Cold Bay, the major domain of other cultural institutions is the recreational or fraternal voluntary associations which focus much of the interest and activities in this highly transient community. Some attention should be paid to their role in this community as well as to possible changes in their objectives from merely recreational/leisure to community development or public service organizations. Either or both developments might indicate establishment of a more stable core of residents wishing to make Cold Bay a community.

The western Alaska Peninsula commercial fishing communities have neither traditional cultural institutions of a social nature nor persisting use of the Aleut language for symbolic or functional purposes. They also lack, with several exceptions, allegiance to the Russian Orthodox faith so salient in the Pribilofs. Important focuses of cultural elaboration in these communities tend to revolve around kinship, fishing as a way of life, subsistence activities, and community autonomy and control. Although attention should be paid to the role of the Russian Orthodox church in King Cove and False Pass, an equally important aspect of cultural change in King Cove and Sand Point is the growth and

influence of new forms of Protestantism, typically of a fundamentalist nature. Separate variables to monitor this area of culture change will be required.

In sum, the Other-cultural-institutions domain requires complete and different reformulation for each of the identified subgroupings of southern Bering Sea communities. In the Pribilof Islands, a separate domain for the Russian Orthodox church should be elaborated in addition to Aleut-specific cultural institution variables. The domain is likely to be more important in the Pribilofs than on either the North Slope or in the other Bering Sea communities. In Unalaska-Dutch Harbor, the heterogeneity of the community requires attention to whether there are distinct cultural institutions for the different ethnic segments of the population or whether there is general participation in the generic, modern, American-community institutions such as voluntary associations, school-generated activities, and sports. The domain likely will be less important here than in either the North Slope or the Pribilofs. Finally, in the western Alaska Peninsula fishing communities, it is unclear precisely how to reformulate the domain at the present time.

LAND AND SEA

The land-and-sea domain appears to be almost directly transferable from the North Slope case to the southern Bering Sea in its general form, and will require only modifications to be germane to each of the cases. One additional element needed for monitoring cultural change in the western Alaska Peninsula fishing villages is the number of limited entry fishing permits

held by residents of each community and the effects of extending limited entry to other fisheries. As noted previously, a greater degree of emphasis will need to be placed on monitoring the development of initiatives for regional integration and governance occurring in the western Alaska Peninsula area.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Although the economic-development domain is relevant to all of the southern Bering Sea communities, the variable composition will have to significantly altered to reflect local circumstances. There is no borough extracting revenues for redistribution in the southern Bering Sea. More effort will be required to monitor the divergent attempts to influence state and federal policies and activities from the different communities. The lack of central direction for the southern Bering Sea region, however, may change. If so, this change will be movement of considerable significance.

At the present time, economic development activities are primarily the purview of private sector enterprises, be they individual fishermen, Native and non-Native entrepreneurs, corporate canneries, village corporations, and regional corporations. The one major exception to this rule is the Pribilof Islands which has a greater degree of governmental, local, state and federal, direct- importance in the economies, but even here the level of influence is substantially below that of the North Slope Borough on recent economic activities within its boundaries. Major areas for attention under this topic include the development of bottomfish processing throughout the region, the

development of commercial fishing in the Pribilofs which is presently seen as an important component of a stable economy for the islands (Smythe, 1983), and the ability of the Pribilofs to maintain or enhance the contribution of the fur-seal harvest to their commercial economy.

Maintaining local control over development activities and insuring that traditional, local residents are the beneficiaries of new economic development are a major concern in both the Pribilofs and the western Alaska Peninsula communities. In both those locales, residents assert their desire to maintain the essential quality of their communities and not be inundated and become like Unalaska. The degree to which activities of local governments, village corporations, and, to a lesser extent, the regional corporation pursue this course will be important to monitor.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

The social-differentiation domain is also highly relevant to the processes of cultural change being experienced in the southern Bering Sea. Two important additional variables to add, but not present in the North Slope version of the monitoring methodology, are economic stratification and religious diversity. Over time, the impact of limited entry in the western Alaska Peninsula fishing villages will likely have important consequences in economic stratification in the community. Religious factionalism is the second important additional variable, as Unalaska-Dutch Harbor, King Cove and Sand Point all have in their communities several religious faiths which appear to be active in influencing com-

munity policies on various issues (Langdon and Toboski, 1982; also Impact Assessment, 1983).

Other than these additional variables of importance to monitor in the southern Bering Sea, the North Slope set merely requires modification to address specific local conditions in each of the three subgrouping of communities.

Summary

In closing, a number of critical modifications in the monitoring methodology designed for the North Slope case study to be applied to the St. George and Navarin Basin regions have been identified. These stem for the most part from the differing economic, political, and cultural characteristics of the communities of the southern Bering Sea. Major dissimilarities in the characteristics of the communities of the southern Bering Sea region required creation of three subgrouping to adequately capture distinctions among them for monitoring cultural change. Important general points of difference which distinguish southern Bering Sea communities from the North Slope include:

- Aleut ethnicity of indigenous residents in the southern Bering Sea
 - Lack of regional ethnic identity
 - Lack of regional political organization
 - Greater community autonomy
 - Greater ethnic heterogeneity within communities
 - Substantial economic and cultural differences between communities (resulted in conceptualizing three subgrouping)
 - Private sector economic base
 - Commercial fishing and processing as key economic activities
 - Russian Orthodox Church as key cultural institution for many of the Aleut
 - Significant religious differences

These contrasts were determined to require different degrees of modification in the seven cultural domains and associated variables identified for monitoring cultural change on the North Slope. The suggested modifications in the domains can be summarized as follows:

WHALING COMPLEX - Total replacement of domain; fur-seal harvest and commercial fishing as a way of life were identified as central cultural institutions to replace it for certain communities.

FAMILY - Retention of domain; particularly applicable to the Pribilofs and western Alaska Peninsula.

LEADERSHIP - Expansion of domain; importance of political developments to future survival of the Pribilofs and direction of the western Alaska Peninsula communities.

OTHER CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS - Total replacement of domain; substitution of Russian Orthodox Church for the Pribilofs and attention to the significance of churches and voluntary associations in other communities.

LAND AND SEA - Retention of domain; addition of limited entry permit system to variables.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT! - Modification of domain; increase emphasis on private sector role and conflict between ethnic factions to control economic development.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION - Retention of domain; addition of economic stratification to the variable list.

At this point it might be attractive to some to develop a generic methodology for monitoring cultural change throughout Alaska. Although such an endeavor might be theoretically feasible, it is not possible to assess cultural change adequately in Alaska without attending to the distinctive regional elements so critical to the meaning of life to residents of the diverse regions of the state. In other words, monitoring cultural change can not be accomplished through a generic set of abstractions but must be tailored to the specific historical, economic, political,

social, and cultural attributes of' the population. This is certainly one of the lessons to be learned from this exercise in determining the applicability of a methodology developed to monitor cultural change in one region of Alaska to another totally distinct region.

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